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CATERING TO EMPLOYMENT NEEDS -
THE OCCUPATIONS OF YOUNG CHINESE ADULTS IN BRITAIN

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the occupations of 16-30 year old British Chinese. It is intended as a contribution to the general literature on the Chinese in Britain, and to the literature on occupational choice/entry into work in which there have been no studies in Britain on this ethnic group.

The aims of this research are two-fold: first, to establish the location of young Chinese adults in the British labour market; and second, to establish why they are positioned at their current level in the occupational structure. This involved the testing of the hypothesis that a bimodal distribution exists with young Chinese adults situated at the top (in the professions) and the bottom sections (in the service sector, specifically the Chinese catering industry) in the British labour market. Structural and cultural effects on the occupational attainments of these Chinese were examined through the exploration of the influences of family background, the role of education, and the impact of racism and discrimination.

The method of data collection was by postal questionnaire, which was distributed using a snowballing technique within a social network. The primary data was analysed in conjunction with secondary data (Labour Force Survey).

The initial hypothesis of a bimodal distribution was corroborated by the primary data. The secondary data was much less clear, although the underlying trend of the greater propensity of the Chinese to enter the professions or the catering industry (compared to white British, West Indian, and Asian young adults) was demonstrated.

With regard to the three main variables explored, it was concluded: (1) that class effects were less significant than cultural effects as mediated through the family in influencing the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults; (2) that the traditional cultural values and attitudes of the Chinese towards education were responsible for their (high) levels of educational attainment which the Chinese used to gain access into the professions; (3) but that the propensity of these Chinese to enter the professions and ancilliary positions in the wider labour market or conversely to enter the Chinese catering trade was the result of a strategy adopted by the Chinese to deal with the (real or perceived) structural constraints of racism and discrimination in the British labour market.

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FOR MY PARENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The aims of this research are to investigate where young Chinese adults are located in the British labour market, and why they are employed at these positions in the occupational structure. This study is intended as a contribution to the general literature on the Chinese in Britain which is currently quite sparse, and the literature on occupational choice/entry into work in which there have been no studies in Britain on this ethnic minority group.

The inception of ideas for this project can be traced back to when I was conducting research for an undergraduate dissertation (Pang, 1989). The conspicuous dearth of information on the Chinese had caused me to rapidly alter the research proposal from a focus on the evolution and development of the Chinese catering industry in Britain, to the youth who had grown up in this environment. For that project I ended up collecting primary data for an investigation into the impact the Chinese catering industry had on the lives of these Chinese youth. My interest and inquisitiveness specifically in the latter group within the Chinese community, partly arose from the fact that I belonged to this section and felt a curiosity towards exploring the views and experiences of my Chinese peers, and [the fact that the literature which did exist on the Chinese pertained mainly to the first generation Chinese migrants,

focussing on the historical circumstances of their migration to Britain including their social adjustments and needs on settling in this country. Although in the 1970s and 1980s a spurt of literature examined the education of Chinese pupils in Britain, the momentum has declined, and no studies have followed the transition of these young Chinese from their schooling to work. A report did appear on the employment prospects of Chinese youth in Britain (Chan, 1986), but it was unrevealing and provided few answers. The processes or factors which shape the occupational aspirations or attainments of the Chinese youth in Britain remained unknown.

How I arrived at the decision to study young Chinese adults in the British labour market in this present postgraduate research project, when so many other areas relating to the Chinese are under-researched, was the result of a combination of three factors/events. First, the literature search for the undergraduate dissertation revealed that a caveat in this area existed - which urgently needed attention for the following reasons. That, and this is also the second point, [the primary data from the undergraduate dissertation indicated that [the generation of Chinese born or raised in Britain appeared to be diversifying out of the Chinese catering industry and seeking jobs in the wider labour market. This was perceived to have potentially adverse implications for relations between the Chinese and the indigenous British, since the assumption was (based on historical evidence) that the Chinese have been tolerated in

Britain mainly because they make limited demands on scarce resources, particularly jobs in the wider labour market, as the post Second World War Chinese migrants have largely been occupationally segregated to within the Chinese catering industry.

If this was the case, that attitudes and levels of toleration or hostility towards the Chinese in Britain were correlated to the level of economic (job) competition they provided, then there was the very real and imminent problem of tensions, resentment and conflict arising against this community in Britain in the near future. For in addition to the entry of the British-Chinese youth into the wider labour market there was also the possibility of another 50,000 families from Hong Kong (approximately 225,000 Chinese) providing further competition for the indigenous British with their arrival in Britain prior to 1997 when the British colony reverts back to rule by China. This issue of 1997 was heatedly debated in the Houses of Parliament in the late 1980s until the beginning of the 1990s, with the general consensus being against allowing these Hong Kong Chinese right of entry to Britain. These Hong Kong Chinese, it must be noted, are of the elite of that society: the business, professional, and technical people, who will be likely to seek employment in the wider labour market in Britain rather than get involved in the Chinese catering industry. The final decision to allow the quota of Hong Kong Chinese to come to Britain then is the third reason, which added

greater impetus to the choice of studying the employment of young Chinese adults in Britain.

At the time that I embarked on this project there was also a total lack of reliable statistical information on the Chinese in Britain. General studies, either of a quantitative or a qualitative nature, on 'ethnic minorities in Britain' invariably omitted the Chinese, concentrating instead on those groups originating from the Indian sub-continent or the West Indies. However, the situation has improved somewhat as recent analyses of national datasets (Owen, 1992 and 1993; Jones, 1993; Taylor, 1993) have begun to incorporate the Chinese as a separate group as opposed to ignoring them completely or subsuming them under the 'other' category. This project then was designed specifically as a much needed quantitative study of the Chinese distribution in the British labour market.

The organisation of this thesis will be as follows. Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature. The first part provides both an historical account of the migration to and settlement in Britain of Chinese people, and assesses simultaneously some theories pertaining to their status as migrant workers and as small business owners in Britain. The implications of these theories for the 'second generation' Chinese (taken to include the offspring of the migrants, who may be born and/or raised in Britain) is also looked at to give an indication of the types of conditions the younger generations may expect. The second part of the review examines the theoretical perspectives of occupational

choice and entry into work to provide an understanding of how individual and structural factors may be seen to influence how a young person gets the job that he/she does. British research on three environmental factors in particular are explored in more depth. These are: family, education, and ethnic origin.

Chapter Three discusses methodological issues. It explicates first why as a result of sampling, location, and access difficulties there has been the generation of a certain type of research conducted on the Chinese in Britain. It continues with discussions of how my status as an 'insider' in the Chinese community aided and affected the research process. And finally, the actual methods utilised in this study are given.

Chapter Four begins by presenting the results of the analysis of primary and secondary (Labour Force Survey) data regarding the distribution of young Chinese adults in the British labour market. The chapter continues to explore: the occupational aspirations held in the past by the respondents; the views and opinions of those young Chinese adults who have entered the wider labour market towards the Chinese catering industry; and finally, the attitudes of all the respondents to their current jobs.

Chapter Five focusses on the effects of family background on the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults. It first establishes the pre- and post-migration (as appropriate) circumstances of the parents of the

respondents, highlighting in the process how structural influences, and agency within these structural constraints, have shaped the family socio-economic status in Britain. Then the structural and cultural influences, as mediated through the family, on the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults is examined. To conclude, the levels of intergenerational mobility achieved are looked at.

Chapter Six explores the role of education. This chapter essentially continues on the theme of the influence of culture. The Chinese orientations to education from Confucian China to the contemporary West are established. This will help to explain the levels of educational attainments made by the young Chinese adults, as ascertained from the analyses of the primary data and the secondary (LFS) data. The extent to which the Chinese respondents have been able to translate their educational attainments into occupational attainments in Britain is then assessed. Finally, the experiences of Asian-Americans are investigated to see what may be learnt or expected by the British-Chinese who appear to be replicating the pattern set by the Asian-Americans.

Chapter Seven examines the part played by racism and discrimination in determining the occupational attainments made by the young Chinese adults. The chapter begins by setting out the type of relations the Chinese in Britain have had with the indigenous population. It continues to explore the perceptions and experiences of racism and discrimination of the young Chinese adults in the British

labour market, and highlights how this may have affected the distribution of the young Chinese adults in the occupational structure. Finally, the concept of the glass ceiling is discussed, which has implications for the career development of the Chinese in the wider labour market.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by briefly summarizing the main findings and conclusions of this research, and discusses their implications. Some areas for further future studies are suggested.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHINESE IN BRITAIN - RESTRICTED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ?

"Remarkably little research has been carried out into the Chinese community"

-Home Affairs Committee, 1985:x.

I - INTRODUCTION

Most studies conducted on "ethnic minorities" in Britain barely acknowledge the Chinese, if at all, while the attention is invariably focussed on the numerically larger (and more vocal) groups, such as those originating from the West Indies or the Indian sub-continent. The opening quotation to this chapter encapsulates the situation with regards to the dearth of information and knowledge available on the Chinese in Britain. Based on 1991 Census Data, a recent statistical paper revealed the Chinese to be one of the smallest ethnic groups in Britain at 0.3% of the total population (Owen, 1992:2), and that with the exception of "concentrations of Chinese people in London, Manchester and Liverpool, together with South Wales and central Scotland" (Owen, 1992:3), the Chinese have the most dispersed pattern of settlement (Owen, 1992:11). Prior to this, though, there had been no official statistical information on the Chinese population in Britain and what was known about this ethnic group was the result of mainly qualitative studies conducted in most cases by researchers of ethnic Chinese origin, in

localised areas (this is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three).

This chapter reviews those areas of the literature which contribute to an understanding of how young Chinese (adults in Britain make their career decisions. In order to do this two areas must be examined. The first provides an historical perspective on the migration and settlement of Chinese in Britain, focussing on their change in status from that of migrant worker to small business owner. Integrated into this account will be the assessment of selected theories ('migrant labour', 'dual labour markets', 'ethnic entrepreneurs' and 'middleman minorities') for their applicability to these "first generation" Chinese migrants (referring here to the post Second World War group), and the implications (if any) for their offspring - the "second generation" Chinese (born and/or raised) in Britain. Thus, essentially Section II explicates how the Chinese migrants came to be occupationally segregated in Britain and concentrated largely in the ethnic catering niche, so indicating in turn the general social, economic and political climate from which many young Chinese adults start out in life. The second area to be explored is the interrelated theoretical concepts of occupational choice and entry into work, in Part One of Section III. Then some relevant aspects of the British research on entry into work will be looked at in Part Two of Section III, focussing on three particular variables (family, education, ethnic

background) to ascertain their impact on the occupational decisions of youth in Britain.

II - CHINESE MIGRATION TO AND SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN

i) - From Migrant Labour...

Chinese migrants to Britain may be identified into one of three types: the early settlers who were pre-Second World War Chinese sailors; the second group which comprises professional and business people, students and nurses; and the largest category, the post-Second World War Chinese who are connected to the ethnic catering business. It is this latter group which is of greatest significance to the present study, and as such most of the attention and discussion will be directed towards it.] However, the economic activities of the first group of settlers, the former seamen, had ramifications on the Chinese community in contemporary Britain. An historical perspective of these early settlers is therefore pertinent and will be provided. The most heterogeneous group - the professional and business people, students and nurses, collectively constitute an extremely small fraction of the present population of Chinese in Britain and have fairly limited association with the majority Chinese in catering. Therefore, they will not be discussed here, although the growth in the size of this group (swelled by the entry of young Chinese adults and anticipated fresh Hong Kong Chinese migrants pre-1997, into

these sections of the wider labour market) is a concern which is discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

The first Chinese settlers in nineteenth century Britain were jumped-ship sailors dissatisfied with their working conditions with the East India Company. Locating themselves near the docks, they supported themselves economically by setting up services, for example, boarding houses which doubled as social centres providing gambling and opium smoking facilities, for off-duty Chinese seamen. "The first London Chinese community began to build up from about 1885 onwards, centering itself on one street, Limehouse Causeway, adjacent to the West India Docks. At the same time, a similar community was developing in Liverpool around Pitt Street. In 1911, there were 502 Chinese in Liverpool and 668 in London", reported Jones (1979:397). However, the growth of the Chinese population in Britain in this period was severely curtailed by "the Aliens Restrictions Acts of 1914 and 1919 [which] practically halted this first wave of immigration" (Jones, 1979:398). As for those Chinese who did settle here, they considered themselves to be sojourners with no intentions of residing permanently in Britain but staying only long enough to make their fortunes before retiring to their homeland. Some achieved these goals. Many others did not, and remained in Britain to marry indigenous British wives.

These early Chinese in Britain began to diversify out of seafaring and providing services to fellow Chinese as a result of the Aliens Act of 1905, which stipulated that the

Chinese settlers were required to be self-supporting. Their economic activities restricted, the Chinese ventured into the laundry business, which served not only Chinese but also indigenous customers. The situation of the Chinese was that:

"..formally barred from a diverse range of manual employment by the trade union bureaucracy and compelled to ensure financial security under threat of deportation, Chinese settlers turned to self-employment and ethnic patronage. Such was the basis of the establishment of the first Chinese laundries during the first decade of the twentieth century."
(Baxter, 1988)

Hostility against the Chinese culminated in physical violence towards their persons and their premises. "London's first Chinese laundry opened in Poplar in 1901. It was immediately stoned by a hostile crowd, and the proprietors escaping under cover of darkness" (Jones, 1979:399). In spite of this beginning, the Chinese laundry trade nevertheless flourished. By 1931, it was reported there were over 500 such laundries in Britain (ibid). The demise of the Chinese laundries was, however, signalled by the introduction of washing machines, but by then another trade was already beginning to supercede it - the Chinese catering industry. Originally a few modest restaurants run by the ex-seamen for other Chinese, these restaurants rapidly expanded after the Second World War to offer services to indigenous clientele too. While this group was responsible for the genesis of the Chinese catering industry, it eventually came to be dominated by another group - the New Territories Chinese from Hong Kong.

By far the largest group of Chinese in Britain is the post-Second World War migrants employed in the Chinese catering business. The Home Affairs Committee (1985) estimated 90% of the Chinese population in Britain to be connected to this industry, and that 75% to 80% of this category of Chinese originated from the New Territories in Hong Kong. This group is rather anomalous in relation to other New Commonwealth migrants. In terms of the theories of labour migration developed to explain the circumstances of migrant labour originating from the West Indies or the Indian sub-continent, they have only limited applicability in the case of the Chinese.

Much has been written on the area of labour migration, and since the pioneering work of Castles and Kosack (1973) the arguments have centered on the structural necessity of migrant workers to Europe. Castles and Kosack suggested that the effects of immigration are threefold: on the economic level, migrant labour serves to keep wages low; the social effects are that the migrant labour force allows indigenous workers to move out of unskilled jobs to achieve real social promotion; and the political effects are the changes in consciousness among indigenous workers, which lessens the political unity and strength of the working class (1973:144). Cohen summarized the popular perception that:

"Migrants were not only good news for post-war European capital, their presence was essential to the fulfilment of capital's needs to accumulate, control the labour force politically and ideologically, and allow the state greater leverage in regulating the economy." (1987:41)

The case of the Chinese migrant labour to Britain will now be examined. A push-pull model of migration will be used to highlight the structural factors which influenced this macro movement of Chinese from Hong Kong to Britain.

This economic model holds that forces must operate in both sending and receiving countries for the phenomenon to occur. That is, there must exist factors in the sending country which induce or encourage people to migrate, and this must simultaneously be matched by factors present in the receiving country which make the migration not only attractive but feasible. In the case of the Chinese migrants, the supply-side is unremarkable. Mainly from the British colony of Hong Kong, these Chinese exercised their rights under the British Nationality Act 1948 to come to the 'Mother Country' to escape the poor economic conditions and widespread unemployment caused by the collapse of agriculture in their homeland in the 1950s and 1960s. With little or no education or industrial skills, those Chinese who had the opportunity migrated to Britain in search of a living.

The demand-side is often the critical consideration. According to Cohen: "... (while) any complete explanation must treat structural factors at both ends of the migration process... demand for labour power at the labour-importing end may well turn out to be decisive" (1987:41). Indeed, it is the demand-side of this migration equation which makes the Chinese anomalous to most other New Commonwealth migrants to Britain, in that the Chinese were not targeted

in the recruitment drive by British employers to come to Britain to undertake the low status, unskilled and poorly remunerated jobs for which indigenous British workers could not be found. Instead the recruiters/employers were Chinese in Britain, enlisting fellow Chinese from Hong Kong directly into the ethnic restaurant trade in Britain.

The Chinese catering industry, established by the ex-seamen as explained above, proliferated in the post Second World War decades due to several factors. Baxter (1988) argued that economic restructuring after the war was marked by an expansion in service industries, in which women constituted a significant part of the workforce. It was proposed that the employment of women necessitated their release from some domestic chores, such as cooking for their families, thus resulting in one of the causes of the expansion of the fast food industry. In general, Britain was experiencing post war economic prosperity, and people were enjoying higher standards of living. Their greater levels of income led to increasing consumerism, and dining out for example, became more popular and commonplace. Chinese restaurants in particular flourished because Chinese meals were regarded as better value compared to other ethnic foods, and also part of the demand arose from British servicemen returned from the Far East who had acquired a taste for Chinese cuisine (Watson, 1977).

The labour shortages in the rapidly expanding Chinese catering trade were solved by the operation of what MacDonald termed 'chain of migration', described as a

"movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by...the previous migrant" (quoted in Watson, 1977:189). This succeeded in becoming a well-organised and highly developed scheme, and most new recruits were frequently related by kinship ties, often originating from the same (single lineage) villages in the New Territories in Hong Kong. This chain migration, in conjunction with the British Immigration Acts, served to channel the Chinese migrants inexorably into this ethnic niche, as explained next.

Legislations were introduced in the 1960s rescinding the rights of citizens from the Commonwealth and Colonies to settlement in Britain as set out in the British Nationality Act 1948. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, according to Solomos, was the result of "intense debate within Government departments and in public circles about the impact of black immigration on housing, the welfare state, crime and other social problems" (1989:47). Under this Act, immigrants from the Commonwealth were required to possess one of the following Ministry of Labour employment vouchers to enter the UK:

CATEGORY A: Commonwealth citizens had a specific job to come to in Britain.

CATEGORY B: Applicants had a recognised skill or qualification which was in short supply in Britain.

CATEGORY C: All other applicants, priority treatment being given to those who served in the British forces during the war.

The implicit purpose was to stem the immigration of those from the New Commonwealth, that is, black migration. Later the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 and Immigration Act 1971 (which replaced the work voucher system with the more restrictive work permit scheme) tightened these controls further. But towards these aims of reducing primary immigration, the Acts had an unintended effect of creating what has become known as the 'beat the ban' rush of immigrants. These were dependents of migrants already in Britain, who were endeavouring to enter the country before the doors were irrevocably closed.

In the case of the Chinese, they mobilised their ethnic resources in order to continue their migration to Britain in spite of the restrictions imposed by the legislations. Although in the majority of cases these Chinese migrants were industrially unskilled and illiterate (even in their own language), they managed nevertheless to gain entry to Britain by obtaining Category A employment vouchers. However, as explained:

"Only in the ethnic catering trade, which specifically exploited ethnic differences could a case readily be made for the necessity for Chinese workers to fill available jobs. This was congruent with the general conditions of expansion and continued demand for labour in the catering industry as a whole and the fact that the jobs that the Chinese workers filled did not actually require any previously acquired relevant skills or experience at all." (Baxter, 1988:110).

This migration, however, was only possible through the utilisation of social networks, as the new migrants depended on (employment) patronage. In this respect the Chinese in the New Territories had an advantage over the urban dwellers

in Hong Kong, for example, given the solidarity of the clans of these often single lineage villages. The chain migration was operated with such effect that Watson noted how many such villages experienced a period of 'emigration fever' (1977:189).

Thus, the net result of the immigration legislations combined with the process of chain migration was to channel the in-coming Chinese migrants into the Chinese catering industry. Primary migration of Chinese to Britain therefore continued, in addition to the arrival of dependents. This growth and changing demography of the Chinese population in Britain enabled the restructuring of the Chinese catering industry to occur, from mainly restaurants to the smaller takeaway businesses owned and run by family units, in response to the changing economic climate and growing competition from capital intensive multi-national fast food chains.

Therefore, while the supply-side (ie poor economic conditions of the sending country) is little different from other migration from the New Commonwealth to Britain, and the Chinese migration was also employer-driven, the Chinese situation diverges on a number of other points. The demand for Chinese migrant workers came from Chinese recruiters rather than indigenous employers. Consequently, the Chinese migrants did not come to fill vacancies at the bottom of the occupational structure in the wider labour market which were rejected by indigenous workers. Nor can they be regarded as forming part of what some researchers/academics have called

the 'underclass', which is characterised by persistent poverty and often unemployment (Rex, 1986), given that many of the Chinese have managed to work their way up from working class status as employees in the ethnic niche, to join the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie as an owner(/worker) in such enterprises.

However, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that in spite of the change in status, the actual tasks that the petite bourgeois Chinese (ie owner/worker of a takeaway business) performs are little different from the employee in the Chinese catering industry. Essentially it is the routine performance of menial tasks, categorised by the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations (OPCS, 1980) as semi-skilled manual work, not dissimilar in level to the work undertaken by other migrants in the wider labour market. As such, it is worth shifting the analysis to focus on the jobs to obtain another perspective on the position of the Chinese owners and/or workers, by using the concept of a dual labour market.

Briefly, the dual labour market theory which leads on from the theories of migrant labour postulates that there exists a primary labour market and a secondary labour market. The former is characterised by high wages, good working conditions, employment stability, chances of advancement and equity, and due process in the administration of work rules; the secondary labour market in contrast tends to have low wages and fringe benefits, poor working conditions, high labour turnover, little chance of advancement, and often

arbitrary and capricious supervision (Smith, 1976). The secondary labour market is characteristic of competitive, small-sized firms; while the primary labour market operates in large, normally monopolistic firms where the recruitment of labour is done internally at middle and upper levels, and the "new workers are hired mainly in entry port jobs at the bottom rungs of the job ladder" (Hirsch, 1980:136). The recruitment procedures at this lower level provides one of the keys (the others being institutional and spatial factors) to an understanding of why the dichotomous sectors in the labour market persists. Hirsch refers to 'statistical discrimination' (ibid) where particular people are excluded from the primary labour market. He wrote: "Those with little education, poor work records, women, youths, and blacks and other minorities are all victims of this discrimination" (ibid).

Thus, amount and type of schooling, previous work experience, family background, age, gender, and 'race' are variables which are a barrier to the attainment of inter-generational and intra-generational mobility between the secondary and primary labour markets. In the case of the Chinese migrant workers they display many of these characteristics: of little or no education, a background of poverty, low or unskilled, being a visible ethnic minority, all factors which should not only place them at a disadvantage in the labour market but **confine** them to a state of persistent poverty, intra-generationally and inter-generationally, as Hirsch discusses:

"Those who start in secondary jobs may never obtain primary market employment. There is not much likelihood that secondary workers can develop the kind of attitudes toward work that are expected by primary employers. Negative attitudes toward firms and employment may be formed in a family environment in which all of the wage earners hold positions in the secondary market."
(1980:139)

But unlike a large proportion of migrant workers to Europe or Britain, who appear to fit the theory well because of their apparent difficulty in moving out of the 'underclass', the Chinese in contrast have appeared to display **relative** ease in working their way up from employment in the catering sector to becoming an owner (/worker) of such enterprises. In spite of what is technically upward social mobility from the working class to the petite bourgeoisie, this is not necessarily automatically accompanied by a change in financial status since the Chinese waged worker may be better off than the owner struggling to keep the business viable, nor does this change in status involve a transition from the secondary labour market into the primary labour market. This would seem to confirm the notion of the impermeability of the barriers between the dual labour markets. However, the notable difference lies in the potential for inter-generational mobility rather than intra-generational mobility, as the thesis in the present study proposes, there is a noticeable number of young Chinese adults employed in occupations in the higher socio-economic stratas (that is, in the primary sector) of the labour market, many of whom have a family background in catering. That the Chinese in Britain appear not to have experienced high degrees of restricted mobility and persistent poverty

within and between generations would therefore negate a major aspect of the dual labour market theory.

Given the inadequacy of these theories of labour migration and to an extent the dual labour market theory in their application to the Chinese in Britain, attention will now be directed away from the Chinese as migrant workers to focus on what is a central distinguishing factor - the Chinese concentration in small business ownership in Britain.

ii) - ...To Small Business Owner

Even though the early Chinese settlers were active in self-employment, the scale of entrepreneurial activity was limited because the growth in the pre-1914 population of Chinese in Britain was precluded by the anti-immigration legislation. The current concentration of Chinese in small businesses was made possible only through the arrival of fresh Chinese migrants under the 1948 British Nationality Act, and later the families of these primary migrants, which was ironically a repercussion of the anti-immigration legislations of the 1960s and 1970s. This gave the Chinese catering worker/potential entrepreneur the necessary ready access to a cheap supply of labour that could be relied upon to operate a 'takeaway' shop, which was less capital and labour intensive and thus increasingly more popular than the restaurants. Therefore, from the status of salaried employee in a catering establishment, many of these Chinese migrants succeeded in elevating themselves out of the

working class to join the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie through ownership of a small catering business. In contemporary Britain, a recent report based on 1991 Census data indicated that "more than a quarter of Chinese in work are self-employed" (Owen,1993:6) and that "The Chinese stand out as having the highest rates of entrepreneurship" (ibid) compared to all other groups (entrepreneurship referring here to those people who are self-employed with employees).

The theories of ethnic enterprises grew out of a recognition of the inadequacy of theories of labour migration when applied to some groups of ethnic migrants which display a high propensity to set up small business - usually in the ethnic economy. The theories of ethnic enterprises are a fairly recent body of literature, and it has been stated that "Regardless of theoretical approach, much of the work on ethnic businesses remains exploratory. Until recently, many studies were designed to generate, not test hypotheses" (Waldinger et al, 1990:14). The approaches to the study of ethnic enterprises have been categorised by Waldinger et al (1985) into the following: cultural perspectives (that success is culture bound); ecological views (that the structure of modern economies constrains the size of the small business class so that ethnic groups go through a pattern of residential 'succession'); and the interactive approach (where businesses are believed to proliferate in industries where there is a congruence between the demands of the economic environment and the informal resources of the ethnic population). So far these theories have been

concerned only with endeavouring to explain the greater propensity and success of particular groups at setting up and operating small businesses.

The theory of middleman minorities developed in 1973 by Edna Bonacich, also tackled the issue of why certain immigrant groups to a society displayed a consistent tendency to become marginal trading people who established themselves in the intermediate level of the economic order rather than taking up the lowest rung frequently occupied by immigrants. This theory is superior to the theories of ethnic enterprises in the present circumstances because it has very specific applications to groups, such as the Jews and the Chinese, which regardless of context, appear to display an over-representation in small business/trading involvement compared to other groups. The theory of middleman minorities is particularly relevant here as it also has implications for those beyond the first generation of this group as an issue leading on from a discussion of the decline or perpetuation of this middleman form.

Bonacich isolated particular features that characterised this phenomenon. Essentially the middleman minority groups possessed a sojourner orientation towards the host society, which influenced their economic activity, directing them into trade, commerce and such areas in which assets could be held in a fairly liquid state. The middleman minority group worked hard and lived frugally, prepared to "suffer short term deprivation to hasten the long term objective of returning to the homeland" (1973:585). Ethnic solidarity

was high, and often the extended family and kinsfolk formed part of the economic unit, wives and children often providing the bulk of labour. In relation to the wider society, the middleman minorities faced much hostility, conflicts arising between them and the clientele, the business, and labour of the host society. Various reasons proposed for the hostility were that the middleman minorities provided unfair competition (cheap labour) and were exploitative, were unassimilable parasites who drained the host country of its resources, and yet whose loyalty to the host society was highly questionable. With regards to those sojourners who did not realise their plan of returning to their homeland, according to the theory, they either relinquished such dreams and integrated socially and economically into the land of sojourn (thus the middleman form would disappear), or they maintained the (sometimes mythical) desire to return to their homeland and continued the solidarity they had exhibited and the resistance to assimilate (in which case the group would remain a permanent minority).

In 1980, Bonacich and Modell applied the theory to the Japanese Americans in an "attempt to demonstrate that involvement in certain kinds of enterprise support strong ethnic ties (and vice versa), while the absence of this class concentration leads to the weakening of ethnic solidarity for Japanese Americans" (1980:5). However, it has been noted that "the theoretical status of the initial hypothesis has been altered and obscured...and the middleman

minority approach now seems designed to elaborate an ideal type exemplified by a variety of characteristics" (Waldinger, 1990:399). This reformulation, it is argued here, resulted from the fact that Bonacich and Modell could not make the data on the Japanese-Americans conform precisely to the original hypothesis. The sojourner issue will be taken to illustrate this claim.

The different emphasis placed on the role of sojourning was one of the most notable differences between the original version of the theory and the later version. In 1973, Bonacich wrote:

"Sojourning is not a sufficient condition of the middleman form in that there are sojourners who do not become middlemen; but it is a necessary one, with important economic and social consequences directly related to the pattern." (Bonacich, 1973:15) [My emphasis]

Yet the significance of this apparently central trait was considerably diminished in 1980 when it was stated that "As immigrants they tend to be sojourners" (Bonacich and Modell, 1980:15) [My emphasis]. This de-emphasis on what appeared to have been a crucial factor seemed to arise because the data on the Japanese Americans did not fit the theory well. The theory was subsequently modified to 'fit' the data. The sojourner characteristic was alluded to in vague terms about the Japanese migrant that: "The majority were at one time oriented towards returning to the homeland" (Bonacich and Modell, 1980:35). The point was not pressed further because general accounts of Japanese migration to America reveal that they were demographically not 'typical' middleman minorities (Kitano, 1969 and 1974; Melendy, 1972), in that

the majority arrived with their families, and were not penniless and uneducated people "emanating from the more deprived classes" (Bonacich, 1973:588). Therefore, the role of the sojourner mentality was reduced in the 1980 version of the theory in order that the data on the Japanese-Americans could be used to present them as typifying the middleman minority form.

Problems encountered by Bonacich and Modell with the data are apparent, as they disclosed the fact that the survey data they were using focussed on different aspects than their study, explaining that they were "using data to answer questions not anticipated by the creators of the data" (1980:110). They frequently alluded to 'imperfect indicators' (ibid), 'annoying flaw' (ibid), and admitted that 'comparison is very crude' (p.121) and that 'figures may be slightly off' (p.122) and 'our measures are slightly shaky' (p.250). Consequently the conclusions that they reach are extremely tentative, suggestive rather than conclusive. In spite of these criticisms of Bonacich and Modell's study, the theory of middleman minorities has been widely used by researchers, for instance, to study the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies (Schijf, 1988) and the Chinese in the USA (Hein, 1988).

Whether the Chinese in Britain are measured according to the criteria of the more exacting original version of the middleman minority theory, or by the less rigorous reformulation of the theory, in which "Any and all small business activities undertaken by the immigrants are

classified as middleman minority phenomena" (Waldinger, 1990:400), prima facie the Chinese in Britain do appear to conform (closely) to the model. They came to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s from the poverty of their homeland in search of a living. Since they considered this a short-term arrangement they came without dependents, hoping to make their fortunes rapidly before returning home. This sojourner mentality dictated their social and economic behaviour insofar as they remained socially isolated from the indigenous people, worked hard and lived frugally. More importantly, it explains why they were willing to endure the difficult conditions in the restaurant trade. Being unskilled and linguistically and educationally disadvantaged neither did they have the time nor the inclination to diversify into other occupations in the wider labour market. They were also morally and financially bound to the restaurant trade because of the chain migration which facilitated their passage over to Britain in the face of institutional racism.

The Chinese expansion into the 'takeaway' sector appears to reinforce the middleman minority form, as more Chinese were able to set up their own takeaways which required less capital than restaurants and could be staffed by fewer workers. However, the reunification of the Chinese families, which provided the source of cheap labour necessary for the small business owners and thus essentially created the impetus for the restructuring of the catering industry, may also paradoxically be the ultimate cause for

undermining the middleman form. The arrival of the families may be seen as leading to a steady erosion of the sojourner/stranger orientation, and while not necessarily implying full integration into society, at least lending greater permanence to the Chinese settlement in Britain, through education, housing, and other welfare arrangements. The maintenance or eventual dissolution of the middleman minority form depends ultimately on the social and economic integration of the successive generations of Chinese in Britain. What is important here is that the middleman minority theory does not suggest that second generation occupations and careers are dependent upon the position of the first generation, as the theories of labour migration and dual labour market imply.

To briefly summarize, subsections II(i) and II(ii) have so far demonstrated that post Second World War migration of Chinese to Britain differs from most of the migration of peoples from the New Commonwealth. The chain migration process coupled with the immigration legislations served to channel the Chinese migrants directly into the Chinese catering industry. It was also shown that theories of labour migration and dual labour markets have limited applicability to the Chinese migrants, and that theories which focussed on their involvement in small business ownership were more appropriate. The middleman minority theory appears to display particular relevance to the first generation Chinese situation in Britain. Such a discussion begs the question of the future of the second generation

Chinese born or raised in Britain. This is the issue dealt with next.

iii) - Implications For The Next Generation

The theories and research on migrant labour and dual labour markets converge in their pessimistic conclusions and predictions for the second generation in terms of high levels of social reproduction, as they suggest that subsequent generations inherit the positions of their parents at the bottom of the social strata. Data and research are beginning to emerge on the 'second generation', the children of migrant workers to Europe and Britain. The picture presented indicates that they are taking up the same positions as their parents upon entering the labour market (Wilpert, 1988). Castles et al painted a bleak picture of the situation. They stated that

"..the foreign or minority working class is being reproduced. The first generation of labour migrants were recruited and hired for low-status manual jobs. Institutional discrimination, lack of educational opportunities and poor access to vocational training are forcing their children...into the same social position", and they continued to describe "...the emergence throughout Western Europe of growing numbers of young blacks or foreigners who are not only unemployed, but who have never been employed and are never likely to be employed" (Castles et al, 1984:187/188).

It was concluded that the theories of labour migration and dual labour market theory have limited applicability to the Chinese migrants, and by implication have little or no relevance to the children of these migrants. However,

Baxter concurs with this view of social reproduction and occupational inheritance as being the fate of second generation Chinese in Britain. She wrote that:

"The isolation of the petite bourgeois niche acts as a self-perpetuating trap to the people caught up within it, with lasting effects for the second generation. A childhood spent in meeting the unrelenting demands of the family shop over individual needs has left many British-born Chinese with little option but to continue to use their particular skills working in the same trade, either as petite bourgeois entrepreneurs themselves (if they were lucky) or as waged workers in the ethnic economy." (1988:152).

While it is not disputed that there is some degree of social reproduction and occupational inheritance in the case of the Chinese, there is another facet which Baxter fastidiously ignores, which is that advantages may also accrue from the petite bourgeois position of the first generation Chinese which may aid the advancement of the second generation Chinese. The class cultural and material resources of the petite bourgeoisie, irrespective of ethnic origin, are expected to be utilised by this class to provide improved lifechances for the children and facilitate their attainment of social and economic mobility (Bechhofer *et al*, 1974; Mayer, 1987). The Chinese are no exception in their desire to acquire the appropriate resources to improve the socio-economic position of the next generation.

The theories of ethnic entrepreneurs allude to the second generation only as part of the family labour which is frequently recruited into the business, and researchers in this area have not endeavoured as yet to investigate the implications of growing up in this environment for the youth

concerned. This is one of the major criticisms against the theories of ethnic entrepreneurs, that the focus has been both too narrow and too static. They have concentrated only on seeking answers to the who? why? and how? of ethnic enterprises, and so far ignored the longer term issues of the perpetuation or decline of these ethnic enterprises.

The middleman minority theory does not so much 'predict' the future of the second and successive generations, as it infers that a legacy of societal hostility would lead to the second generation remaining within the protection of the ethnic economy. The theory postulates that the persistence of the middleman form is itself conditional upon the existence of strong ethnic ties. The implication is that ethnic ties weaken with the social and economic integration of the younger generations into the wider society, and education appears to be an important determinant of whether the younger generations remain in the ethnic economy or pursue occupations in the wider labour market. The empirical evidence pertaining to the Japanese Americans suggests a complex interplay of many factors:

"This exodus of many of the educated second generation may reflect conditions in the surrounding society. The absence of marked societal hostility toward Nisei [Second generation Japanese in the USA] taking jobs in the corporate economy eased their path in this direction. In other words, the plans of the first generation in terms of preparing sons for a middleman economic form were predicated on a continuation of the reason for that form: a hostile, tenuous relationship of the minority with the surrounding society. Once this is no longer obtained, those Nisei with higher education could utilise it in a manner unintended by their parents - to escape from the ethnic economy. The result of this process has been to leave the ethnic economy

increasingly in the hands of the less educated Nisei." (Bonacich and Modell, 1980:152).

The role of education then is that it enables the younger generations to obtain desirable occupations in the wider labour market if conditions allow, that is there are low levels of societal hostility, but that if hostility was high or the Chinese youth attained low academic achievements, they would remain in the ethnic economy.

The contrast between this and the earlier theories is marked. Whereas the tone of the middleman minority theory is optimistic and suggests that the first generation encourage their children to high academic achievement for the purposes of greater advancement - whether to reach the pinnacle of the petite bourgeois world or to enter the professions in the wider labour market, the theories of migrant labour and dual labour market predict the perpetuation of poor economic circumstances.

It has been explained how the first generation in Britain had no alternative but to work in the Chinese catering industry, primarily because of the immigration legislation which defined their right of entry to Britain. Without that constraint to determine the direction of the careers of the offspring of these migrants, and having the advantage in most instances of receiving part or all of their education in Britain, what are the occupations taken up by the second generation then? What influences operate to affect the career decisions of the young Chinese adults in Britain? These are some of the questions to be addressed in this study. First it is necessary to explore the theories of

occupational choice and entry into work to provide some insights into how occupational decisions may be made. Then the research conducted on three environmental variables in Britain will be looked at.

III - OCCUPATIONAL 'CHOICE' OR ALLOCATION?

i) - Theories of Occupational Choice and Entry Into Work

"Occupational choice" and "Entry into work" are the study of the same phenomenon approached from the perspectives of different disciplines. The former has a psychological orientation and was developed in the USA at the turn of this century to explain how American youth made their vocational decisions and chose their occupations. The British sociologists' reaction and objection to these American theories of occupational choice, which they regarded as having limited applicability in the British context, was to formulate the theories of entry into work. The latter emphasised that rather than having a 'choice', British youth were more appropriately seen as being 'allocated' to jobs in the labour market. This section will consider these theoretical concepts.

Although the term 'occupational choice' is widely used, there is still no consensus as to what occupational choice actually means even amongst psychologists. Clarke pointed out that "The whole area of occupational choice is riddled with problems of definition, and a lack of precision in the

use of key terms" (1980:4). In an attempt to understand the notion of what occupational choice implies it is necessary to consider briefly the major psychological perspectives. These will be classified into the differential/trait-and-factor approach, and the developmental/self-concept approach.

The differential/trait-and-factor theories postulated that individuals possess different psychological traits, such as, aptitudes, interests and personalities. Occupations differ in their requirements of these traits. Realistic vocational choice and optimal vocational adjustment, it is proposed are functions of the match between traits and requirements. Actual vocational choice is regarded as an event, a moment-in-time decision made by the individual, usually upon graduation from high school concerning the career to be pursued. Roe (1956) came from this tradition, adopting a 'personality approach' which attempted to explain why people are attracted to particular occupations. Roe's theory suggests that the individual's early psychosocial experiences (in the family) affected the formation of needs, and the tendency to expend psychic energy in a particular manner. Unfulfilled needs become an unconscious motivator and directly influence the individual's vocational behaviour. In spite of the many flaws and the general lack of support for her theory, Roe was notable as the first to use the family as a key variable, which subsequent research has found to be a major determinant in occupational choice.

The developmental/self-concept theories in the 1950s were an attempt to redress the static quality of classifying and matching models. It was Ginzberg, an economist heading an inter-disciplinary team comprising a psychiatrist, a sociologist, and a psychologist, who produced a rationale describing vocational choice. They concluded from their research that "Occupational choice is a developmental process: it is not a single decision, but a series of decisions made over a period of years" (Ginzberg et al, 1951:185). Super supported this developmental view, placing even greater emphasis than Ginzberg upon the process aspect, and suggested that the term 'development' substitute the word 'choice' because the former "comprehends the concept of preference, choice, entry, and adjustment" (Super, 1957:187).

American sociologist, Linda Gottfredson's developmental theory on "Circumscription and Compromise" (1981) integrates a social systems perspective with the more psychological approaches. Circumscription is the process of eliminating possible occupations from consideration and developing vocational aspirations. Compromise is the accommodation of personal job preferences to the realities of the world of work and deals with the implementation rather than the development of aspirations. Gottfredson hypothesized that self-concept factors (social class, intelligence and sex) have a hierarchical order in how readily they are relinquished when compromising. Specifically the model proposes that in a vocational decision, interest area is the

first to be compromised, then status, and finally gender appropriateness. The evidence regarding Gottfredson's theory has been largely favourable (Pryor, 1987; Holt, 1989). However, Pryor states that "The principal problem that the theory appears to have...is that it is oversimplified in its formulation of the compromise process" (Pryor, 1987). Holt (1989) reached the same conclusion.

The element of compromise had in fact formed an important part of Ginzberg et al's theory. He wrote that:

"Occupational choice is a process...[which] ends in compromise. Throughout the years of his development the individual has been trying to learn enough about his interests, capacities, and values and about the opportunities and limitations in the real world, to make an occupational choice that will yield him maximum satisfaction (Ginzberg et al, 1951:185).

Super went so far as to describe compromise as the crux of career decision-making (Super, 1953). Yet the element of compromise was not pursued in the intermediate years inspite of this promising beginning until Gottfredson's theory appeared, thus "presenting the most thorough theoretical treatment of compromise thus far attempted" (Pryor, 1987).

The reason for the predominance of psychological theories in the area of occupational choice in the United States can be explained by the structure of the society and its culture. The USA is regarded as a structurally 'open' society and the belief prevails that through hard work, dedication, and determination each citizen has an equal chance to realise the "American Dream", that is, to succeed in attaining both wealth and happiness. Ginzberg et al commented on this

American optimism that "Our culture still retains in its folklore the concept that any person can become whatever he wishes if only he is willing to make the effort. A related belief is that the achievement of happiness depends on the individual himself..." (Ginzberg et al, 1951:231). The emphasis then is very much on the individual. A consequence of this focus on individualism in the American society is that the most appropriate approach to adopt in the study of occupational choice in America is the psychological perspective, which takes such a micro view. The critical aspect, self-determination, is reflected in the discipline of psychology, which looks to the self for motivations and explanations of behaviour and decisions.

Nevertheless, these psychological approaches have not been able to maintain conceptual purity by insisting solely on intra-individual factors, such as, interests, intelligence and aptitudes, in explaining the vocational choice of individuals. It has increasingly come to be recognised that the individual cannot be studied in isolation of the environment which surrounds and pervades the individual's life, and affects the final occupational decision. The influence of the family, in particular, has been widely acknowledged to greatly affect a person's vocational development. Osipow claims that:

"It is obvious that familial factors are important to career decisions, both in the determination of the situational variables involved in career development (such as, educational, economic, hygenic and medical resources, social support and reinforcement, and the provision of context for work) and the intra-individual variables (such as, the physical and psychological characteristics

that have a strong genetic component)." (Osipow, 1983:307).

Yet despite investigations having rigorously and repeatedly examined the impact of family, community and educational aspirations, "The assumption underlying this research has been firmly ingrained in American folklore: that in a free, open and democratic society, individuals are able to make their own futures, limited only by their own talents and inclinations" (Roberts, 1981:285). The inclusion of the element of compromise in some aforementioned theories, however, admit to some extent that the individual does not have perfect choice.

[The fundamental difference between the American psychological approach and the British sociological approach centres around the notion of 'choice'. The basic objection of the British sociologists is to this connotation of rationality and emphasis on self-determination with the American approaches, with apparent disregard of the wider social and economic forces which the (British) sociologists emphasise play a crucial role in limiting individual discretion in choice of jobs. The British sociologists argue that entry into work may be more a process of job allocation than individual choice due to situational factors in Britain.]

There exists then much controversy over the question of whether occupational entry of youth can be described as choice or allocation. Clarke (1980) summarized that the research to date in Britain appears to lend support to the

latter interpretation, that is, allocation as opposed to choice. She explains that:

"There is ample evidence of the constraining influence of the environmental and personal factors over which the individual has little or no control: social class, type of schooling, ethnic origin, sex, intelligence, and the structure of the local labour markets all appear to condition youngsters towards certain levels and broad areas of occupations: in this way, any individual's choice cannot be said to be free choice. Secondly, the research conveys the impression that choices are often less than rational and conscious acts of decision, and that the range of known alternatives, and the degree of self-knowledge are usually pathetically small." (Clarke, 1980:18).

A prominent supporter of the allocation argument is British sociologist, Ken Roberts, a vociferous critic of the developmental approach. He was originally involved in research designed to test the theories of Ginzberg et al and Super in the 1960s. On finding those theories inappropriate in the examination of British school leavers, Roberts was prompted to formulate his own theory to explain this phenomenon in Britain. Roberts' theory focussed on opportunity structure rather than occupational choice as the central concept. The main proposition of this alternative theory, as Roberts stated, is that:

"..the employments school leavers enter and the patterns into which their careers develop depend more upon opportunity than choice...that the distribution of opportunities is a function of the manner in which a stratified occupational system, education, and family interlock. Within this nexus, scope for genuine choice is deemed rarely significant and often non-existent, and attempts to explain the processes and outcomes of work entry in terms of choice are therefore, considered futile." (1981:281).

This is an extremely static view in which Roberts suggests that vertical mobility is rare as a result of socialisation

processes which are conservative (in their own way in all the social stratas). Aspirations are determined by the family, which leads ultimately to the repetition of educational and occupational experiences of the parents by the child. The argument follows that social class determines the quantity and quality of education, which affects occupational opportunities.

Daws, a psychologist, offered a critique of Roberts' theory, attacking the latter on three grounds. First the conceptual argument presented emphasises the fact that "a sociological account of the inner determinants of the entry of school leavers into the labour market does not per se invalidate a psychological account of the inner determinants of occupational choice" (1981:247). Daws quotes Durkheim who recommended the conceptual divorce of sociological from the psychological arguments. However, as the world and the theories to explain the phenomena which occur in it become ever more complex and sophisticated, Daws stated that such conceptual purity as envisaged by Durkheim is difficult to maintain. He wrote:

"The domains of sociology and of psychology do not these days have the conceptual distinctiveness that Durkheim intended. There are other sociological attempts to explain occupational choice, which unlike Roberts', employ concepts that are unequivocally psychological." (1981:251).

The second attack was on sociological grounds. Daws agreed that the family/socialisation and opportunity structure are important determinants of children's educational progress and initial access into the labour market, but he argues that sociological evidence suggests that the modus operandi

of such factors on the lives of children today are more intricate and variable, and in some respects weaker than Roberts supposes. Daws draws attention to the fact that not all socialisation processes are conservative, for example, there are 'laissez-faire' families or socially aspiring ones as well. In the 1960s there was much sociological research and evidence that suggested social mobility was occurring, in contradiction to Roberts' pessimistic predictions. The point was made that "The increase has been due very largely to changes in the occupational structure, that is, the expansion of the white collar and professional occupations and the contraction of manual occupations" (Bottomore, 1965).

Finally, Daws disputed Roberts' disparaging views on the effectiveness of careers education and vocational guidance; claiming that Roberts' views on the vocational motivations of school-leavers and workers, and the satisfactions that jobs have to offer, contradict the findings of a considerable body of vocational psychological research.

There are also sociologists in Britain who dispute this popular view of allocation, and reject the notion that the entry of youth into work is wholly a fortuitous event outside the control of the individual. Yet even supporters of this approach cannot ignore the immense influence of situational variables in Britain. Consequently, their interpretation of the occupational 'choice' process has had to be modified from that as understood by their American counterparts. The British stance is still to emphasise the

purposiveness of an individual's choice, to stress that the act of choosing is still rational, but (and this is the difference) rational from the viewpoint of the individual.

Ford and Box (1967) took a phenomenological view to convey how occupational choice can be seen as a rational process in which the individual weighs particular goals she/he desires against the probability that he/she will attain them. Thus occupational choice is regarded as a culmination of a process in which hopes and desires are reconciled with the realities of the occupational market situation (cf compromise aspect of Ginzberg, Super and Gottfredson's theories).

More recently, Layder et al (1991) concluded in their study on the interplay between structure and agency that :

"Structural variables do play a more important role...in affecting the probability of entry to the middle and lower level jobs in the youth labour market. Individual variables in the form of attitudes and levels of educational achievement play a much more powerful role in influencing the probability of entry to the upper category than any of the others, and in reducing the probability of their entry to other segments." (1991:459).

To briefly summarize, this subsection presented the different theoretical approaches in the study of 'occupational choice' and 'entry into work' by psychologists and sociologists respectively. What the discussion has endeavoured to highlight is that in neither disciplines have the conceptual boundaries been maintained, and increasingly theories of occupational choice and entry into work in Britain (and to a lesser extent in the USA) have overlapped and drawn upon factors from the disciplines of psychology and

sociology. It is now appropriate to turn to the research which has been conducted in this field in Britain, focussing on the influences of the family, educational and ethnic backgrounds.

ii) - British Research On Environmental Factors

Most of the research in Britain in this area has been conducted by sociologists. Home background and educational environment are perhaps the most widely researched factors. Both of these variables will be looked at and additionally, ethnic background will also be included in this review (even though there has been comparatively little research conducted on it), since ethnicity is a relevant factor in the present study on the Chinese.

Family background is recognized by both sociologists and psychologists as being a powerful determinant of children's lifechances, in addition, influencing and shaping the work values absorbed by children. Keil wrote that:

"There is evidence to support the view that socio-economic position shapes life experiences and perceptions and is influential in determining access to occupations and in safeguarding exclusion from others.." (1981:190)

Roberts reported that the type of home a youth came from influenced the young person's job opportunity structure. From his investigations Roberts found that 35% of first jobs and 52% of subsequent jobs were obtained as a result of either personal contacts or off-chance enquiries, illustrated by the situation where a skilled craftsman finds

an apprenticeship for his son, or where professional businessmen obtain articulated work for off-spring. "By virtue of the different backgrounds from which they are drawn school leavers stand in varying degrees of social proximity to different types of employment" (Roberts, 1968).

In Timperley and Gregory's study (1971) which supported the findings of Roberts, socio-economic position was seen to affect the distribution of those wishing to enter industry and commerce, and those wishing to enter education. They reported that those from a skilled background were more likely to enter industry and commerce, while those with a background classified as professional, tended to opt for a career in education. This realism of aspirations and expectations by school leavers appear to suggest support, prima facie, for Roberts' hypotheses, that these youth have been socialised into expecting no more than to equal their parents' achievements at best. This is in stark contrast to the 'overly ambitious' immigrant children with their high aspirations for upward mobility, whose parents provide a strong motivating force. The disparity between the aspirations of children of black immigrants and white British youth in Britain can be attributed to differences in socialization processes. This is discussed in greater depth later.

Family background and education are closely connected variables, for "[research has shown that] educational attainment is influenced by structural factors such as the young person's class position and its relationship to the

dominant class culture of the school" (Layder et al, 1991:450). Thus research has found that (family) socio-economic status determined in many instances the quantity and quality of schooling received by children, inspite of changes to move Britain towards meritocracy in the twentieth century (Halsey et al, 1980). The premise of the meritocratic thesis is that society allocates rewards to individuals based on personal merit and achievement; regardless of ascribed characteristics, such as, ethnic origin, class, and gender. Success or failure was therefore personalised as opposed to being attributed to structural factors. By implication a meritocracy supports a system of social stratification. Halsey et al noted that: "Class differences per se were not necessarily objected to; class differences between those with equal ability were what had to be eliminated" (1980:5). Central to the concept of meritocracy is the role assigned to education as the vehicle of occupational, and hence social, mobility. Under the Education Reform Act 1944, the education system's function was supposed to be that of impartial allocator of people for the differing levels of rewards by distributing individuals into the occupational hierarchy.

Evidence supporting the claim of the failure of the British education system to provide the intended 'equality of opportunity' comes primarily from research conducted on the tripartite system of secondary schooling, introduced under the 1944 Education Act. The tripartite system comprised of grammar schools for those academically oriented children who

were interested in 'learning for its own sake', technical schools for those whose interests lay in 'applied science or applied art', and secondary modern schools for those who could deal 'more easily with concrete things than ideas'. Essentially it became a bipartite system since there were few technical schools, and in spite of the image presented of parity of esteem between them, secondary modern schools rapidly gained the reputation as a poor relation to the grammar schools.

Vociferous attacks were made on this system of secondary schooling, which widely diverged from providing the equal opportunities as envisaged, but rather entrenched inequalities between social classes. It was noted that:

"By the late 1950s psychologists had produced considerable evidence which cast doubt upon the selection procedures. At about the same time sociologists had shown that in reality the tripartite system was based on social selection with class background an important determinant of success or failure at school." (Sharp and Dunford, 1990:22).

The general consensus was that it had been established that "...the tripartite division added itself as a self-fulfilling prophecy to the formidable rigidities imposed by class and family background" (Halsey et al, 1980:213).

Most research focussed on the elevating effect of grammar schools, and conversely the depressing influence of the secondary modern system on occupational choices. Liversidge (1962) found that 93% of grammar school boys would like jobs in the upper sectors of the occupational structure, while only 46% of the modern school boys aspired to them.

Likewise the general conclusions reached by many researchers, such as, Douglas (1971), and Thomas and Wetherall (1974), were that occupational aspirations were affected by the type of schooling - that grammar school pupils expected to enter business or the professions, while the secondary modern pupils aspired no higher than clerical work and generally expected manual jobs as a matter of course. This seems to support the static picture described by Roberts in his opportunity/ structure theory, in which he argued that social class determines the type and amount of education received, which in turn affect the occupational level obtained as a result, and furthermore, that the individual is unlikely to move vertically from the social class to which he/she was born.

Research on educational environment as a variable diminished with the introduction of comprehensive schools. However, the studies that have appeared on the comprehensive schools show that the latter have not lived up to expectations. Instead of differences between schools, class problems were now manifest within schools. The 'streaming' or 'banding' of pupils in comprehensive schools was the main source of conflict, as they appeared to be microcosms of the social strata in society (Ball, 1981).

Penn and Scattergood (1992) concluded on the differences on occupational aspirations of children from different class backgrounds that:

"There are clear differences between respondents from working class and middle class backgrounds. Middle class children, both male and female, were

much more likely to seek higher education and professional jobs. These children had the same high general ambitions whichever school they were located in." (1992:95).

In terms of opportunities for occupational attainments Daws noted in the 1980s that "both educational and socio-economic mobility criteria thus confirm that there are now proportionately many more men moving from their class of origin, via educational attainment significantly superior to that of their fathers, and through entry into employment levels significantly different to those experienced by their fathers" (1981:259). It must be explained also that this effect was very likely caused by the expansion of the middle-grade service sector occupations which grew at a rapid rate in the 1950s and 1960s, thus providing opportunities for mobility regardless of formal education. Even so Goldthorpe and Llewellyn (1977) showed that academic qualifications were becoming more important as a means of occupational mobility for sons compared to their fathers, but that this has occurred without a decline in the promotional chances to high occupational positions for the unqualified.

The final environmental factor to be considered is ethnic background. Most studies have primarily been conducted on Asians (Beetham, 1968; Taylor, 1976; Gupta, 1977) or West Indians (Sillitoe and Meltzer, 1985, Verma et al, 1986). There have as yet been no studies on the occupational choice/ entry into work of young Chinese adults in Britain.

Ethnic groups should not be treated as homogenous. A study by Allen (1975) draws attention to the important differences

between ethnic groups. One finding was that Indian youth were more likely to continue in full-time education than the West Indians. Keil remarked that Allen's study "confirms that ethnicity was an influential variable, and raises the issue of the influence of parental background before migrating and its continuation into the British context" (1981:187).

Ethnic background is an important influence on the educational and occupational aspirations and attainments on two levels. First in terms of the transmission of culture through the family. This type of socialisation will influence the attitudes and values of the youth in question and shape their motivation and determination to achieve. However, the second point is that family class (which impact on the achievements of youth) is itself shaped by the immigrant status of ethnic minorities in Britain.

Most of the studies on the ethnic background variable have centred on the issue of the ethnic minority young people 'over-aspiring' in their expectations of educational and occupational attainments. Cross et al (1990:81) stated that their statistics showed support for earlier research which found that ethnic minority young people do have significantly higher aspirations than their white peers.

They attributed this to two main reasons:

"First, recent migrant origin is usually associated with the quest for inter-generational social mobility...better prospects for one's children is one of the main motives for migration..[and] parents wish for their offspring better occupational opportunities than [they had] to accept. Second,...ethnic minority communities,

although perhaps drawn from the more ambitious and determined sectors of their society of origin, have within their number many who, but for the constraints of discrimination and poverty, would have risen to white collar jobs. There is therefore a rather inchoate and concealed group amongst ethnic minority manual workers with aspirations normally thought of as characteristic of the middle classes. These parents want for their children the security and rewards of an occupation achieved through qualifications and skill. These groups also have a further stimulus for their ambitions - given the constraints of discrimination it is perhaps more rational to aim higher rather than lower on the grounds that to get anywhere at all requires greater ambition than is needed for white young people." (1990:82/83).

Cross et al concluded that the higher aspiration of ethnic minorities were not unrealistic.

This is in contrast to Beetham's (1968) investigations into Asian immigrant school leavers in Birmingham which found the Asian youth to possess higher aspirations than their academic attainments and the employment opportunities in the area should lead them to expect. A longitudinal survey of West Indians found that they too possess high ambitions. Many aspired to skilled manual work who were not suitably qualified, and eventually had to lower their expectations (Sillitoe and Meltzer, 1985). This appears to confirm Beetham's study insofar as he claimed the higher aspirations of the immigrant school leavers tended to be unrealistic.

Taylor (1976) also found that Asians scored higher on three criteria of educational aspiration, namely staying on beyond the statutory leaving age, continuing in full-time education, and academic progress three years later. Taylor gave level of parental support as the reason for the disparity. The Asians did well he proposed not because they

were middle class but because they adopted middle class attitudes towards the value of continued education. Gupta (1977) supports Taylor's findings. Gupta's explanations for the Asians' greater motivation and need for achievement are "their parental higher interest and greater expectations partly by their migration to the UK and partly by their coloured minority status" (Gupta, 1977:197).

It would be expected that exposure to the British culture, in which "ambitions (of white British school leavers) are realistically modest" (Roberts, 1968), would have a dampening effect on the 'unrealistically high' aspirations of children of black immigrants. As studies have indicated this has not been the case. Law and Ward (1981) comment on the motivations of black youngsters that "their approach to career choice - [is] somewhat in tension with the opportunities available to them" (1981:133). It may be the case, as some like Nandy (1969) and Cross et al (1990) contend, that these higher ambitions are realistic in the sense that they reflect the minority group's understanding that they must set higher goals and standards, and ultimately be better qualified to get as far as their white counterparts.

The research and data on ethnicity as a variable are as yet totally inadequate. Keil has pointed out that "There are many questions to be answered about the nature of the handicaps carried by members of various groups." (1981:192). Indeed it is imperative that more information and knowledge are obtained about the career behaviour of ethnic minorities

in order to avoid the scenario discussed by Rex and Moore (1967) of the generation of tensions should the pattern of social mobility followed by status-aspiring Jews, Irish and Poles, for example, be denied the black second generation.

To reiterate, Section III(i) examined the origins and development of psychological theories of occupational choice in the USA, and indicated how the sociological theories of entry into work in Britain grew out of the limitations of the former approaches to the study of British youth. It was also shown how the conceptual boundaries were not maintained (in either country) inspite of the earlier conceptual debates on the issue of 'allocation' and 'choice', with more recent theories in each discipline incorporating both individual and situational factors in their approach. Section III(ii) then went on to focus on British research conducted in the area of entry into work, concentrating attention on three main variables: family, education, and ethnicity. Family social class was consistently found to be an important factor in determining aspirations and attainments of youth, and also in affecting the type and amount of education received. Although there was little research on the ethnic variable in this field, nevertheless the indications were that this was a very significant influence too.

IV - SUMMARY

This chapter provided the necessary basis from which to proceed onto an investigation of the occupational decisions of young Chinese adults in contemporary Britain. Two areas were explored.

First, an historical overview indicated why the 'first generation' (post Second World War) Chinese migrants came to be occupationally segregated in the Chinese catering industry. Integrated into this account of the structural factors which channelled these migrants into this ethnic niche was a critique of some theories pertaining to 'labour migration', 'dual labour markets', 'ethnic enterprises' and 'middleman minorities'. The theory of middleman minorities was found to be the most appropriate in providing an understanding of the Chinese situation in Britain. The implications for the second generation, according to the research conducted on migrant labour and dual labour markets, were bleak prospects of social reproduction - the conditions of persistent poverty, occupational inheritance or unemployment. Neither the theories nor the research on ethnic enterprises allude to the matter of the second generation. The middleman minority theory, however, presented a more positive future for the second generation, indicating that if socio-economic advancement through educational attainment and integration into the wider labour market at the higher occupational levels was not achieved, then the second generation had the chance of maintaining

socio-economic levels achieved by their parents through the 'back-up' of running the family business.

Second, the theories of occupational choice and entry into work were examined. The origins and development of occupational choice theories by psychologists in the USA were given, and the genesis of the theories of entry into work by sociologists in Britain were shown to arise out of the limited applicability of the former theories in the British context. However, the conceptual boundaries of the disciplines were not maintained as it was increasingly recognised that more than individual variables or structural variables alone were necessary in the USA and Britain respectively to understand the occupational attainments of young persons in those countries. [British research in this area was looked at in greater depth, focussing on the influence of three main variables: family, education, and ethnic origin. Family background was concluded to be a very important factor. Research on schooling has declined with the introduction of comprehensive education, although educational attainment has still been found to be influenced by other factors, such as social class of the youth. Ethnicity played a central role, and the research which has been conducted on this variable indicated that ethnic minority youth in general tended to have higher occupational aspirations than indigenous youth, although opinion has been divided over whether or not such aspirations are realistic. No studies have as yet focussed on the occupational choice/ entry into work of Chinese youth

in Britain. That is then the research interest of the present project.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCHING THE CHINESE

"For optimum performance a man must know himself and the world. He must know where he stands. I may speak the English language because I learnt English early in life. But...I have not got the Western value system inside; mine is an Eastern value system. Nevertheless I use Western concepts, Western words because I understand them. But I also have a different system in my mind".

Lee Kuan Yew
(ex-PM of Singapore)

I - INTRODUCTION

This is a retrospective study of how young Chinese adults in Britain take the jobs that they do. The aims of this research are two-fold:

- 1) to locate where the young Chinese adults are situated in the British labour market; and
- 2) to establish why they are positioned at their current level in the occupational structure.

More specifically, the hypothesis of a bimodal distribution will be tested, which posits that the young Chinese adults are to be found in the top (in the professions) and the bottom sectors (in the services, notably the Chinese catering industry) in the British labour market. Then the influence of: family background, the role of education, and the effects of racism and discrimination, will be explored to determine their impact on the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults.

This present chapter, however, deals with the issues of method and methodology. The following sections discuss: first, the problems of conducting research on the Chinese population encountered by previous researchers; second, the subject of 'researching the familiar' - my role as a Chinese researcher investigating a group of people with whom I hold much in common, and exploring how this common identity affected the study; and finally, the actual methods used in this study will be explicated.

II - SEEN BUT NOT HEARD

This section sets out the general methodological difficulties encountered by previous researchers in studying the Chinese in Britain, which I believe to be one of the fundamental causes of the conspicuous paucity of studies on this ethnic community, in addition to causing the generation of a certain type of research to be conducted on the Chinese. The standard problems in research of sampling, locating and gaining access to a population for investigation are enhanced when the subject of the study is the Chinese. For not only are the Chinese one of the smallest ethnic groups in Britain but they also have the most dispersed pattern of settlement compared to any other ethnic group in Britain (Owen; 1992). Added to this is the reticence of the Chinese to participate in studies, as the low response rates to earlier researches demonstrates, as summarized by Taylor (1987). All these obstacles will be

discussed to highlight the difficulties faced in studying the Chinese in Britain.

Selection of a representative sample is problematic in many projects, but in the case of the Chinese it is particularly acute. Until data from the 1991 Census was made available, there was a total absence of any reliable statistical information on this population. Consequently, the situation for researchers was a highly frustrating one, as Baxter remarked: "The major problem...was an acute lack of reliable, corroborative information of any such nature even in the most basic areas, such as, the size and distribution of the Chinese community in Britain" (Baxter, 1988).

There being no adequate sampling frames, random sampling was effectively ruled out, and bias in the selection procedure became inevitable in such studies on the Chinese. According to Moser and Kalton (1971:79) a bias in the selection procedure can arise under the following three conditions:

- 1) if the sampling is done by a non-random method, which generally means that the selection is consciously or unconsciously influenced by human choice;

- 2) if the sampling frame (list, index or other population record) which serves as the basis of selection does not cover the population adequately, completely, or accurately;

- 3) if some sections of the population are impossible to find or refuse to cooperate."

When investigating the Chinese, it is not uncommon for all of these three conditions to occur simultaneously. Under such circumstances the researcher's task is to choose the least biased sampling method from the range of options

available. Taylor recapitulated the accounts of some earlier efforts at sampling the Chinese for study:

"O'Neill (1972) was unable to obtain a random sample of Chinese families in Liverpool as no list existed and it was a fruitless task to attempt to extract names from the electoral roll as many Chinese did not register for voting...[similarly] Tan (1982) was not able to obtain a random sample of families in London.....Simsosa and Chin (1982) searched the list of telephone subscribers in London, Glasgow, and Liverpool to use in a postal survey. Moreover, as Ng's (1982) experience shows, samples tend to be self-selected, and therefore not representative. In the case of the CRE survey (Tsow, 1984) there were difficulties in contacting sufficient parents.....A list of subscribers to the Hong Kong Readers Digest formed the basis of the sampling frame, yet it was necessary to supplement the sample...The Chinese interviewers were asked to augment the original addresses with those of other Chinese families. But evidently the sample could not be called random and might not be representative" (1987:302).

The outcome was described by Taylor as follows:

"...O'Neill's sample included a large proportion of families with Chinese fathers who had entered the UK prior to or during the Second World War, and white mothers, whose second generation children tended to be better educated. Simsosa and Chin's sample of library users consisted predominantly of Chinese professionals, students and nurses, rather than those in the catering trade. On the other hand, the samples involved in the research by Lai, Cheung and Tan were almost exclusively connected with catering.." (ibid).

The frustrating methodological problem of sampling caused by lack of (statistical) information on the Chinese population in Britain has been a major contributory factor in the emergence of a certain type of research which has been carried out on the Chinese in Britain. One of the characteristics is that the studies tend to be qualitative in nature. Bradley reported on the decisions she made that: "A qualitative rather than a quantitative interpretation is

aimed for. This method..is chosen because of the inavailability of data upon which to select a random sample" (1973). Even in the late 1980s this was still a major complaint by researchers. Baxter recalled that:

"A systematic attempt at sampling a representative cross section of Birmingham's Chinese community for interview by questionnaire based on files held at the local Chinese community centre was thus finally abandoned when adequate demographic and other necessary information proved impossible to obtain.." (1988).

Another characteristic of most of the studies on the Chinese is that they usually focus on the Chinese in a particular locale. This may be a result of the fact that the sampling problems described above are compounded by the geographical dispersion of the Chinese over Britain. This additional problem for the researcher of locating the Chinese, therefore partly explains why many previous researchers have opted to study the Chinese in areas in which they are most concentrated. However, this is not 'typical' of the Chinese settlement in Britain, in which due to the nature of the Chinese catering business and its reliance on the indigenous population for custom, it is in the interests of those involved in the catering business to distribute themselves spatially to reduce competition.

To find any Chinese is simple enough, but to be able to contact a particular section within that population in sufficient numbers is an immensely daunting task.) Taylor (1987) documented the difficulties in studying Chinese pupils in Britain, for instance. Yet that target group at least is easily located, for they are confined to within one

type of institution - the school. But as the concern in the present study demonstrates, Chinese workers are an altogether different matter. It has been a hugely frustrating experience designing a method which attempts to extract a representative sample of Chinese who are distributed throughout the labour market. Furthermore, locating these Chinese is more problematic since the Chinese (particularly those in catering) are fairly mobile in terms of changing jobs or seeking better locations to establish new businesses.

The third characteristic of existing studies of the Chinese is that the researchers who conduct the investigations are usually themselves of ethnic Chinese origin. The reason for this appears to be connected to the issue of gaining access and cooperation. For even when the Chinese are present in sufficient numbers in smaller geographical areas, such as London, Liverpool, or Manchester, thus reducing the difficulties of sampling and locating the Chinese, the process of gaining access and cooperation can still pose a substantial obstacle, as Watson (1977) and Ng (1968) pointed out. Persuading most Chinese to participate in a study is a constant struggle. Some Chinese do not want to express their views; some Chinese, struggling in a small family business, do not have the time to express their views; and some Chinese do not believe they hold views worth expressing. Wong explicated her reasons for the fact that the:

"Chinese in Britain...are reserved, conservative and complex. Many Chinese people are reluctant to

reveal their problems as they are afraid of 'losing face'. Some business proprietors...worry that their personal privileges will be interfered with by the government...Some Chinese educated professionals and politicians do not want to cooperate with researchers as knowledge of Chinese communities...has become a key to leadership and power. It is therefore not surprising that previous research...indicate that gaining access to Chinese people is a major problem in conducting research on Chinese communities in Britain." (1992:6).

Social ties however have proved useful under such circumstances of negotiating access and cooperation. Consequently in several studies reviewed by Taylor (1987) (as was the case in the present study) there was the bias resulting from the researchers' utilisation of social networks, for instance to supplement figures or to increase the response rates, exemplified by the Commission For Racial Equality survey where the interviewers' contacts were utilised; also O'Neill's heavy reliance on informal contacts; and Tan's inclusion of personal friends in that study.

In her review of research into the education of pupils of Chinese origin, Taylor notes that:

"It is no doubt easy to be sceptical about both the lack of educational research involving pupils of Chinese origin and the inferior quality of much of that which does exist. Researchers' comments indicate particular methodological difficulties in undertaking research on the Chinese community over and above those normally experienced in educational research with ethnic minority pupils." (1987:301).

This section has explicated the methodological difficulties of sampling, locating and gaining access to or cooperation from sections of the Chinese population in Britain experienced by previous researchers, which has led to the

propagation of a certain type of research, which to reiterate, tends to be of a qualitative nature (due to sampling difficulties), conducted by a researcher of Chinese ethnicity (to combat the problem of access), in a localised area (in response to the difficulties involved in locating Chinese due to their tendency to be spatially dispersed).

The present study transcends this mode insofar as it is a quantitative study aiming to collect data from Chinese over a larger geographical area. However, I am also a Chinese researcher, and the implications of this on the project is the discussion of the next section.

III - INSIDER AS OUTSIDER

In recent decades there has been growing interest and corresponding challenge, particularly from feminist researchers, to the conventional approach to reporting on the research process, which had been one where "The personal experiences of doing scientific research should not be textually seen to have existed because according to scientific rhetoric it should not matter who does scientific research" (Aldridge, 1993:62). I believe that "who I am" has been both relevant and significant to the production of knowledge, and this section addresses the issue of my role in the research process. Chapter One has already set out the circumstances under which this project emerged. This section elaborates on how my personal experiences within the community has been helpful to the research, for example, in

the way that the hypotheses in the thesis were derived from my observations of the changes and developments occurring within the Chinese community in Britain. This led me to want to "validate quantitatively hitherto unsystematised observations and experiences" (Cass et al, 1978:146).

Merton (1972) reflected on the advantages and weaknesses of the 'insider' and 'outsider' doctrines. As a social researcher investigating the Chinese community in Britain, of which I am also a member, my position is then that of the "insider as outsider" to use Merton's phraseology. This I regard as having had a profound influence on the research. The ensuing discussion is concerned with the benefits which accrued from my insider status, and the balance that I had to simultaneously maintain of the objectivity of a social researcher.

There are many commonalities between my personal history and those of the young Chinese adults in the present survey. This insider status undoubtedly facilitated the research in a number of ways, most imperatively in the provision of privileged access, on both practical and epistemological levels.

However, I do not profess to having a monopoly of knowledge as an insider over the non-Chinese outsider, but the clear advantage in researching the familiar is that I had the benefit of possessing an understanding of Chinese culture and its nuances which would have taken time for a non-Chinese researcher to become acquainted with - and time is

often of the essence in research projects. The following extract from a paper in which a group of female academics investigated the experiences of women in academia, also captures the essence of my own position:

"We were immersed in the social situation that we were researching. We were not strangers in alien territory;...white Western anthropologists in a small scale society in which the researcher needs to acquire a sympathetic understanding of language and lore before he or she can begin. The written and unwritten codes of the...social system were part of our daily experience, and we could work within their universe of meaning" (Cass et al, 1978:143)

In my favour then was a greater awareness of what constituted 'sensitive' issues to the Chinese, exemplified by probing questions on income or business matters. These are not usually taboo subjects where the Chinese are concerned; indeed conversations often revolve around these topics - but that is only in social circles where the Chinese are fairly familiar with the other. But I realised that broaching such topics with a direct line of questioning in the survey, for instance, would jeopardise the entire study. There was the constant fear of alienating the Chinese into withdrawing their cooperation and participation at worst, or provoking them into becoming defensive or inhibited and thus uncommunicative, because of suspicions roused concerning my intentions and my status through asking such questions. This may be demonstrated by the seemingly innocuous questions posed to the young Chinese adults in the questionnaire regarding parental background (to establish socio-economic status), which are routinely asked in sociological studies. Unfortunately this frequently

impinged on the delicate matter of business arrangements, and was therefore considered by many respondents to be an area out of bounds so that there was ultimately much missing data in the section pertaining to parental background in this survey. The implications of this point for the design of the questionnaire are discussed in the next section.

However, it must be stressed that the general problem of non-response with Chinese respondents for the social researcher is perhaps less to do with 'Chinese culture' than it is due to 'business culture'. The fact is that for most Chinese in Britain, their lives are so inextricably intertwined with the (family) business that any revelations about their personal/economic affairs invariably touch upon the business in most cases. The ensuing protectiveness they display is then simply a characteristic of any entrepreneur or person closely involved in a small business whatever their ethnicity, and not purely an idiosyncrasy of the Chinese.

As regards the practical issue of access, it has been noted that "...Some aspects of the Chinese community..as Ng (1968) and Watson (1977) have pointed out would be virtually impossible to penetrate for a non-Chinese socio-anthropologist" (Taylor, 1987:301). Being already placed within the Chinese community I consider to have been an immense advantage. I was prepared to, and consciously did, trade on my ethnic assets throughout the various stages of negotiating access during the fieldwork. This I did, for example, by using my Chinese name on the cover letters on

sending out the questionnaires, and using the Chinese language wherever possible in telephone conversations to persuade respondents to become 'gatekeepers' (discussed in detail in the next section), in the hope of reducing the formality and social barriers which exist between the subject and researcher, by emphasising the common element of our ethnicity - in effect endeavouring to reassure them by intimating that I was "one of them".

Indeed, the method of data collection was only possible in the present form because of my established social network within the Chinese community. Postal questionnaire surveys (the instrument ultimately chosen as the means of gathering data) are notorious for low response rates irrespective of the target population. This is a consequence of lack of personal contact between the researcher and potential respondent, which prevents the establishment of a rapport or such relationship, which in turn tends to reduce the level of cooperation. With the Chinese this technical problem is enhanced due to their reserve when dealing with strangers - a reserve that rapidly develops into suspicion on being approached (particularly by mail as this always appears more official) for information regarding their family, and personal details relating to their own education and occupation. However, this is where my contacts within the community proved invaluable. The details of the methods used in this study will be discussed in the following section but suffice it to say here that in the snowballing strategy, at each stage my link to the new respondents

became more tenuous, and I had to rely on the goodwill and assistance of respondents-turned-gatekeepers to persuade potential respondents on my behalf to participate in the study, and to reassure them that I was indeed a bona fide student. Although I did not know these respondents, I at least gained the status of persona grata in their eyes through the connection of being a 'friend of a friend'. This was a 'foot in the door' which while not guaranteeing cooperation ensured that my requests were duly considered rather than being rejected out of hand.

Being Chinese may have equipped me with prior knowledge of the Chinese, and smoothed the problems of gaining access into this community, but throughout I was very self-conscious about my insider status which thus far I have treated as having been beneficial to the research. The disadvantage is of course that there is the constant danger of over-identification. My empathy and familiarity with the Chinese culture might give me greater insights to and understanding of the idiosyncracies of the Chinese, but it may also be a hindrance in that I may be liable to miss observations which a new eye and fresh perspective of a non-Chinese 'outsider' may detect. In terms of the task of maintaining the objectivity of a social researcher in the process of data collection, this was not difficult because the method operated (postal questionnaire) performs this function by default, due to the limited contact between the subjects and myself (as researcher).

The next section considers further the methods adopted in this study.

IV - METHODS

I chose to conduct a quantitative study of the Chinese in Britain in spite of the greater methodological difficulties involved (for example, the added emphasis on selection of a representative sample) and also in spite of the fact that quantitative research and the implicit positivist epistemology have gone somewhat out of fashion, such that it has been written that "Sociologists...feel inhibited about doing surveys, or indeed anything that might lead to their works being derided as 'positivist'" (Atkinson, 1977:32) for "The word 'positivist' like the word 'bourgeois' has become more a derogatory epithet" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). I nevertheless made this decision to do quantitative research for the reasons to be discussed.

As mentioned in Section Two, not only is there a dearth of research on the Chinese in Britain, but that what has been done has been of a qualitative nature. While this has yielded valuable, much-needed information, the caveat remains that there have been no quantitative studies. The need for a redress of this imbalance seemed apparent especially in light of the fact that at the time I embarked on the project there was also no official statistical information on the Chinese either. However, very recently data from the 1991 Census have begun to emerge which

provides data on the Chinese (Owen, 1992 and 1993), in addition to which there has been an analysis of LFS data by the Policy Studies Institute focussing on particular ethnic groups in Britain, one of which is the Chinese (Jones, 1993).

To reiterate, the purposes of this research are to establish where young Chinese adults are located in the British labour market (to test whether a bimodal distribution exists), and to discover why they are positioned where they are in the occupational structure.

The target population is:

- 1) Chinese people in Britain possessing British citizenship or permanent residence status; and
- 2) who are between the ages of 16 and 30 inclusive; and
- 3) who are in full-time employment or seeking full-time employment if unemployed at the time of the survey.

These criteria were stipulated for the following reasons. This was a general study of young Chinese adults in Britain who were required to be permanent residents or full-British citizens in Britain, to exclude overseas students or those temporarily in Britain on training programmes. The age requirement was that the Chinese had to be at least 16 years old (the minimum statutory school-leaving age), while the 'ceiling' was set at 30 rather than 24, which is the usual upper age limit set for studies on youth, because the Chinese appear to stay longer in education (as the pilot studies indicated and the data in Chapter Six confirm), and so 24 did not allow sufficient time for some Chinese to

enter the labour market. Since this is a study on the occupational choice/entry into work of young Chinese adults in Britain, then of course the respondents were also required to be engaged in full-time employment, or if unemployed at the time of the survey, their previous employment information was used. The Registrar General's Classification of Occupations (OPCS, 1981) treats all trainees as having full membership status in their respective occupations/professions, so that this would eliminate differences which might have occurred as a result of the Chinese being at slightly different stages in their careers.

The method of data collection was the postal questionnaire, which was distributed via a social network using a snowballing technique. This choice had not been an easy decision to make, and many alternative strategies had been assessed and rejected, because of the practical considerations which dominate in the research design and methods, and tend to restrict what can be done. As a postgraduate student researcher the options available to me were constrained by many factors - financial, temporal, and in terms of personnel. Some of the rejected strategies will be given to illustrate how the problems of sampling, locating, and gaining access to the Chinese as discussed in Section II affected the design of the methods in this study.

The first potential strategy was to use an expensive British Telecom printout of all Chinese catering establishments in Britain as a sampling frame and sending questionnaires to a

random number of businesses. However, this was very much a 'hit and miss' method with a potentially high wastage level. There was no way of knowing whether youth who fulfilled the criteria for participation in the survey were in such establishments to begin with, and even had I been lucky enough to target them by chance, there remained the problem of locating the young Chinese who were not working in the Chinese catering industry. There was also the additional risk of alienating the Chinese by this method of mailing questionnaires directly to the catering establishment (see above Section III).

The second discarded method was to use the electoral register as a frame, and sifting out the Chinese sounding names, noting the addresses with which to trace the telephone numbers of these people to contact them for screening for participation in the survey to ensure that they fulfilled the three qualifying criteria before sending out the questionnaires. This was both inefficient and impractical given the resource constraints imposed on me as a postgraduate student researcher working alone, on a meagre budget, and within a limited time period. Also, I would have had to compromise the 'national scale' of the survey for a study of the Chinese in a few chosen locales - which would not have reflected the geographical distribution of the Chinese community. There were also other problems too of this approach, such as the fact that some Chinese surnames are indistinguishable from surnames of other non-Chinese groups, for example, Lee or Man(n); furthermore some

(whole or part) Chinese may have acquired non-Chinese surnames at birth or upon marriage, and thus would have been excluded if this method had been utilised.

The third option considered was to go through randomly selected institutes of higher education to gain access to British-Chinese students, who would hopefully act as sympathetic/helpful gatekeepers to respondents, by distributing the questionnaires to friends and relatives who fulfilled the three criteria to participation in the survey. This meant using a lot of time and money gaining cooperation from two sets of gatekeepers: the institutions and the individual students. The costs were prohibitive as was the time factor.

Ultimately I decided upon the postal questionnaire survey, distributed via a social network. One of the main reasons for choosing the postal questionnaire method was because it enables the collection of information from people in a large geographical area in a reasonable amount of time without incurring expensive travelling costs. Since it is the usual pattern of settlement for the Chinese to be dispersed across the country, it seemed logical that a postal survey should be used in an attempt to capture and reflect this trend. However, as discussed earlier, there are disadvantages to this method - namely the low response rates. To counteract this limitation, the postal questionnaire was used in conjunction with a snowballing technique within a social network. [It has been stated of the snowballing technique that it is considered "useful when information about the

cases in the population is lacking" (Lin, 1976). It suffers in that the bias is unknown since it is not based on probability sampling. Snowball sampling, like judgement sampling, involves human selection. This technique combined with networking was utilised in spite of the obvious resulting bias in the sample. A further bias is that there may be a tendency for the well-educated Chinese to respond to the questionnaire, while the less educated may find it more difficult and altogether troublesome to spend time filling in the questionnaire, such that, professionals for example may be over-represented and catering workers under-represented. But because of the immense difficulties in targeting such a narrowly defined group within the Chinese population in Britain, and the fact that random sampling is in any case not feasible due to the absence of an adequate sampling frame, the method ultimately chosen was under the circumstances the most appropriate strategy.

However, secondary data from the Labour Force Survey (hereafter referred to as LFS), will be analysed in conjunction with this primary data in order to act as a check for the latter. The LFS was chosen on the grounds that it contains the richest source of information about the education and occupation of specific ethnic groups in Britain. Despite their small size, details about the Chinese population in Britain could be extracted from the LFS. But the small numbers of Chinese in each individual years of the LFS meant that it was necessary to aggregate four years of LFS data in order to obtain a useable sized

sample of Chinese. Datasets from the LFS in the years 1988, 1989, 1990, and 1991 were chosen because they were the years which were made accessible to public researchers for analysis, and which were the years closest to the time when the fieldwork was conducted. The same selection criteria as that for the present survey were applied to the LFS data. Information on four ethnic groups was extracted, that is, on the Chinese, the white British, the West Indians, and the Asians (Indian). The Chinese from the LFS were used to provide a benchmark for comparison with the Chinese in the present survey; while the white British acted as the control group by which the Chinese and two of the largest ethnic groups in Britain (West Indians and Indians) could be compared.

With regards to the collection of primary data, the questionnaire was designed and piloted twice. In the first pilot study 13 questionnaires were distributed in my social network. Eight were completed and returned, while one person refused to fill in the questionnaire which was sent back with the message that the nature of the questions was altogether 'too personal'. The length of the questionnaires was reduced and the questions refined.

Those respondents who returned the questionnaires and stipulated agreement to provide further assistance were enlisted to become 'gatekeepers' to potential respondents in the second pilot study. These gatekeepers were instructed over a telephone conversation as to which type of Chinese adults were appropriate for participation in the study.

Questionnaires were sent to these informants for distribution. This way, anonymity of the recipient was maintained. It was hoped that the response rate would increase by giving this reassuring safeguard to the potential respondent that if they so wished, it would be impossible for me to trace them. A screening schedule was sent out with each batch of the questionnaires to the gatekeepers, so that as the questionnaires were handed out, the gatekeeper recorded on the schedule the relationship of the recipient to the gatekeeper and the recipient's occupation. It was hoped that by this method, in the case of non-response not all data would be lost, and I could at least make an analysis of the type of people who had a propensity not to respond. However, the reality was that this system broke down during the fieldwork, as not all the schedules were well-kept, and in some cases, the schedules had been lost by the gatekeepers. In the second pilot study, 30 questionnaires were eventually distributed, and 12 were completed and returned.

A few final minor adjustments were made to the questionnaire, and the final version contained the following five sections: personal details; attitudes to education and educational attainments; occupational aspirations and actual occupational attainments, including attitudes to their job; perceptions and experiences of racism and racial discrimination in the British labour market; parental background. (See Appendix A)

The purposes of the two pilot studies were to test out the effectiveness of the questionnaire in collecting the required data, and to put into motion the snowballing technique. Some respondents in the second pilot study agreed to become gatekeepers, and the questionnaire was sent out to successive sets of people unknown to me. Only those questionnaires distributed by the second set of gatekeepers and beyond (as the snowball grew as the process was completed) were included in the 'main study'. In total, in the main part of the fieldwork (that is excluding the pilot studies), 154 questionnaires were distributed, and 82 (53%) replies were received over a period of 14 weeks. Of the returned questionnaires 73 (47%) were usable. Nine questionnaires were not included in the analysis because the respondents either did not fill the criteria or they provided insufficient information in the questionnaire. The reports in the following chapters are based on the information and results of these 73 respondents.

The Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS-X) was used to analyse both primary and secondary data. Frequencies and crosstabulations were used to extract basic statistical information. More sophisticated statistical techniques were not applied in view of the small numbers of responses. Qualitative data from the questionnaires, however, were also used to provide additional information.

V - SUMMARY

This chapter began by establishing the aims and hypothesis of this study. Prior to discussing the methods used in this research project, there was a review of the methodological difficulties faced by previous researchers studying the Chinese in Britain. The main problems were concerned with sampling, location and negotiation of access/cooperation. It was argued that as a consequence of these obstacles, the studies which had emerged tended to be of a qualitative nature conducted by researchers of ethnic Chinese origin, in a particular city or locale. While the present study transcends this mode on two accounts: as a quantitative study which is not restricted to a specific geographical area, it was acknowledged that I am an ethnic Chinese researcher. The conclusion was that already being established within the Chinese community in Britain was considered to be of enormous benefit to the project both practically and epistemologically. Finally, an account was given of the actual methods used in the project.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENT OCCUPATIONS

"Both Lily and Chen had ambitions for Man Kee...Lily wanted him to be a professional man, perhaps an accountant..., while Chen wanted him to follow in an expanded restaurant business".

SourSweet

-By Timothy Mo

I - INTRODUCTION

This chapter focusses on the respondents of the survey in their current employment positions. The fundamental concern is to discover where the young Chinese adults are situated in the British labour market. In the process of establishing that, the hypothesis will be tested regarding whether or not there exists a bimodal distribution of young Chinese adults in the occupational structure, with the young Chinese adults located at the top end (in the professions) and at a particular part of the bottom end (in the catering/service sector). Thus, in Section II primary data and secondary data (Labour Force Survey) will be analysed to establish the extent to which this hypothesis holds true.

Other areas to be explored in this chapter are as follows: Section III investigates what the occupational aspirations of the respondents had been, and determines the extent to which these young Chinese adults achieved such ambitions; Section IV explores the opinions of those young Chinese adults employed in the wider labour market regarding the

Chinese catering industry, and Section V considers the views and attitudes of all the respondents to their present job, and discovers what motivated them to accept the job.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to establish some basic characteristics of the respondents. Out of the 73 respondents who fulfilled the three qualifying criteria for inclusion in the survey, as set out in Chapter Three, 39 (53%) were female, and 34 (47%) were male. Their ages ranged from the youngest who were 17 years old to the oldest respondents who were 30 years old. Mean age for this group was 25.5 years.

As for their country of birth, 60% were born in Hong Kong, 29% were born in Britain, and the remaining 11% were born in such countries as China, Malaysia, Vietnam, and so on. The proportion of British-born Chinese in the present survey is quite close to the Home Affairs Committee estimate that 'about a quarter' of the Chinese population were British-born (1985:xii), but relatively low compared to the Third Policy Studies Institute survey which reported that over 40% of the black population were British-born (Brown, 1984).

With regards to the young Chinese adults born abroad, the first of the respondents entered Britain in 1964, while the most recent immigrant arrived in 1989. All of the respondents have full British citizenship or at least Permanent Residence (PR) status in this country, although of the latter, not all the respondents' families are also settled here. Some of these respondents initially came as

students, and on completion of their education and acquiring work and legal (PR) status in Britain have subsequently continued to live in this country. The precise numbers of this group of respondents cannot be determined for lack of information regarding parental background of some of the respondents, some of whom were uncertain as to their parents' years of entry to Britain. This missing data made it impossible to establish accurately where the familial home was based for all the respondents. However, as far as it could be established at least 67% of the respondents' families are resident in Britain, although the suspicion is that the figure is substantially higher.

II - LOCATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

One of the aims of this research is to discover how the Chinese are distributed in the British labour market. More specifically, it is to determine whether a bimodal distribution in the occupational structure exists, with the young Chinese adults occupying positions either in the professional sector, or in the service (catering) sector, with very few outside this narrow range of occupations.

The respondents were therefore asked to provide information regarding their present job, or last job if they were at the time of the survey unemployed. The jobs were categorised according to the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations (OPCS, 1980), which is also used in the Labour Force Survey, thus enabling comparisons to be easily made

between the primary and secondary data. The main concern throughout is the respondents' socio-economic status, as measured by the socio-economic group (SEG) to which they currently belong. The results of the survey are presented below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Young Chinese Adults in the British Labour Market

* SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE		ASEG
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
2: Mgr/Emplr small co.	4	6	1	3	3	8	1
3: Profnl.self-employed	1	1	-	-	1	3	2
4: Profnl.employee	28	38	17	50	11	28	2
5: Intermed. non-manual	11	15	4	12	7	18	3
6: Junior non-manual	8	11	4	12	4	10	3
7: Personal service	16	22	5	15	11	28	4
9: Skilled manual	4	6	3	9	1	3	5
10:Semi-skilled manual	1	1	-	-	1	3	5
Total	73	100	34	100	39	100	

*See Appendix B for a complete list of the Registrar-Generals' Classification Of Occupations (OPCS, 1980).

The hypothesis of a bimodal distribution has been corroborated by the data insofar as the professional workers, and the personal service workers (of which 15 out of the 16 in this category are employed in the Chinese catering industry) are the two largest categories. Thus about one in five of the young Chinese adults are engaged in the ethnic niche, while two in five have gained professional status. Forty-five percent of the respondents hold managerial or professional positions. There are also a

notable number of Chinese in SEG 5 and SEG 6 which makes the bimodal distribution less defined, but still clear nevertheless. The small proportion of young Chinese adults engaged in the manual sectors of the labour market suggests that the catering industry serves as a 'safety-net' preventing them from falling below that socio-economic level.

[A gender analysis reveals that overall the women are slightly more evenly distributed throughout the labour market compared to the men, although the bimodal distribution is still apparent. The professional sector consists of a greater proportion of men than women, while more women than men are engaged in the catering sector. This may be due to the women being less highly motivated, internally or externally. Lack of internal motivation may be connected to the notion of 'fear of success' (Fitzgerald and Betz; 1983:118). "This concept suggests that women who have high achievement aspirations often deny such aspirations because they see femininity and achievement as incompatible" (ibid). However, this line of argument is less convincing in the case of the Chinese women given that over one third (39%) of the young women currently hold high status positions either as managers or professionals in the labour market. What seems a more plausible explanation is related to external motivation - that the women may receive less encouragement, implicitly or explicitly, from the family to pursue careers outside of catering, perhaps because they are needed in the (family) catering business to

fill the void left by the men entering the wider labour market, 50% of whom have entered the professional sector alone. The men appear to be more selective in the occupations that they enter.

Subsequent analysis and reference to primary data pertaining to the young Chinese adults will hereafter use the adapted version of the Registrar General's classification which reduces the categories to five as seen in Table 4.1. These are hereafter referred to as 'ASEG' (adapted socio-economic group). In ASEG 1 are the employers and managers in industry and commerce; ASEG 2 includes all the professional workers; ASEG 3 covers all the intermediate non-manual workers and the junior non-manual workers; in ASEG 4 are the personal service workers (the catering workers are subsumed under this sector); and ASEG 5 includes the skilled and semi-skilled manual workers.

Since the method of primary data collection was not based on probability sampling, the results may contain unknown bias. The solution, as proposed in Chapter Three, is to check the primary data against a more reliable source. The LFS dataset was chosen as the most appropriate one for the present circumstances. It can be seen in Table 4.2 that the analysis of Labour Force Survey data has yielded some unexpected findings - not least of all that the Chinese did not produce a bimodal distribution in absolute terms, but tend to be concentrated in the higher to middle socio-economic groups (SEGs 2-7). The white British, West Indian and Asian (Indian) did display a bimodal distribution in

their tendency to cluster around SEGs 5 and 6 and SEGs 9 and 10, but only because these sectors are where most of the jobs exist. The white 16 to 30 year olds will be treated as a control group, to which the results of the young adults from the other groups (West Indian, Asian-Indian, and Chinese) may be compared.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Young Adults in the British Labour Market

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP	WHITE %	WEST IND %	ASIAN %	CHINESE %
1 -Emplr/Mgr large est.	5.8	3.9	4.4	3.5
2 -Emplr/Mgr small est.	5.0	3.2	7.5	16.5
3 -Profnl.self-empld	0.2	0.2	1.2	-
4 -Profnl.employee	3.8	2.4	8.0	13.9
5 -Intermed.non-manual	13.4	15.0	11.4	11.3
6 -Junior non-manual	23.4	31.9	26.0	20.9
7 -Personal service	4.1	6.4	1.8	16.5
8 -Foreman/super.manual	3.7	2.2	2.6	0.9
9 -Skilled manual	16.6	14.9	11.8	6.1
10 -Semi-skilled manual	12.0	11.9	15.1	0.9
11 -Unskilled manual	3.7	3.5	1.8	6.1
12 -Own account worker	5.5	4.1	8.1	3.5
13 -Farmer -Emplr/Mgr	0.2	-	-	-
14 -Farmer -Own account	0.2	-	0.1	-
15 -Agricultural worker	1.4	-	0.1	-
16 -Member armed forces	0.8	0.2	-	-
17 - Don't know	0.1	0.1	0.2	-
TOTAL N	73121	831	1043	115

Source: LFS (aggregated) years 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991.

Focussing on the Chinese. It is immediately apparent that the bimodal distribution as hypothesised did not reveal itself as anticipated insofar as the professional and service sectors were not the two largest single categories. Instead the Chinese in the professional and service sectors are seen to be the third (at 13.9%) and second (at 16.5%) largest groups respectively, while the largest single category (at 20.9%) is the junior non-manual workers. Given that there is also a rather large proportion (16.5%) of employers/managers of small establishments amongst the young Chinese adults, the general pattern is a skewing towards the middle to upper end of the socio-economic structure. The low representation of young Chinese adults in the lower end of the occupational structure - only a total of 14% are engaged in SEGs 8 to 11 in the manual sectors, confirms the pattern established by the primary data and the notion that the Chinese catering industry (ie service sector) does perform the function of a 'safety-net', preventing the downward mobility of young Chinese adults in the occupational structure.

An imperative point to emphasise is that even though the bimodal distribution has not been proven by the analysis of Labour Force Survey data for the young Chinese adults insofar as the professional group and service sector workers are not the two largest categories, the Chinese propensity to enter the professions is more than three and a half times greater than their white counterparts, and the Chinese propensity to work in the service sector is four times

greater than the young white adults. Furthermore, the Chinese are also over three times more likely to become managers or employers in small establishments compared to their white counterparts. Presumably many of the Chinese in this category of managers/employers of small establishments are in the catering sector, which means that up to 33% (calculated by combining SEG2 and SEG7 ie 16.5% and 16.5% respectively) of the Chinese are in the catering sector. What should be emphasised is that while SEG6 (where most jobs are to be found) is the second largest single category at 20.9% for the Chinese, this proportion is notably lower than the rate at which young adults from other groups are employed at this level. The young white workers are more likely than Chinese to be employed in all other sectors, except for the unskilled positions, where the Chinese are more than one and a half times more likely than white youth to be engaged in such work.

The discrepancy between the findings of the primary data and the secondary data may be due to the biased nature of the questionnaire survey method. The limitations of the methods were discussed in Chapter Three, where it was suggested that the snowballing technique within the social network may have resulted in the over-representation of professional Chinese in the survey due to the fact that 'like associated with like', that is, professionals are likely to know other professionals, and similarly for other occupations. However, the use of a questionnaire as the tool of data collection meant that the people who were most likely to

complete and return the questionnaires were the educated people. Nevertheless, in several sectors the percentages of the primary and secondary data correspond extremely closely. For example, the primary results show that: 11% of the respondents are in SEG 5, while the secondary results show that 11.3% of LFS Chinese were employed in that level; 16% of respondents were in SEG 7 compared to 16.5% LFS; 4% of respondents in SEG 9 compared to 6.1% LFS; and 1% respondents in SEG 10 compared to 0.9% LFS Chinese.

Turning to the young Asian (Indian) adults; like the Chinese they are more likely to enter the professions or management/ownership of a small establishment than the other two groups, although the Chinese are still more than twice as likely as the Asian youth to manage or own a small establishment, and more than one and a half times more likely than the Indian to enter the professions. The Asian are however the least likely of any of the four groups to work in the service sector or in unskilled manual work, but more likely than other groups to be employed in semi-skilled work or to be self-employed professionals or own account workers. The Asian tend to cluster around the intermediate and junior non-manual, and semi-skilled and skilled manual sectors of the labour market.

The young West Indian adults are mainly clustered in the intermediate and junior levels of non-manual work (46.9% are in these two categories). There is also a cluster of West Indians in skilled and semi-skilled manual work. After the Chinese, the West Indians are the most likely (at 6.4%) to

work in the service sector. The West Indian has a lower representation compared to white youth in all sectors except for SEGs 5, 6, and 7. In comparison to the other ethnic minority groups, the West Indian have the closest pattern of occupational distribution to the white British.

To reiterate the main findings of the analysis of the LFS data, the Chinese did not produce an absolute bimodal distribution in the occupational structure in the way hypothesised. However, the secondary data demonstrated with clarity an underlying trend which showed that the young Chinese adults' clearly possessed stronger inclinations towards attainment of employment in the professions and service sector compared to other groups. The primary data, though, did bear out the bimodal distribution pattern of Chinese in the labour market. Generally, the results attest to the higher occupational attainments of young Chinese adults in Britain compared to other ethnic groups including white British.

III - OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The hypothesis of a bimodal distribution of young Chinese adults in the British labour market rested on the assumption that the Chinese have a preference for entering the professions or otherwise to remain in the ethnic (catering) industry. The primary data bore out this bimodality, although there was also a not insubstantial number of young Chinese adults engaged in ancilliary and junior non-manual

work. Secondary data did not establish such a pattern, but nevertheless proved that the Chinese do have substantially greater propensities to manage/ own a small establishment (presumably many in catering), to enter professional positions, or to work in the service sector than the white counterparts. Subsequent chapters will explore **why** the Chinese have the propensity to (and succeed in) attaining professional occupations. The task of this section is to determine whether the occupational aspirations of young Chinese adults (as school children) were in fact heavily inclined towards work in the professional sector.

The respondents were asked before leaving compulsory education, which occupations they had **wanted** (not expected) to enter. Fifty-nine respondents gave replies, although eight of these aspirations were too vague to be classified. Therefore, only 51 respondents' occupational aspirations have been classified by socio-economic group and compared to their actual occupational attainments.

The missing data makes it difficult to offer more than tentative conclusions, but as far as it can be observed from Table 4.3 below, 29 respondents (ie 57% of the responses) aspired to professional occupations, thus confirming the belief that the Chinese do indeed aim specifically for the professions. Of these, two-thirds actually achieved this aspiration to professional status. Thus, while the Chinese appear to have high aspirations, it turns out that these aspirations are not unrealistically high for most (Cf Cross et al, 1990). In general, 24 out of 51 (ie 57%) of these

respondents succeeded in obtaining employment at the same socio-economic level as that of the occupations to which they had aspired. Ten out of 51 (20%) were found to have under-aspired - their actual socio-economic attainment exceeding the socio-economic level of their expressed occupational preference. The remaining 17 (33%) who over-aspired, mostly over-aspired by one ASEG in their actual attainment compared to their aspiration.

Table 4.3 Occupational Aspirations of Young Chinese Adults in Britain Compared to their Occupational Attainments

Attained Aspired	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	TOTAL N	%
ASEG1	-	-	2	-	-	2	4
ASEG2	1	19	7	1	1	29	57
ASEG3	-	3	4	6	-	13	25
ASEG4	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
ASEG5	-	3	2	1	-	6	12
TOTAL N	1	25	15	9	1	51	--
TOTAL %	2	49	29	18	2	--	100

*See Table 4.1 for derivation of 'ASEGs' from Registrar-General's Classification Of Occupations (OPCS, 1980).

With the limitations of the data borne in mind, the trend has been established that the Chinese do aspire, disproportionately, to professional occupations. Conversely, only one respondent aspired to work in the service sector, which was not for work in the catering industry. Therefore, by this absence of aspirations for work in the service sector (catering), it may be deduced that the Chinese do not

actively seek or wish to work in catering, but end up doing so for the reasons to be discussed later in Section V.

The respondents were prompted to give their reasons for their aspirations. The responses (not mutually exclusive) are presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Reasons for Aspiring to Occupation

Reasons	N	%
Job characteristics	45	76
Extrinsic rewards	12	20
Parental advice	4	7
Related to education/exper.	4	7
Escape catering	1	2

Job characteristics appears to have been very important. Forty-five out of 59 (ie 76%) of respondents gave anticipated/preconceived ideas of the nature of the work and the actual tasks as the reason they aspired to the particular occupation. Extrinsic rewards were named by 20% of the respondents, which include the potential financial gains, career advancement, and other such benefits. Parents played a marginal role. A few chose these aspirations because they were in the area of education which most interested them. One mentioned the occupational aspiration only as a means of escape from catering.

The respondents were also asked who influenced them most in their occupational aspirations. The responses are as follows.

Table 4.5 Influences on Occupational Aspirations

Influences	N	%
Family	16	27
Friends	6	10
Careers Officer	3	5
Teacher	4	7
No-one/ myself	30	51

From Table 4.5 it can be seen that half of the respondents claimed that no-one influenced their occupational aspiration. The largest external influence was the social network, that is, the family at 27%, followed by friends at 10%. Institutional sources such as, careers officers and teachers played a very limited role by comparison.

To reiterate, the main findings in this section indicate that the Chinese have high occupational aspirations - mostly towards professional sector work. In general, the young Chinese adults' aspirations were not unrealistically high, since a large proportion of those who expressed a preference attained or surpassed that level in the socio-economic structure.

IV - THE CATERING INDUSTRY VIEWED FROM A DISTANCE

As Chapter Two established, the Chinese catering industry played a crucial role in the social and economic life of the post Second World War Chinese migrants to Britain. In addition it was highlighted how the operation and viability

of the small businesses in this ethnic economy was heavily dependent upon family labour. Therefore there is a generation of Chinese children who have grown up in this environment, and have direct experience of life in the Chinese catering industry. Unfortunately and rather frustratingly, as was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, there is much missing data on parental background which makes it impossible to determine accurately the proportion of respondents in the present survey who come from a catering background. In spite of this limitation, this section will proceed to examine the views held by the young Chinese adults currently working in the wider labour market, to the Chinese catering industry. Which aspects about the latter have influenced 79% of the respondents in the survey to leave or avoid work in this sector? And what induced some respondents to contemplate employment in catering, but ultimately decide to reject it?

To begin, the respondents not working in this ethnic sector were asked if they had ever contemplated working in catering full-time. Out of the 58 respondents working in the wider labour market, there were 57 responses to this question. The reply was an overwhelming 'no' by 42 (72%) of the young Chinese adults, while 15 (26%) had at some point considered it as an option, eventually to reject the idea. Both these groups were prompted to give their reasons for making their decisions.

For those who did not even consider the possibility of entering the catering industry, their responses to the open-ended question are displayed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Reasons For Not Considering Employment In The Chinese Catering Industry.

Reasons	N	%
Bad conditions of work	24	57
Unrewarding	15	36
Overqualified/unrelated to education	6	14
No connections to trade	4	10
Family considerations	5	12
Previous experience offputting	10	24

The responses are not mutually exclusive. Of the 42 respondents who had never considered full-time employment in catering, 24% stated that they had been deterred by their earlier experiences of helping out or working in a catering establishment which had left an unfavourable impression on them. They were vociferous on this point, which elicited some statements such as: "I disliked the catering industry from the day I had to help out in my parents' takeaway" (Management Services Trainee); "Already fed up with the industry from childhood experiences" (Conference and Banqueting Manager); "First hand experience of hard toil in a Chinese takaway. Good money - but bad hours. All brawn and no brain" (Chemical Engineer); and "I have been striving hard to get away from that business. Would I consider working in that business again?" (Computer Operator/Designer).

The main criticism of catering work seemed to be the poor quality of life - an important consideration to many of this younger generation of Chinese who are unwilling to endure the lifestyle and conditions lived by most of their parents. Fifty-seven per cent of these respondents objected to the conditions of work, namely the long, unsociable hours, the hard work, and unpleasant environment (hot kitchens), which characterise employment in the catering industry.

Related to the issue of quality of life and the long, unsociable hours, 12% commented that the latter meant that there was little residual time for spending with the family, so that these family considerations made them discount the possibility of working in catering on a full-time basis. A supervisor at a retail store stated succinctly her reasons: "The hard work, very long hours. No time for the family". Similarly a trainee accountant explained his reasons: "Because of the long hours, and fact that the family does not have a real chance of being together, doing things together". A senior library assistant echoed this: "You have to work unsociable hours. If you have a family then you don't have time to be with them".

Fourteen per cent considered themselves over-qualified for this type of work, or considered it a waste of their education to take such employment unrelated to their qualifications. In the words of a design draughtsman it was regarded as "A waste of time and effort in my education". One of the motivating forces of investing in a good

education was the anticipation that it would provide release/escape from the Chinese catering industry.

Just over one third of the respondents stated that catering work was unrewarding both intrinsically and extrinsically. Most of the respondents complained of the low levels of intrinsic satisfaction that could be gained from this work - essentially that it was boring, lacked challenge, or that the respondents had absolutely no interest in this work. And a few were critical of catering because of the low status attached to such employment within the ethnic community and in the wider society. This is discussed in more detail next.

To some the notion of entering the catering industry had not even occurred to them. Ten per cent claimed they had no connections with the trade. Therefore it had never presented itself as an option. A dentist commented: "No links and would not have furthered my career". An architect wrote: "Never considered it. No influence or connection in the catering trade. Also came from a middle class background". This latter comment contains within it an implicit statement that the (work in a) Chinese catering industry has lower social standing, which reinforces the point made in the above paragraph, that even in the social hierarchy within the Chinese community, catering work (employee status) is ranked fairly low, although as it will be revealed below, ownership of a catering business is an altogether different matter. Certainly those originating from a middle class background would not entertain the

notion of catering work which would be in social mobility terms a downward intergenerational move for them. This would also explain the desire of Chinese youth and their parents on their part, to rise above such work and gain entry to the more prestigious occupations (that is the professions) through education.

In spite of these protestations that they did not consider the possibility of working in the Chinese catering industry, the appeal and allure of proprietorship seems to be an altogether irresistible notion for some of these young Chinese adults. One accounts assistant while claiming to have not contemplated employment in catering because of the long hours involved, in the same sentence expressed the desire to own such a business. Similarly, a research assistant wrote: "I might consider setting up in the Chinese food industry but not working in the takeaway". In the minds of these respondents they have made a distinction between ownership of a catering establishment (which is acceptable) and employment in catering (which is unacceptable) - this point was also raised by those respondents who had considered catering work but rejected it, which is looked at next.

The reasons given by the respondents for eventually deciding against catering work are presented in the Table 4.7 below. There were only 15 respondents in this category. Six of them stated that their previous experience of working or helping out in the Chinese catering business made them decide against working full-time in this trade, and to take

alternative employment. A receptionist wrote that eventually she discarded the notion because she "found it quite hard working". Another respondent wrote: "Because I didn't enjoy the work" (Sales Assistant). Some also said that the work was very boring in their experience.

Table 4.7 Reasons For Deciding Against Employment In The Chinese Catering Industry

Reasons	N	%
Previous experience offputting	6	40
Waste of education	2	13
Family politics	1	7
Have not eliminated it as an option	4	27

Two respondents said that it would have been a waste of their education and opportunities in life if they had gone into catering. One claimed that family politics prevented it - that working in such proximity created bad relations between the family members.

Four respondents had not completely dismissed the possibility of working in catering. One regarded it still as a 'last resort job' - the safety net if things did not go well with the present non-manual job. The other three respondents still maintained an open mind and had not totally rejected the idea even though they had obtained employment in the wider labour market. Illustrations of this are: "I have not really decided against that; I am still thinking about it" (Dental Surgeon), and "I would only work in one if I was to run it as my own business, but

otherwise I wouldn't do so" (Trainee Accountant). The aspiration is, as discussed above, to own one's own business in catering, although employee status in catering was definitely out of the question. What then motivates or provides the incentive for those professionals to harbour the wish to own their own catering business? Is it because the latter can be lucrative, or is the motive one of being one's own boss? Independence is unlikely to be the main motive since the professional worker could achieve that by becoming a self-employed professional. Whatever the reasons, the links to the catering industry seem difficult to sever even when these young Chinese adults have attained the goal of a prestigious professional job.

The general impressions gained from the respondents' comments are that those who grew up in catering were deterred from entering the industry because of their previous experiences (helping out in the family business) and the first hand knowledge of the poor conditions of work and low levels of intrinsic satisfaction. There was a strong sense of a conscious effort (being) made by these young persons who had grown up in the shadow of the catering industry to move out of this line of work. Getting involved in catering did not present itself as an option to those from a middle class (ie professional) background with no connections to catering.

Yet inspite of the criticisms of the Chinese catering industry by many of these respondents who had secured employment in the wider labour market, there remained a few

who had not completely dismissed the Chinese catering industry as an option. However, all these respondents were adamant that they were not referring to employment in catering as an option but ownership of a catering business. On these latter terms they were willing to (re)enter the ethnic niche, foregoing the prestigious professional (or other non-manual) jobs that many had studied hard to gain entry into and attain, ironically to escape the Chinese catering industry.

V - ATTITUDES TO PRESENT JOB

So far this chapter has established using primary data a bimodal distribution of young Chinese adults in the British labour market with them concentrated in the professional sector or the Chinese catering industry. The occupational aspirations of the respondents were looked at, and it was confirmed that the majority of those who expressed a preference actually aspired to entering the professions, an aspiration which was subsequently realised in many cases. The views of the Chinese employed in the wider labour market, to the Chinese catering industry were explored in an attempt to understand why some Chinese did not consider employment in the Chinese catering industry as an option, and why some contemplated it as an option but ultimately dismissed it to pursue work in the wider labour market.

What this section endeavours to do is examine whether high occupational attainment necessarily results in greater

levels of job satisfaction, and vice versa. Do those in the professions hold more positive views about their work than those in catering, who are expected, based on the critical opinions drawn about this industry in Section IV, to possess negative orientations towards their work and remain in it only because of lack of alternatives? These are the types of questions for which answers are sought.

First it is necessary to understand what initially attracted the respondents to their present employment to ascertain their expectations of their job in order to put into perspective their levels of dis/satisfaction with their respective work. The respondents were asked the open-ended question: for what reason(s) did you accept your present job? The responses, presented in Table 4.8 below, are not mutually exclusive.

It can be seen then that the main motivation for half of the respondents to taking their present job was related to the characteristics of the job, for example, that the actual tasks or the nature of the tasks were interesting, challenging, allowed for autonomy and independence, or the performance of which enabled the respondent to make social contributions to society. Essentially these were intrinsic satisfactions gained from the job, and notably it was almost wholly the professionals and other non-manual workers who expressed this view. Some illustrations are: "Enjoy designing and drawing, and getting things built" (Architect); "An inner need to better myself and my community as a whole" (Community Information Officer);

"Combining scientific knowledge with artistic skills and to provide a worthwhile service" (Dentist).

Table 4.8 Reasons For Accepting Present Job

Reasons	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	%
Job characteristics	1	19	12	2	3	51
Pay and promotion	1	11	8	5	--	34
Training provided	--	5	1	--	--	8
Related to quals/exper	1	6	3	4	2	22
Family influence	1	7	2	3	--	18
No choice	--	2	1	6	1	14

Extrinsic rewards in terms of salary or career prospects (eg promotion) were mentioned by just over one third of the respondents as the main inducement to taking their job. The financial reasons ranged from: "I needed the money" to "It provided financial security" and simply "good pay". One view as expressed by a chartered accountant was to do with the "Money and peer group pressure. I believed that it was important to be financially secure and respected". No one in the manual sector gave extrinsic rewards as the motivating factor.

Just over one in five of the respondents are in their present employment because it is relevant to the qualifications they have attained (this was particularly true of those in the professional and other non-manual sectors in the wider labour market) or that they have had previous experience related to their present job, which

seemed to be the case with those in catering. The implication was that entering their respective occupations was regarded as a natural progression. A catering assistant in a Chinese takeaway who had regularly helped out in the family business in his youth said that: "It was an obvious choice since I was good at my job during my school years".

Family influence played a part in the decisions of 18% of the respondents' acceptance of their jobs. Two workers in the Chinese catering business expressed such views, one stating simply that "I wanted to help my family", while the other wrote: "Help was needed due to my parents speaking little English. Because of that and as a daughter [I] automatically work there". However, no one in the manual sector mentioned this as a determining factor, which may indicate that families (parents) are positively encouraging in their attitudes towards their children going into non-manual work, or ambivalent about the children entering the (family) catering business, but that none of the parents are encouraging when it comes to employment in manual work in the wider labour market.

Only 8%, represented by those in professional or non-manual occupations, took their jobs anticipating the experience and training it would provide them.

Fourteen per cent from all socio-economic sectors except ASEG 1 claimed that they had no alternative but to take their current employment. "No choice" however, connotes many different ideas. The situations and circumstances vary

greatly. A waiter in a Chinese restaurant explained his reason for working in catering was due to lack of success at another job. He wrote that he "Didn't do well with my illustrator career, need the job to carry on". A chef in a Chinese catering establishment wrote that: "It's the obvious job because I was brought up in the catering business, and since I didn't have much qualifications for other jobs". These statements suggest further support for the 'safety-net' theory discussed in Section II that the Chinese catering industry (ASEG4) 'catches' the Chinese who are underqualified for, or are unsuccessful in obtaining non-manual work in the wider labour market, so that there is an under-representation of Chinese in manual work (ASEG5), as the primary and secondary data show. The advantages of catering work over manual work in the wider labour market seem to be that the former provide higher extrinsic rewards and the territory is familiar socially and economically.

That similar sentiments of having 'no alternative' were expressed by some Chinese in the non-manual sectors was rather unexpected, since it would have been assumed that they would have less cause to harbour the frustration that some respondents in catering might feel, as a result of being constrained to work in the ethnic niche. However, there is a fundamental difference in the response 'no choice' between the service and manual workers compared to non-manual workers. The underlying tone of those in catering, for example, is that these respondents had insufficient qualifications to obtain non-manual work and

were therefore confined to the catering sector, given that manual work is perceived as even less desirable. In contrast, those in non-manual work were essentially saying they were restricted to specific fields of work by their qualifications. A policy analyst explained her reasons for working in her present position as being: "An obvious route based on qualifications and previous experience". Expanding on this, she continued to say that she felt "trapped in this line of work without any other technical qualifications". By the use of the word 'choice', it can be interpreted by those in catering as referring essentially to the alternatives of either manual or non-manual work, while those in non-manual work may be alluding to lack of alternatives in field within the non-manual sector. The degrees and levels of choice are thus very different.

Such a discussion naturally leads to the issue of job satisfaction. Overall, out of 70 respondents who replied to this question, 20% were very satisfied, 30% satisfied, 33% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 14% were dissatisfied, and only 3% were very dissatisfied. An unsurprising result is that the professionals and other non-manual workers had higher levels of job satisfaction than the catering workers. Fifty-two per cent of those in ASEG2 (the professionals) and 58% of those in ASEG3 (the other non-manual workers) were (very) satisfied with their present job, while 31% of catering workers expressed this level of satisfaction. Considering 50% of all the respondents were (very) satisfied with their work, the lines of questioning pursued next were

the aspects of their job they liked, and conversely which aspects they disliked?

The open-ended question: "What do you most like about your job?" elicited the following, non-mutually exclusive responses:

Table 4.9 Reasons For Liking Present Job

Reasons	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	%
Job characteristics	5	29	17	11	5	92
Training	--	10	4	2	2	25
Financial	1	2	4	5	--	16
None	--	--	--	1	--	1

Only one respondent, a catering worker, stated that there was nothing about the work which he liked or found enjoyable, while almost all (92%) of the respondents found positive things to say regarding the job characteristics for instance, being interesting, challenging, providing autonomy, or the enjoyment of the social contact and the satisfaction gained from their contributions to society through the performance of the job, and so on. Thus, while the motives for accepting the job were diverse, once placed in the job, the respondents were much less enthusiastic about the extrinsic rewards, but mention more frequently the intrinsic satisfaction they gain from the job itself. A large proportion of the respondents enjoyed the freedom and control they felt they had in their work. They mentioned responsibility, challenge, autonomy and flexibility. A

research scientist wrote that he enjoyed the "freedom to do what I want to do (to a certain extent)". A graphic designer liked the "creativity and its diverse responsibilities" of his job; and a research and development engineer loved the "variety - the challenge". A medical laboratory scientific officer wrote: "I find it interesting, it can be challenging" but in addition she mentioned the social aspect that "I feel that someone else (the patient) is benefitting from some of the work I do". The social aspect of the job, "meeting people" was considered by many, particularly those in catering (the counter assistants, waiters and waitresses) to be an interesting part of their work.

Although only 8% initially specified that they took the job for the training it would provide, 25% now proclaimed after working in the job that the training and learning were the most enjoyable part of their work. All respondents are represented except the ASEG 1 category. One chef in a catering establishment liked "being able to learn to prepare and cook many different varieties of dishes".

Just over one third of the respondents had originally been tempted to take their present job by the extrinsic rewards it offered, like the salary, good promotion prospects, and other benefits. Yet now in the job, the proportion who named this as an aspect they most liked fell by over one half from 34% to only 16%.

Similarly the respondents were then asked the open-ended question "What do you most dislike about your job?". The results are presented below.

Table 4.10 Reasons For Disliking Present Job

Reasons dislike	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	%
Job characteristics	1	12	11	13	4	56
Management/company	2	13	5	--	1	29
Extrinsic rewards	--	7	3	4	1	21
Other	--	1	2	1	--	5

Fifty-six percent of the respondents named job characteristics and conditions of work as something they did not like about their current employment. Under this broad category, one accountant, for example, hated the perpetual travelling she had to do for her job; but the majority complained about the pressures of the work, and linked to this, the long hours and hard work involved. The grievances of a designer were related to the "long hours, unpredictable working schedule and unreasonable deadlines", and this encapsulated the sentiments of most of the professional and ancilliary workers. However, such complaints were most marked for those in the catering industry who hated the long, unsociable hours of the job, and the hard, physical nature of much of the work. Many Chinese also felt bored in their jobs, loathing the mundane tasks and routine. A catering assistant disliked the fact that she was "Doing the same thing over and over again".

Over one quarter of the respondents (29%) from all socio-economic groups except catering, aired grievances about the company or the management. A chemical engineer wrote of "the frustrations.....[of] old managers - old methods - old results. Very annoying". A research scientist complained of "lack of team work in my laboratory. Too much bureaucracy at times".

About one in five (21%) of the young Chinese adults disliked the extrinsic rewards - almost half of such complaints surprisingly coming from those in the professional sector. Yet initially extrinsic rewards had been the factor which attracted over one third of the professionals into accepting their current employment. The disappointment of some professionals regarding extrinsic rewards may be due to the high expectations with which they entered the job, and less to do with the extrinsic rewards being low in real terms. The catering workers disliked the low status attached to their work.

In summary this section has demonstrated the reasons on which the Chinese base their decision as to whether or not to accept a job, and highlights how priorities shift once they have accepted and started the job. The matching of the expectations the Chinese have on entry into the job with the realities of the situation, is what seems to affect the level of satisfaction rather than it being related to the actual job or occupational location per se. Job characteristics play a very central role; the initial attraction of a job, for example, is due mainly to the

preconceptions the young Chinese adults hold as to the job characteristics, although a range of other factors such as extrinsic rewards, connection to qualifications and previous experience, family influence, and so on, all contribute to the ultimate decision as to whether or not to accept the job offer in the first place. Once in the job, the job characteristics take on an even greater significance, and almost all the respondents referred to this aspect (the enjoyment and satisfaction gained from doing the job) as the main motivating factor. However, job characteristics also accounted for much of the dissatisfaction too, but these complaints were not to do with the actual tasks, but more to do with the long hours and pressure involved. It appears that while 34% of respondents had taken their jobs in anticipation of the extrinsic rewards many respondents were sadly disappointed by the reality. Only 16% actually mentioned this as something they liked about their job, while 21% ended up naming this as something they disliked about their job. Working in the wider labour market also drew complaints from the young Chinese adults about the company or management or the bureaucracy, which was not a problem in the catering industry.

Finally, taking the three largest groups: ASEG2 - the professional workers, ASEG3 - the 'other non-manual' workers, and ASEG4 - the Chinese catering workers, comparing their levels of satisfaction, the results show that the 'other non-manual' workers have the highest level of job satisfaction relative to the other sectors, followed by the

professionals, with the catering workers displaying the lowest level of job satisfaction than the other groups. The higher job satisfaction of 'other non-manual' workers compared to the professionals may be attributed to the fact that the professional workers may have had overly high expectations of the extrinsic and intrinsic rewards from their jobs, but were also unprepared for the enormous pressures at work too. The realities of the situation have thus dampened somewhat their initial enthusiasm and their overall job satisfaction, so that in comparison they are less satisfied generally compared to the 'other non-manual' workers. Those in the non-manual sectors (ASEG2 and ASEG3) probably had higher extrinsic and intrinsic rewards than those in catering, thus explaining their higher levels of satisfaction compared to the catering workers. This shows that in the case of the young Chinese adults high occupational attainment does not necessarily guarantee correspondingly high levels of job satisfaction and vice versa.

VI - SUMMARY

In this chapter, analysis of the primary survey data demonstrated that the young Chinese adults were distributed bimodally in the British labour market, with most of the respondents working in the professional sector or in the Chinese catering industry. The secondary data (LFS) did not produce such a pattern in absolute terms, although the

underlying trend showed clearly that the young Chinese adults had a substantially higher propensity than the white adults (or the other ethnic groups) to become managers/professionals or personal service workers. Both sets of data suggested support for the idea that the Chinese catering industry serves as a safety-net preventing the downward mobility of these young adults in the British labour market.

It was revealed that the young Chinese adults had high occupational aspirations, with a strong bias in favour of professional occupations. These high aspirations were not found to be unrealistically high, as a large proportion of these young adults' socio-economic attainments were shown to be equal to or even surpassed the socio-economic level of their occupational aspirations.

The young Chinese adults who were currently working in the wider labour market were asked about their views on the Chinese catering industry. The majority of these respondents claimed that they never considered a career in catering mainly because of the poor working conditions/quality of life or because they had been deterred by previous experiences. A small proportion of the respondents had contemplated going into catering but ultimately rejected it for reasons similar to the above. However, there remain a few respondents who still have not eliminated the idea completely, and harbour the ambition to return to catering - but only to set up their own business.

Finally, the attitudes of the young Chinese adults to their work and their job satisfaction were examined. It was found that the factors that originally attracted the respondents to the job did not correspond to the aspects that they enjoyed about it after settling into the job. Frustration and criticisms of their jobs were expressed by workers in all sectors for different reasons, although overall, the professional and non-manual workers appeared to have a higher level of job satisfaction than the catering workers.

Having explored the occupational aspirations of some of the respondents, and then determined the actual occupational attainments of young Chinese adults in the British labour market, it is therefore appropriate to proceed on to examine some of the variables which may have influenced the (levels of) achievements of these young Chinese adults. The next three chapters then are devoted to exploring how family background, role of education, and racism and discrimination, have each played a part in influencing the occupational attainments of young Chinese adults in the British labour market.

CHAPTER FIVE

FAMILY BACKGROUND

"Filial piety is the constant rule of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of man...Not to shame his parents may be called filial piety."

- Confucius

I - INTRODUCTION

The theme of this chapter is family background, which research has demonstrated has strong effects on the educational and occupational aspirations and attainments of youth in Britain (See Chapter Two). Conventionally, family background implies first and foremost class. The impact of this structural variable will be examined in detail in this chapter. Yet, "class is a slippery concept" (Wilson, 1978:ix) which is open to numerous interpretations and methods of measurement. In keeping with the categorization adopted in Chapter Four, an adapted version of the Registrar General's 1980 classification of socio-economic grouping (hereafter referred to as ASEG) will be used as far as possible. However, it will be necessary in order to engage in current debates to use a social class analysis. This will be done where appropriate.

In the context of this study, restricting family background to a purely structural interpretation would be deficient. Central to the entire thesis is the fact that all the respondents in the survey are from Chinese families - with

all the implications that their ethnicity carries. Ethnicity refers to the "linguistic and cultural practices through which a dynamic sense of collective identity is produced and transmitted from generation to generation" (Harvey, 1990:157). Consequently, it would be inaccurate to discuss family influence, yet ignore a vital component - the cultural factor.

Therefore, in this chapter, the dichotomous conditions: structural (class/SEG) and cultural (Chinese ethos) will be discussed together. The justification for doing so is that they are inextricably linked. For example, from an economic reductionist viewpoint the culture of an ethnic group is regarded as an adaptation to existing economic constraints. Conversely, the culture of a group may be seen as a determinant in the level of socio-economic status achieved in a society by that group. Black culture for instance, has been seen by some to be dysfunctional towards the effective participation of black people in the economic environment (Reissman, 1973:86), whereas, Chinese culture has often been upheld as positively contributing towards their entrepreneurial success abroad (Light, 1972; Boissevain and Grotenbreg, 1986).

This chapter will endeavour to tease out the complex effects of structure and culture, as mediated through the social institution of the family, on the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults in Britain. The arguments proposed in the following discussions are that structural influences defined the general socio-economic entry level of

the post Second World War Chinese migrants to Britain, but that culture is responsible for the ultimate shaping of the socio-economic position of the Chinese in Britain under those imposed constraints. Thus, the socio-economic circumstances of the family will affect the lifechances of the youth, hence career prospects; while Chinese values and ethics as transmitted through the family (a critical agent of socialisation) will also have an impact on the occupational decisions of the youth in question.

The organisation of this chapter will be as follows: Section II will examine parental background which will include their motivations and circumstances of migration to Britain, and assesses the type of intragenerational mobility achieved by them. These findings will lead into a discussion in Section III of the degree to which family socio-economic status has affected the occupational attainments of the youth. Section IV will analyse the role played by Chinese culture. To conclude, Section V looks at the type of inter-generational mobility achieved.

II - PARENTAL BACKGROUND

Establishing the background to the respondents' parents is an essential prelude to attaining a holistic understanding of the occupational decisions of the young Chinese adults. It is only by knowing the circumstances of the parents prior to migrating to Britain and their reasons for coming, together with the knowledge of their subsequent

achievements, that one can assess the socio-economic and cultural milieux that the second generation have been raised in, and which ultimately affect their careers.

First the country of birth of the parents will be looked at.

Table 5.1 Parent's Country Of Birth

Country	Father		Mother	
	N	%	N	%
Hong Kong	38	53	41	59
China	26	37	22	31
United Kingdom	2	3	1	1
Other	5	7	6	9
TOTAL	61	100	70	100

From Table 5.1 it can be seen that 90% of the parents were born in Hong Kong or China. These two countries are closely linked since most of the Chinese in Hong Kong can trace their lineage back to China. This suggests a high level of cultural homogeneity. It must also be borne in mind that these figures may not accurately reflect the actual numbers who came to Britain via (a period in) Hong Kong due to relatively recent historical events. For it is well-known that large numbers of refugees from mainland China settled in Hong Kong to escape the turmoil of the Communist Revolution in 1949 (Watson, 1977), such that many of the parents born in China may have actually grown up in Hong Kong. This would imply an even greater degree of homogeneity in this group than is suggested by the data. Supporting this argument is the fact that the chain

migration set up in Hong Kong facilitated the movement of Chinese from the colony to Britain, whereas those migrating directly from China had a greater propensity to settle in the USA. This remains speculation, since it was beyond the scope of the survey to explore this.

As far as can be gathered from the fairly low number of responses to the questions on parent's year of entry into Britain, the period of migration for the parents began in 1950 with the most recent migrant arriving in 1983 (when the British Nationality Act 1981 came into effect). The rights accorded to citizens of the Commonwealth countries and dependent territories to enter Britain freely under the British Nationality Act 1948 had been progressively eroded in subsequent legislations, and this is reflected in the data. The responses from 49 of the young adults indicate that 37% of their fathers entered Britain before 1962. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 introduced the voucher system under which 20% of the Chinese migrants made their entry from 1963 to 1968, when the second Commonwealth Immigrants Act became law. Twenty-nine per cent of fathers arrived before the Immigration Act 1971 came into effect in 1973. Thereafter, 14% of fathers entered Britain under the work permit scheme which replaced the voucher system, until 1983 when the British Nationality Act 1981 was implemented.

With regards to the mothers, 17% of them arrived in Britain from 1959 to 1962. After the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, 26% entered the country up to the period of the enforcement of the second act. Another 26% came from 1969

until the operationalization of the Immigration Act 1971 in 1973. The final 32% arrived in the decade before the British Nationality Act 1981 was enforced in 1983. The full implications of the parents' time of migration to Britain will be explored in Section III.

The reasons the respondents reported for their parents' migration are given below.

Table 5.2 Reasons For Parent's Migration

Reasons	Father		Mother	
	N	%	N	%
Work	40	55	6	8
Join spouse/marriage	--	--	26	36
Emigration	9	12	17	23
Education	4	6	--	--
Influence of relative	3	4	--	--
Other	1	1	2	3

Not all the respondents could give an explanation for their parents' migration, and the reasons above are not mutually exclusive. However, what the available data shows is confirmation that the migration of Hong Kong Chinese to Britain was male-led. Motivated essentially by economic reasons (55% of the fathers came in search of employment), 12% also came with intentions of settling permanently in Britain. While 36% of the mothers came as dependents to join their husbands(-to-be), another 23% came with a view to emigrating too, which could be interpreted as 'family reunification'. This tentative claim is given some support

by the information gauged from the data relating to time of arrival (mainly in the 1960s and 1970s) - which was a period when entry was increasingly restricted and granted mainly to dependents and people holding work vouchers, yet as the data shows, only 8% of the mothers it seems came primarily for work purposes.

Since a large proportion of the Chinese came to Britain to improve their lives, the question of how successful they have been in achieving this aim is clearly pertinent. In order to assess this the occupations of the parents prior to migration and their present occupations will be compared. Table 5.3A and Table 5.3B present the types of intra-generational mobility attained by 60% of the fathers (whose occupations before and after migration could be determined) and similarly for 29% of the mothers.

Due to missing data because of refusal to respond to questions on parents' present occupations or because the parents were not economically active in the homeland (some were students or housewives, for example) only a very limited number of parents' socio-economic statuses before and after migration could be established. From what is available it can be observed that in the case of the fathers, coming to Britain and entering the Chinese catering industry provided them with opportunities for upward mobility, except for the clerk who experienced slight downward mobility (in terms of SEG) by becoming a catering worker.

Table 5.3A Types of Intra-Generational Mobility
Achieved By Fathers.

Occupation in Country of Birth	Present Occupation in Britain	
	CCO N	CCW N
Policeman	1	-
Clerk	-	1
Taxi-driver	2	-
Mechanic	1	-
Tailor	2	1
Cleaner	1	-
Sailor	1	-
Miner	-	1
Machinist	-	1
Factory worker	2	-
Caterer	1	-
Farmer	2	3
Architect	Self-employed architect	
Doctor	Doctor	
Fireman	Dry cleaning shop owner	
Clerk	Foreman	
Engineer	Engineer	
Previous Occupation	Present Occupation	
*Factory owner	Factory owner	
*Doctor	Self-employed doctor	
*Lecturer	Lecturer	
*Engineer	Civil Servant	
*Farmer	Farmer	

* Denotes still in homeland
CCO = Chinese catering owner
CCW = Chinese catering worker

The majority achieved substantial mobility by becoming self-employed, but even for those who have remained workers in catering it has still been a progressive move, due to the low socio-economic status of some of these fathers in the homeland. Therefore the lure of substantial economic improvement prompted many in the lower socio-economic strata to take the risk of migrating to Britain to work in the Chinese catering industry. As for the fathers who did not

go into catering (noticeably most were professional or non-manual workers) there was little change, except for the engineer who remained an engineer; a fireman who opened his own dry cleaning shop; and a clerk who became a foreman supervisor.

It is significant that those fathers who did not migrate to Britain had fairly high socio-economic statuses (with the exception of the farmer) in their homeland, as professionals, managers and employers. The risks were much higher for them, while the overall gains were comparatively smaller. Being already fairly well-established or economically secure in their homeland, they therefore did not have the necessity to migrate as those from the lower socio-economic groups.

With regards to the mothers, most experienced upward mobility by migrating to Britain, and going into the catering industry, except for one nurse who became a worker in a catering establishment, and a restaurant worker who maintained her status as a service sector worker. Amongst those mothers who did come to Britain, but did not go into the catering industry there was little occupational change except for one woman who ran a family stall later became the manager of a dry cleaning shop, while a factory worker became an aircraft cleaner. There was no change in the occupations of the mothers who remained in the homeland.

Table 5.3B Types Of Intra-Generational Mobility
Achieved By Mothers

Occupation in Country of Birth	Present Occupation in Britain	
	CCO	CCW
	N	N
Farmer	2	3
Teacher	3	-
Nurse	1	1
Factory Worker	1	-
Restaurant Worker	-	1
Fishmonger	1	-
Nurse	Nurse	
Secretary	Secretary	
Factory worker	Aircraft cleaner	
Market stall owner	Dry cleaning shop manager	
Previous Occupation	Present Occupation	
*Factory owner	Factory owner	
*Doctor	Doctor	
*Radiographer	Radiographer	
*Farmer	Farmer	

* Denotes still in homeland
CCO = Chinese catering owner
CCW = Chinese catering worker

All in all, those parents who have stayed in the homeland have experienced less mobility than those who migrated to Britain and entered the Chinese catering industry. However, it seems that mainly those in semi-skilled or unskilled manual work took the risk of migrating to Britain in search of better opportunities. Entering the Chinese catering industry and working towards ownership of a restaurant or takeaway provided opportunities for social and economic advancement which these migrants would probably not have had in their homeland.

III - STRUCTURAL INFLUENCES

In an analysis of the impact of class on the occupational decisions of the young Chinese adults, the concentration of the respondents' parents in the Chinese catering industry is conspicuous. The present family socio-economic statuses are themselves largely the product of a series of structural influences. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake an historical account of the processes leading to this situation in order to fully comprehend the effect family class has had on the respondents' attainments.

Thus the structural factors operating to create the migration phenomenon can be explained in terms of the economic push-pull model, which was briefly described in Chapter Two. To reiterate, unemployment and poverty in Hong Kong (and other sending countries) provided the impetus for many of the predominantly male migrants to leave their homeland. This was matched by a corresponding demand for labour in the flourishing Chinese restaurant business in Britain. The chain migration process developed in response to this need to recruit ethnic labour into this trade. While chain migration facilitated the process, the immigration legislations are responsible for exacerbating, consolidating, and perpetuating the channelling of Chinese migrant labour almost exclusively into this ethnic niche.

The immigration laws were part of a policy by both Conservative and Labour Governments to exclude black people of the New Commonwealth from entry and settlement in Britain

(Solomos, 1989). The strategy for such retraction of rights as set out in the British Nationality Act 1948, was through the implementation of the employment voucher system, later to be replaced by the work permit scheme. The effect on the Chinese migrants was that in order to come to Britain, they had to have a sponsor in Britain who could arrange employment for them before coming. Since these migrants were unskilled and linguistically disadvantaged, the only accessible occupations were invariably in the kitchens of Chinese catering establishments, and these were the jobs that the sponsors (usually kin and friends who were themselves in catering) obtained for the new arrivals.

For the British Government, there were unanticipated adverse effects of the immigration laws. The latter inadvertently created the 'beat the ban' rush of dependents immigrating before it became too late. The repercussion on the Chinese was that the reunification of the families enabled the Chinese catering industry to restructure itself to take its present form, that is, changing from restaurants to the smaller takeaway unit of operation, for a new source of cheap, reliable labour had become available - wives and children. The integral part played by wives and children cannot be over-emphasised. It is due to their efforts and cooperation that Chinese entrepreneurship occurred on the scale that it did, and to the apparent degree of success.

So, in their attempts to be agents of their lives as far as possible, as opposed to being ineffectual victims of wider forces, many Chinese took the well-trodden path of ethnic

entrepreneurship to elevate themselves from the lowest strata of society, which has often been regarded as the fate of immigrant groups (cf theories of labour migration in Chapter two). Wong described the process of the Chinese in America entering small businesses (a principle which applies equally to those in Britain):

"To start a small scale family firm is the dream of many Chinese immigrants. Independence, profit, and being in control of one's employment and destiny are desirable attributes to which many Chinese aspire. By accumulating enough capital from many years of hard work and pooling all the savings from the family members, quite a few of the small scale chop suey restaurants got started. Everyone who can work will work in the family firm." (Wong; 1982:46).

The attraction of entrepreneurship was the prospect of the potential pecuniary rewards. Since the migration was essentially motivated by economic reasons, the priority of the migrants was to secure financial stability, if not endeavour to attain a state of affluence. Small business ownership provided such an opportunity, in addition to providing intra-generational mobility. The prestige factor was also a strong motivational force, for it seems that to be an affluent employee was still not as desirable as being a relatively poor proprietor of a small takeaway. Fong noted that "Among the Chinese community, to possess one's own business, however small, confers more social prestige than being a mere employee" (Fong, 1959:86).

But as was hinted by Wong, these Chinese have been caught up in a form of self-exploitation. This is not characteristic of just the Chinese catering industry, but is rather to do

with the nature of small businesses. Bechhofer et al commented on this situation:

"..small businesses depend primarily upon family labour, on the sweat of wives and children. Without such inputs of labour, large numbers of the smallest enterprises would go to the wall....Relying so heavily on family effort they are engaged very frequently in a kind of self-exploitation rather than exploitation of proletarians." (1981:194)

The downside of self-employment is more than self-exploitation. Even the positive aspects of independence and autonomy, which account for so much to most entrepreneurs, can be seen in a negative light. In "Working Lives In Catering" Gabriel described some of the inherent contradictions:

"...(his) deep ambivalence, his pride at being his 'own boss' and his frustration at being his 'own prisoner', lies at the core of the predicament of the...'petty bourgeoisie'...There is no doubt that petty bourgeois autonomy...is in large measure an illusion....Competing against the vast resources of big capital, constrained by big creditors and markets, relying on their ingenuity and hard work to eke out a living, many of the self-employed have precious little freedom in deciding how they produce, what they produce or how they spend their time. Unlike many waged workers they cannot even draw a line between work and leisure...Their work preoccupies them constantly.

However, even if autonomy is largely illusory, it is a powerful illusion, one which offers substantial satisfaction and for which many are prepared to toil". (1988:149) [my emphasis]

Thus in spite of the apparent disadvantages of self-employment, the Chinese continue to aspire towards ownership of a catering establishment. For the hope is ever present that through hard work and commitment, their fortunes will be made through the route of entrepreneurship. The intra-generational mobility that can be achieved, the anticipated independence and autonomy, the hope of great financial

rewards, the combination of all these features appear to more than compensate for all the negative traits which seem to accompany self-employment as presented. The Chinese work hard towards raising themselves out of the working class into the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie.

According to Wright, the petite bourgeoisie are "those who either work for themselves or, despite the employment of some labour, generate the bulk of the surplus value" (quoted in Scase and Goffee, 1982:17). The Chinese restaurateurs and takeaway owners, as small employers or self-employed, would be classified as belonging to the petite bourgeoisie. The working class would include all those Chinese working as an employee in a catering establishment.

With this distinction in mind, the main issue to be addressed is: to what extent does the structural variable family class affect the occupational attainment of young Chinese adults in Britain? The theoretical implications for those young adults with a petite bourgeois background are that they enjoy the resources associated with that class position, in terms of class cultural values and the material benefits which they could utilise to their advantage. Conversely, those with a working class background should have poorer lifechances by comparison.

Dealing with class values first. Although not formally specified in the literature it can be gleaned from past research that petite bourgeois values bear great similarities to middle class values in their emphasis on

advancement (for themselves and their children) and in their orientation towards the future. This is perhaps unremarkable given that the petite bourgeoisie fall within the nebulous boundaries of the middle class. According to the Scase and Goffee (1982) typology of the middle class, there are four groups which are subsumed under the broad heading of this class. The established middle class is made up of the entrepreneurial middle class (active proprietors of productive assets, for example, owner-directors or owner-controllers), and the salaried middle class (managers, professionals and highly qualified technical employees). The marginal middle class consists of the salaried middle class (lower grade managerial, professional, technical and routine non-manual employees), and finally, the group of most interest here, the entrepreneurial middle class (active proprietors of petty productive assets, for example, small employers and the self-employed).

However, as Bechhofer et al see it, the marginality of the petite bourgeoisie means that it is a matter of choice whether people in this group identify with middle class or working class values. They wrote of shopkeepers in Glasgow:

"Some will enter the occupation from manual backgrounds without aspirations for upward social mobility. They can gain the benefits of autonomy (and possibly some economic advantages as well) without having to move into new social worlds with new and inescapable relationships and unfamiliar alien values.

"Others, however, will see the occupation as offering them social mobility. They will wish to adopt new sets of social relations and new normative standards. They will identify with other established middle-class groups and seek the opportunities both for themselves and for their children which this occupation may be able to

provide. They will want to give their children a 'better start', to set them on the road to solidly middle-class positions, and in this they will be conscious of the need for planning, for 'sacrifice', and for the establishment of clear 'projects'" (1974:122).

Are the ambitions expressed in the latter part of the above quotation - the desire for continued advancement and improvement, not only for themselves but for their children too, the socially aspiring values which are often attributed to the middle class? Another study of a petite bourgeois group (bakers in France) echoed these sentiments:

"But above all, they aspire to social improvement for themselves and their families. Their ambition is to rise above the condition of low income employment: to earn more, to secure a 'better life', to give their children opportunities for study which they were denied. These aspirations gave them a sense of superiority over routine manual and white collar workers who were 'resigned to their lot'" (Mayer, 1987:41).

So what precisely constitutes 'middle class' values or 'working class' values? These need to be established in order to determine whether the Chinese petite bourgeoisie have adopted middle class values which could enhance the lives of their children compared to the working class Chinese.

According to Goldthorpe et al in their study: "The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure" (1969), they set up ideal types of 'traditional middle class' perspectives against 'traditional working class' perspectives. The main elements were that the latter conceived of the social order as a dichotomous one, where society is divided into 'us' and 'them'; that these social circumstances are more or less immutable, and so the main concern in life is to maintain a

certain standard of living; complementary to this is a certain fatalism, an attitude of 'making the best of it'; and finally, purposive action is aimed at the protection of collective interests. In contrast to this is the middle class attitude, which believes that the social order is hierarchical but the structure is 'open'; the typical objective is to keep up progressive improvement in consumption standards; and so the emphasis is placed on advancement and future orientation, planning ahead and deferring gratification if necessary; and finally, the social ethic is essentially individualistic although achievement is a family concern and parents feel an obligation to try to give their children a 'better start in life', that is, the expectation for advancement is continuous, between generations as well as in the course of the individual lifetimes.

Although what has been delineated is an ideal type, the 1991 British Social Attitudes report lends some support to this construction, insofar as the British Social Attitudes survey reveals that in contemporary Britain, while the majority (58%) of respondents to the question measuring solidarity felt 'very' or 'fairly close' to other people of the same social class background as themselves, this was more pronounced for the manual workers than people in the non-manual jobs. In addition, although it seems that there is a sense of Britain gradually moving away from a situation in which opportunities are rigidly circumscribed by birth and people in every social class had become more sanguine, it

was however principally white-collar workers who were the most likely to proclaim that class is losing its importance in affecting opportunities.

By these measures then, the belief that the social order is not immutable and opportunities exist for movement up the social hierarchy, although not exclusively a middle class domain, is nevertheless still a more prevalent attitude of the middle class. The studies of the petite bourgeoisie have indicated that their attitudes are middle class ones in that most of the petite bourgeoisie often believe that small business ownership offers a viable means of attaining socio-economic mobility intra-generationally, and in addition providing a foundation from which the next generation have a greater chance of successfully achieving inter-generational mobility - preferably through educational attainment as a route into the professions, as the following extract on Indian shopkeepers shows:

"...Asian entrepreneurs...see the future careers of their children in terms of academic and professional qualifications rather than shop ownership..." (Jones, 1982:476)

In the case of the Chinese, research has consistently demonstrated that they hold values akin to the middle class in their aspirations for their children, although with time their concern appears to be less with increasing mobility and prestige than it has over time become more a negative and critical appraisal of the arduous life in catering, and hence the desire to see their children break out of the ethnic niche. This is a trend which can be observed in the following extracts:

"..he places some of his hopes for the future on his children for they with education, may move out of restaurant business into professional jobs of high status..." (Bradley, 1973) [my emphasis]

"There is little doubt that most Chinese in this country have high hopes for their children's education. All parents in the sample had this hope...They wanted their children to be in the position that they could chose what to enter." (Cheung,1975) [my emphasis]

"...[there is a] growing awareness of the economic and social trap that running an ethnic takeaway shop or restaurant holds in store for future generations...Consequently, it is accompanied often by a desire to see children leave the fast food trade through educational attainment" (Baxter and Raw, 1988:71) [my emphasis]

For such ambitions harboured by the parents for their children to be realised though requires two conditions to be met. These are economic power and the transmission of values to the children. On the latter point, it is imperative that the children are equally motivated to achieve, that the ethos must be instilled in them too. Bechhofer et al wrote that:

"Most important, however, is the transmission to children of a system of values and beliefs which many small shopkeepers hold and which emphasises the importance of success through one's own efforts and critically, the possibility of such success" (1974:122)

However, values alone are insufficient to propel the children onto 'better things'. This brings the discussion to the second point which concerns the other beneficial resource of the petite bourgeoisie - material means. The economic power gained from entrepreneurship, it is argued, gives the necessary vital support, enhancing the lifechances of the children and placing them in a better position to realise these ambitions for upward mobility. 'Direct

economic power' (ibid) can buy better quality education if required, and certainly it allows the children to afford to defer gratification in terms of delaying entry into the labour market in order to invest in more education and training to gain the qualifications which will give them access into the 'desirable jobs', such as the professions.

Turning to the primary data now. The respondents were asked how important their parents thought education was in helping to get a good job. The results were unequivocal. An overwhelming 71% of the 73 respondents replied 'very important', 11% gave 'important', 8% 'neither', and only 3% and 7% considered education to be 'unimportant' and 'very unimportant' respectively.

These results will be broken down by class to observe whether or not there is substantial difference between the attitudes of the parents in ASEG1 (owners and managers) compared to ASEG4 (personal service workers). Due to incomplete data with regards to parents' current or most recent occupation, it has been assumed that the majority of those in ASEG1 are petite bourgeois Chinese in the catering industry, while those in ASEG4 are presumed to be largely Chinese catering workers. Father's present ASEG will be taken as a more accurate indicator of family socio-economic status, since many mothers engaged as 'employees' in catering were actually working in the family business, which was technically owned by the father. Using mother's occupation would in such instances have presented a distorted image of the family socio-economic level.

This class analysis reveals that out of 53 fathers whose occupations could be determined, 69% of fathers in ASEG4 believed education to be very important compared to 72% of fathers in ASEG1. Therefore in terms of values (valuing education) between the fathers of these two classes, it can be seen that there is minimal difference, with the majority of both classes of Chinese recognizing that education was important to getting a good job.

While in general a large proportion of all the Chinese parents believed in the importance of education, this is belied somewhat by their actions. The results to the next question concerning the respondents' perceptions of the encouragement they received from their parents indicate that only 47% of the 73 respondents claimed their parents to have been very encouraging. Eighteen per cent said their parents were 'encouraging', another 18% were 'neither', 7% were 'unencouraging' and 11% were 'very unencouraging'.

A breakdown of these results by class show that out of 53 fathers, 53% of those in ASEG1 were 'very encouraging' compared to only 23% of fathers who were in ASEG4. It would seem from these statistics that the young Chinese adults with a petite bourgeois/middle class background had the advantage of more encouraging fathers over the young Chinese adults with a working class background. The disparity should also be noted between these percentages and the earlier percentages of the fathers who thought education to be very important. The difference in percentage between

those petite bourgeois/ middle class fathers who believed education to be important compared to their encouragement of their children in education was an overall fall of 19%, and for the working class fathers it was an even more dramatic overall reduction of 46%.

Prima facie this would seem to reinforce the belief that the middle class Chinese had an advantage over the working class Chinese - that the middle class fathers appeared to be in a position to support and encourage their children in their education, whereas the working class fathers were not in a position to promote the interests of their children. Further analysis does not however, appear to provide evidence for this argument, that the petite bourgeois Chinese had the economic power that the working class Chinese lacked, to benefit their children.

As discussed the petite bourgeoisie class is supposed to provide enhanced lifechances for their children. Ironically, the reality is that the economic power held to work for the children, had first to be secured through their contribution of labour. This effectively meant that during the critical years of education, not only were the Chinese children of the petite bourgeoisie deprived of the benefits of economic power they were theoretically to have enjoyed at the time, but furthermore, their energies were directed away from their studies in order to help attain this economic power.

So, how many of the respondents actually worked in catering whilst in full-time education, and what were the effects on their occupational attainments? A total of 59% of the respondents had worked in catering. By class, out of 51 responses, 78% of those with fathers in ASEG1 had worked in catering compared to 54% of those with fathers in ASEG4. Therefore those with a petite bourgeois background were more likely to have experience in catering compared to children of a working class background as expected, although the proportion of working class youth who had to work is by no means insubstantial.

Forty-two of the respondents who had worked in catering whilst in full-time education gave their reasons for doing so. Sixty-two percent gave 'family expectation' as the reason, while 14% wanted to help out in the business, compared to 24% who worked to earn money. Thus those with a petite bourgeois background were mainly helping out in the family business, differing from those with a working class background who primarily worked in catering as students to earn extra money.

Helping out unsurprisingly had adverse effects on the occupational attainments of these young Chinese adults. A breakdown of the data indicates that 41% of the young Chinese adults currently 'professionals' had working experience in catering as students, compared to 67% of the non-manual workers, and 87% of the service (catering) workers. This highlights the detrimental effects helping out had on some of the respondents' careers, for those who

were currently working full-time in catering were more likely to have worked than those now in non-manual occupations, and the latter were in turn more likely to have worked than those presently engaged in the professions. The results were statistically significant at the 5% level.

Recapitulating, the situation seems to be that the majority of the parents believed in the importance of education. However, substantially fewer parents were actually very encouraging towards their children in their education. In terms of class, both middle class/petite bourgeois and working class parents equally valued education, although the former were perceived to be more encouraging than the latter parents. However, the analysis showed that the middle class Chinese did not in reality provide noticeably improved lifechances for their children over the working class Chinese. In fact it has been shown in the case of the Chinese that while the middle class have accumulated wealth (or are in the process of doing so), it is profit gained through the labours of their children, for whom it was paradoxically supposed to be a benefit. The opportunity costs to these children of helping the family secure economic power was evident in their diminished chances for attaining higher status jobs in the wider labour market. The extent to which the respondents worked in catering whilst still full-time students was the crucial factor - and those with a petite bourgeois background were obviously more likely to help out (in the family business). Thus the theoretical advantages of having a petite bourgeois

background are therefore in essence cancelled out in practice.

The theoretical concept of relation to capital is therefore a poor indicator/ prediction of the lifechances experienced by the children growing up in the Chinese catering industry. According to Scase and Goffee's typology of the middle class, the Chinese small business owners would be classified as belonging to the marginal sector of the entrepreneurial middle class. This category was regarded as being a tenuous position because the enterprises were structured upon labour rather than capital. The implications for the children, as concluded by Scase and Goffee, was that:

"Because there are few capital assets which can be inter-generationally transmitted, the lifechances of the children of small employers and the self-employed are little better than those of the property-less employees" (1982:188).

This is precisely what the survey data has borne out. Entrepreneurship does not necessarily guarantee better lifechances for the children of this class.

Inspite of all this many of the Chinese respondents (both working class and middle class) managed to obtain non-manual or professional occupations. Such achievement orientation may be attributed to the values held by the parents and transmitted through them to the children. There was little discrepancy found in the values held by the middle class and working class parents. Both possessed what has been perceived as traditionally middle class perspectives. How can this convergence in perspectives be explained? Another factor must be operating and it is to this we turn.

IV - CULTURAL INFLUENCES

With the conclusions arrived at in the preceding section, the argument in this section is that cultural influences may provide a better explanation towards an understanding of the occupational attainments of the young adults.

The influence of culture on the careers of the young Chinese adults in Britain must be examined through the family not only because it is the first agent of socialisation, but also in this case because the concept of the family is so deeply rooted in Chinese culture, permeating all aspects of life. It has been commented that "It is a well-known fact that Chinese society and Chinese life are organised on the basis of the family system. This system determines and colours the entire pattern of Chinese life" (Yutang, 1938:188/189). Yet to look at the Chinese family in Britain means in effect to also look at the small business, since the lives of the family members are so inextricably linked with the enterprise. By approaching from the perspective of why the Chinese are so successful at these small enterprises, light will be thrown on the Chinese culture in the process. A knowledge of the culture will then contribute to an appreciation of their strong motivation to succeed and the occupational paths taken by the young Chinese adults.

The overseas Chinese have displayed remarkably consistent behaviour in terms of their participation in entrepreneurship in such a diversity of societies that this

mode cannot be dismissed as coincidental. Irrespective of the way they first entered the host society, for example, as indentured labourers to the USA, for example, or as slaves to the black people in Peru (Pan, 1990:70), or simply as economic migrants to Britain, against the range of adversities and circumstances, the Chinese have ultimately involved themselves in ethnic enterprises in an attempt to improve their socio-economic status. Structural explanations may explicate to an extent the greater propensity of the Chinese than other ethnic groups to set up small businesses in countries world-wide, but they are impotent to explain the indisputable success of the Chinese at entrepreneurship. The argument presented here is that culture is the distinguishing feature.

Since the early diaspora of the Chinese in South-East Asia from about the fourteenth century, "...the Overseas Chinese have developed one particular form of the organisation - the family business - and kept to it" (Redding, 1990:3). Redding attributed the form in S.E. Asia to the following factors:

- (a) - the Confucian political philosophy of the stable family;
- (b) - a set of values instilled in consequence over centuries of socialization;
- (c) - facts of Chinese history which have made it sensible for the Chinese family to act as the main source of identity and succour;
- (d) - psychological characteristics of dependence and loyalty;
- (e) - patrilineal and patrilocal kinship structures;

- (f) - more recent politico-economic environments which have encouraged family business units.

Chinese businesses in the West operate on essentially the same principles. As with the above, most researchers have accredited Chinese small business form and success to the socio-cultural factors, exemplified by Light (1972) on the Chinese in America; and Boissevain and Grotenbreg (1986) on the Chinese in Holland. Benedict concluded in a study of Chinese, Indian and Creole businessmen in the Seychelle Islands that "the success of a family enterprise depended upon the existence of a hierarchical family structure, family loyalty and loyalty to the family enterprise" (quoted in Boissevain and Grotenbreg, 1986:2). Benedict wrote:

"My contention is that the growth and success of a family firm is highly dependent on a strong and authoritarian father and a closely knit cooperative family. The reciprocal of this is wives and sons willing to submit to the father's rule. This is accompanied by an ideology which stresses loyalty to the family and hence the firm. Such an ideology is fostered particularly if the family is somewhat isolated from the surrounding social milieu. I do not contend that only a strong patriarchal family is required for a successful family firm but that without it the firm is likely to fail." (ibid)

The centrality of the family is prominent in Chinese culture. Embedded in the concept of filial piety advocated by Confucius, it was essentially an ideological tool utilised by the State for the purpose of maintaining social order. The set of ethics guide behaviour with a clear hierarchy of familial and social relations in which deference and discipline form the core principles.

This doctrine of filial piety and social conduct used in the interests of the State in China have been transposed and

reinforced by entrepreneurs abroad for their benefit. In practical terms it means for the entrepreneur accessibility to a cheap and reliable source of labour in his wife and children. Indeed, as reported earlier, the main reasons the respondents worked in catering whilst still a full-time student was that their family expected them to help out or that they wanted to help the family. These psychological ties to the family carry social sanctions, in that the member of the family who does not make his/her contribution can be socially ostracised, for instance, within and outside of the family for being selfish and disobedient. The overseas Chinese entrepreneurs have a vested interest in maintaining the Chinese culture and tradition then, for it works in their favour.

Boissevain and Grotenbreg argue that structure and culture are inextricably interwoven (1986:17). They describe how particular characteristics displayed in the Chinese arose to meet the socio-economic circumstances historically, and that the nature of modern ethnic enterprises demand the presence of these cultural traits, generating them if necessary to be incorporated into the family culture and transmitted thereafter to successive generations. They wrote:

"It is not coincidental that soberness, hard work, saving, future orientation and patriarchal leadership are associated with Chinese...For centuries [they] were small scale peasants and traders for whom such values are essential for survival. The culture of an ethnic group is in large measure an adaptation to existing economic constraints.

"...These attributes are important resources for a successful small enterprise. They are also values generated by the activities of an entrepreneur seeking to meet the demands imposed by his

enterprise. The enterprises of the small self-employed are intimately interlinked with their families. Together they form a moral unit. These values are generated in the work place and thus become a part of the family culture. They are transmitted from one generation to the next. In this way the production and reproduction of culture takes place." (ibid).

The transmission of culture in the present study was measured by the indicator: language spoken to parents. Use of Chinese was held to indicate a high level of cultural transmission because it allowed for an increased degree of communication between the respondents and their parents in the latter's native tongue, the reverse was true of usage of English. As Taylor wrote:

"Chinese parents see the Chinese language as vital for the transmission of the Chinese culture and values enshrined in it and hence as a significant element in the identity of their children. Since it seems relatively few pupils of Chinese origin are literate in Chinese, culture must be transmitted orally." (1987:267).

As displayed in Table 5.4 it can be seen that almost three quarters (74%) of the respondents communicated in Chinese to their parents, 15% used both English and Chinese, while 11% spoke only English to their parents. Based on the presupposition above, this would indicate a high level of cultural transmission.

Table 5.4 also shows the language spoken by the respondents to their siblings. This indicates the more natural linguistic tendency of the young Chinese adults. The results indicate that the preference is to use both English and Chinese to communicate - 39% found it more comfortable to do so, while 36% still continued to use only Chinese to communicate to siblings, and 25% spoke only English.

Table 5.4 Language Spoken At Home

Language	To Parents		To Siblings	
	N	%	N	%
Chinese	53	74	26	36
English	8	11	18	25
Both	11	15	28	38

Given that there is extensive usage of the Chinese language between respondents and parents, and to a lesser degree between siblings, this provides the opportunities for the transmission of traditional Chinese values. While this absorption and practice of Chinese culture may be observed in the numbers who help out in catering businesses, the process of helping out simultaneously serves to provide further opportunities to reinforce the culture due to the close social proximity between the family members and perhaps other kinspeople.

However, there must be more than the Confucian philosophy and the concept of filial piety which tie the respondents to helping out in the family business, to make these Chinese entrepreneurs so successful in their businesses. Research, mainly from the USA, has focussed on the work ethos of the Chinese, which has often been held in comparison with the Protestant Ethic discussed by Weber. This comparison has generally been made in the context of analysing why Asian-American (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and so on) entrepreneurs are so successful in the USA, but it also has potentially wider applications in its implications for the higher educational attainments of the Asian-Americans over

other ethnic groups including White Americans, in addition to their higher occupational and income attainments than other ethnic groups.

These comparisons are not confined to the Chinese in the USA. It has been remarked on the work attitude of the Chinese settlers in New Zealand that: "If they became proficient in their jobs, it was with a newly acquired skill. What skills they did not possess they acquired by patience, hardwork, and capacity to endure hardship" (Fong, 1959:84). Such qualities frequently alluded to in descriptions of the 'Chinese work ethic' are reminiscent of the ascetic attitudes of the Calvinists in Weber's work.

According to Weber in "The Protestant Ethic And The Spirit of Capitalism", what compelled the Calvinists to apply themselves so diligently to their worldly callings was connected to the notion of predestination. The Calvinists, in their religion, were predestined to either be an elect child of God or a sinner condemned to eternal damnation. They did not know which they were. In the hope that they were the former of the two, they demonstrated their faith by acting as if they were, by conscientiously dedicating themselves to their vocations (including business). Success at the calling was seen as a sign that one was indeed a chosen child of God.

The proposal is that cultural values of the Chinese foster work attitudes reminiscent of the Protestant Ethic.

However, the sanctions which compel the Chinese to work so industriously are social. Kahn suggested that the Chinese:

"..'seriousness about tasks' [is] attributed..to a sense of responsibility which reaches unusually high levels, ultimately based on the onus of duty which turns filial piety into practice. In a society where each family is dependent on its own resources for its survival, and where each individual is in turn dependent on family support for so much in life, the person who is not working as hard as he or she might for the common good will come under intense social pressure. With sensitivity to social influence running so high, the only relief will come when prosperity has been guaranteed for the future, a state which few families will concede." (quoted in Redding, 1990:69)

So while filial piety may operate to bind the family members to the business, the work ethic ensures that these individuals work effectively in their jobs. The combination of filial piety and the work ethic means that the entrepreneur is provided with a loyal and diligent workforce in the form of his own family. However, while Chinese culture may work to the advantage of the entrepreneur, under these circumstances the culture operates against the interests of the individuals (respondents) inasmuch as helping out was shown to have had significant adverse effects on some of the respondents' levels of attainment (see Section III). This has caused accusations to be levelled at the Chinese in Britain that their value system has been corrupted and wavers from the traditional in that their concern is fundamentally materialistic. Pan argued this in terms of education:

"..though it makes sense of a kind to assume that, because Chinese traditionally place great stress on academic achievement the parents of immigrant children must value good education, the truth is that many of the ones in England, little educated

themselves, find it hard to see the relevance of university degrees to the running of the family business. Their attitudes to education are frankly utilitarian; these attitudes were brought to England and then amplified by the immigrant struggle, which tends to reduce everything to pecuniary standards." (1990:279).

The findings of the present study show how erroneous Pan's perception of the British Chinese approach to education is, as 71% of the parents considered education to be 'very important', while another 11% thought it 'important'. Pan is right insofar as the immigrant struggle meant that these migrants had a heightened sense of pragmatism and their priority was to attain economic security. The parents however, did display a measure of ambivalence. They were faced with the dilemma of wanting their children to obtain a good education which they recognized was very important to obtaining a prestigious job, yet relying heavily on the assistance of the children in the business. That family economic well-being seems to have taken over the individual interests of the respondents, judging by the numbers who helped out and also by the smaller numbers of respondents who thought their parents had been very encouraging in their education, is unsurprising. For it is in keeping with Chinese culture insofar as the basic unit is not considered to be the individual but the family. Family concerns and welfare are the primary concern, and "The ideal of the family system is necessarily against the ideal of personal individualism" (Yutang, 1938:191). Also, contrary to Pan's claims, the research by Bradley (1973), Cheung (1975), and Baxter (1988) have shown support for the notion that Chinese

parents in Britain did harbour aspirations for the education and occupations of their children.

It is in any case totally inappropriate to compare the achievements (or more accurately 'lack of' in Pan's perception of the situation) of Chinese in Britain with the Chinese in the USA, first, because the Chinese in America have been settled there longer (by about a couple of generations) than their counterparts across the Atlantic. Consequently they (should) have fewer problems economically, linguistically/educationally, and socially, and therefore are in a far superior position to achieve their goals. In fact, it should be borne in mind that many of the Chinese respondents (71%) in the present survey were themselves born abroad, unlike the Asian-Americans of comparative ages. Second, after the USA immigration reforms in 1965, the new Chinese immigrants to America were demographically very different to those arriving in Britain at the same time, for the selected Chinese granted permission to settle in America were the elite - educated, professional or business people, while those entering Britain were poor, unskilled and uneducated.

Yet in spite of having to help out and having parents who did not give unreserved support to them in their educational endeavours, a large proportion of the respondents have, all things considered, achieved an irrefutably respectable level of socio-economic status (see Chapter Four).

Thus the argument here is that the characteristics that have contributed to the success of the Chinese businesses are also responsible for the success of the second generation in their respective pursuits and endeavours, that is, their high educational and occupational attainments. Filial piety, for instance, is not concerned only with imbuing the Chinese young with qualities such as obedience and discipline, it goes further to advocate that the children should not in any way shame their parents. Shame may be caused by positive actions or omissions to act. Academic 'failure', for example, reflects as negatively on the parents in the eyes of other Chinese as it does on that particular individual. Conversely, educational success or high occupational attainments will bring prestige to the parents in addition to the achiever. Therefore, there is implicit social pressure on the children to do well if not excel at whatever task is at hand.

Furthermore, hardwork, diligence, and industry are generally encouraged to be applied to all that one does. Although the respondents were required to help out in the family businesses, it was probably implicit that the children should still exert effort towards their studies, for the parents expect such dedication as a matter of course. Thus it is hoped by the Chinese parents in Britain that while they may have diverted some time and attention of the children away from their studies, this disadvantage could be made up through increased effort on the part of the children. It has been consistently demonstrated in the USA that

"Consonant with prior research, there was a general finding that the Asian Americans used effort as an explanation of success and failure more than they used ability" (Mizokawa, 1990:445).

Redding commented on the work ethic in relation to Chinese students that:

"Children perspire into the night to achieve examination successes which separate them from other ethnic groups in North America (and lead them into the safe haven of the professions)...The work ethic permeates Overseas Chinese life and, no matter its origins, be they family duty, acceptance of discipline, fear of insecurity, bred tolerance of repetition, or highly tuned pragmatism, its universality is sufficient to make it an expectation of those dealing with them." (Redding, 1990:70).

Alluded to by Redding is the fact that most Chinese (overseas) aspire to occupations in the professions. (This had also been established in Chapter Four.) This again is related to the culture insofar as the professions epitomise all the qualities sought by the Chinese. The professions confer prestige and status, they provide financial rewards, security, they offer independence and autonomy - in fact most of the benefits to be gained in catering without the apparent disadvantages (hard manual work and long hours, the pressures of securing returns to labour and capital, etc). The prestige of the professions lies in their restricted access - for the qualifications and training required for entry creates a barrier to most but the elite. More imperatively attainment of a professional occupation overtly advertises that one is educated. This makes professional status all the more desirable and prized by the Chinese, for

it puts what the Chinese have traditionally valued into practice within the host society. The importance of education in Chinese society is illustrated below:

"For twelve centuries the social rank in China has been determined more by qualification for office than wealth. This qualification in turn has been determined by education, and especially by examinations. China has made literary education the yardstick of social prestige in the most exclusive fashion." (Weber, 1964:107).

Therefore the attainment of a professional occupation in the wider society fulfils not only Chinese perceptions of what is 'high status' work, but also converges with and satisfies the indigenous standards too. This is important because the longer an ethnic minority group remains in the 'host' society the more the group begins to measure not by the standards of the ethnic community but by the standards of the 'host' society (Lee, 1960). Entering the professions therefore indicate to the Chinese that they have 'made it' in the host society - the ultimate sign of success, and one which is universally recognized.

It is concluded that Chinese culture has greater applications than class explanations in understanding the career behaviour of the young Chinese adults, although that is certainly not to disparage the usefulness of the latter. For example, while both the working class Chinese and the middle class Chinese parents believed in the importance of education to getting a good job, the middle class parents were more encouraging of their children than the working class parents. This could be seen as (middle) class values reinforcing Chinese values, with regards to education at

least. A large proportion of young Chinese adults from both classes managed to obtain jobs in the professions and other non-manual occupations - which contradicts the findings of research on the children of migrant workers concerning social reproduction and occupational inheritance (see Chapter Two). These achievements, it has been argued, were due mainly to the influence of the Chinese culture. The concepts of filial piety and the work ethic, for example, ensure that the Chinese youth strive towards high educational and occupational attainments, in spite of other familial commitments and responsibilities which consume their time and attention.

V - INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY

Research on ethnic minority youth in Europe presents a depressing view, with reports of the social reproduction of poverty and occupational inheritance or unemployment (see Chapter Two). In Chapter Four both primary and secondary data demonstrated that this was not the situation for most young Chinese adults in Britain. That is not to claim that there is not an amount of occupational inheritance with some young Chinese adults remaining, through choice or otherwise, in the Chinese catering industry. But the majority of young Chinese adults had in fact not only obtained employment in the wider labour market, but most had actually attained jobs categorised as being in the top to middle strata of the socio-economic structure.

What this section endeavours to do is to assess the inter-generational mobility achieved by the young Chinese adults in Britain. The same problem exists here in the measurement of inter-generational mobility as it did earlier (in Section II) with regards to the intra-generational mobility of the parents in terms of the low response rates and incomplete data to the questions concerning parents' present occupations. In spite of being thus impeded, Table 5.5A and Table 5.5B display the type of inter-generational mobility experienced by those respondents who could be matched up with their fathers and mothers respectively, and an analysis will proceed with such limitations borne in mind. Also it should be noted that what is being compared is the young Chinese adults' occupational levels at the early stages of their careers compared to their parents' occupational levels at the later stages of their career.

Table 5.5A Intergenerational Mobility Of Respondents Compared To Their Fathers

Father's ASEG	Respondent's ASEG					Total	
	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	N	%
ASEG1	1	12	6	8	2	29	60.4
ASEG2	--	2	--	--	--	2	4.2
ASEG3	--	1	--	--	--	1	2.1
ASEG4	2	4	3	2	1	12	25.0
ASEG5	--	1	2	--	1	4	8.3
Total N	3	20	11	10	4	48	--
Total %	6.3	41.7	22.9	20.8	8.3	--	100.0

The data shows that compared to the fathers, 27.1% of the respondents experienced upward mobility in terms of their socio-economic group, 12.5% maintained an equivalent level of socio-economic group, while 60.4% experienced downward mobility. Relative to their mothers, 42.9% of the respondents achieved upward mobility, 5.7% maintained an equivalent level of socio-economic group, and 51.4% experienced downward social mobility.

Table 5.5B Intergenerational Mobility Of Respondents Compared To Their Mothers

Mother's ASEG	Respondent's ASEG					Total	
	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	N	%
ASEG1	--	8	3	5	2	18	51.4
ASEG2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
ASEG3	--	3	--	--	--	3	8.6
ASEG4	2	5	2	1	--	10	28.6
ASEG5	--	--	3	--	1	4	11.4
Total N	2	16	8	6	3	35	--
Total %	5.7	45.7	22.9	17.1	8.6	--	100.0

Arguably, these statistics do not reflect (tending to understate) the 'real' level of inter-generational mobility achieved by the young Chinese adults, due to the method of classification. The Registrar General's Classification of Occupations classifies the petite bourgeois owner of small Chinese businesses significantly differently from the employees in such an establishment. While the owner may perform identical tasks and yet be no better off financially

compared to the employee, they are nevertheless categorised in SEG 2 (ASEG 1) and SEG 7 (ASEG 4) respectively. The young Chinese adult in the professional employee sector, for example, would be in SEG 4 (ASEG 2), and therefore would have a lower socio-economic status than their mother or father who owned a takeaway, for instance, and would be regarded as having experienced downward mobility, inspite of being substantially better educated, and perhaps having a higher income than that of the parent who owned a business.

The point is that aiming to enter the professions is a conscious decision, a strategic move by the young Chinese adults because they perceive it to be an upward social move. For the Chinese, over time "Income loses its significance as the sole criterion for preferential rating, the source of income and the way it is earned become more important in evaluating social class status" (Lee, 1960:272). Therefore, given the cultural significance of education to the Chinese, being employed in an occupation like one of the professions, confers at least equivalent if not more prestige than owning a Chinese catering establishment.

An analysis based on the Registrar-General's (OPCS, 1980) social class schema also has weaknesses. The method of categorization used there is based on the skill and prestige of an occupation and "no account is taken of differences between individuals in the same occupational group, for example, differences of education or level of remuneration" (OPCS, 1980:xi). Therefore, the owner of a restaurant and the chef in the same restaurant are both subsumed under

social class III - skilled occupations, although the former is distinguished as being non-manual while the latter is manual within that class. However, under this class schema the Chinese professionals would appear in social class I and thus as having achieved upward mobility compared to the owner parents in catering.

The Scase and Goffee typology of the middle class used earlier would confirm that the young Chinese professionals from a petite bourgeois background have achieved upward mobility from the marginal-entrepreneurial middle class into the established-salaried middle class. As for the other young Chinese non-manual workers in the wider labour market, they would be seen as having achieved horizontal mobility from the marginal-entrepreneurial middle class into the marginal-salaried middle class. Those young adults engaged in manual work would be seen as having experienced downward mobility if their parents were from the entrepreneurial middle class.

As for those young adults with parents employed in catering, according to the Scase and Goffee typology, those who had achieved professional status would be regarded as having attained upward mobility into the established-salaried middle class, while those in other non-manual work would also have achieved upward mobility into the marginal-salaried middle class, and those who remained in catering as employees or went into the manual sector would have remained in the working class, and therefore would not have experienced any inter-generational mobility.

Therefore, in determining whether the offspring have experienced vertical or horizontal intergenerational mobility depends on the schema used to classify the occupations. In this instance, the Scase and Goffee typology appears to be the most appropriate one, giving the most accurate reflection of the situation as perceived from the Chinese perspective, that is, that the young Chinese adults entering the professions are achieving upward mobility compared to their petite bourgeois parents.

VI - SUMMARY

This chapter has focussed on the structural and cultural influences on the occupational attainments of young Chinese adults in Britain as mediated through the family.

It was established that structural factors were responsible for channelling the first generation Chinese migrants into employment in the Chinese catering industry in Britain, hence affecting the family class of the Chinese by defining the boundaries and restricting the levels of socio-economic attainments which could be made by the first generation Chinese migrants. Cultural factors were seen to be responsible for reinforcing the structural effects in confining these Chinese to the catering trade, since it enabled many of the catering workers to successfully set up and operate their own small catering business in this niche, by providing the means by which the entrepreneurs could

harness the labour power of their families, and be assured of loyalty and dedication.

Entrepreneurship was regarded as desirable because it was a means of achieving substantial intragenerational mobility. Furthermore, it was hoped that this socio-economic position would provide greater opportunities for intergenerational mobility too. However, one major finding was that family class was not a significant factor in that the children of the petite bourgeoisie did not enjoy better lifechances than those from a working class background. What was significant was whether the respondents had worked in catering while still in full-time education, as this was found to have detrimental effects on the level of occupational attainment. Respondents from both classes had experienced catering work: generally many of the petite bourgeois youth had to help out in the family business, while the working class youth did it to earn extra money.

In spite of this many children from all backgrounds were able to move out of the Chinese catering industry, most to positions in the middle to upper sections of the occupational structure. It was concluded that in the case of the Chinese in Britain, family class was less influential than cultural factors in shaping the orientations and motivations of young Chinese adults, which ultimately influenced their occupational attainments.

CHAPTER SIX

ROLE OF EDUCATION

"If you are planning for a year, sow rice; if you are planning for a decade, plant trees; if you are planning for a lifetime, educate people".

-Chinese proverb.

"There being instruction, there will be no distinction of classes".

-Confucius.

I - INTRODUCTION

A review of the literature in Chapter Two disclosed how research has consistently demonstrated that educational reforms to move Britain closer to a meritocracy have in fact done little to eradicate social inequalities. Since opportunities are still far from egalitarian, how then have the young Chinese adults fared educationally? What are the levels of educational attainments of these youth, and how has this affected their levels of occupational attainments? These are some of the issues to be addressed in this chapter.

Thus inspite of changes to the education system from a tripartite to a comprehensive system of schooling, previous studies indicated that class persisted in its influence on the educational and occupational aspirations and attainments of youth in Britain. However, as Chapter Five revealed, in the case of the Chinese, class effects were not so

significant, insofar as the petite bourgeois Chinese youth did not have noticeably better lifechances than the working class Chinese youth. Nevertheless, home background did exert strong influences, less in terms of class, than in relation to cultural values as transmitted through the family.

Thus Chapter Two indicated that where ethnic minority youth are concerned they tend to have high occupational aspirations. This was also found to be the case (in Chapter Four) with the Chinese youth, although these aspirations were not unrealistic as most of the Chinese went on to achieve (fairly) high positions in the occupational structure. Chapter Five indicated that cultural influences were largely responsible for the high levels of motivation of the young Chinese adults, which affected their occupational attainments, operating it appeared via their educational attainments.

This chapter builds on the conclusions of Chapter Five and explores in greater depth the role of this ethnic resource in relation to the mediating factor, educational attainment. That is, to what extent can the level of academic achievements, which impact on occupational attainments of young Chinese adults in Britain, be attributed to the influence of Chinese culture?

The organisation of this chapter will be as follows: in Section II an historical account will be given to reveal how the current attitudes of the Chinese in the contemporary

West are derived, and establish exactly what their orientations to education are. Such an understanding will better enable an assessment in Section III to be made of their actual educational attainments - especially in comparison with the educational attainments of indigenous and other ethnic groups using data from the Labour Force Survey. Whether these educational attainments have translated into occupational attainments for the young Chinese adults will be examined in Section IV. Finally in Section V, the experiences of Asian Americans will be looked at since this may provide some indications of what obstacles the British Chinese might face as they diversify into the wider labour market.

II - CHINESE ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION

This section endeavours to establish what the British Chinese attitudes to education are in order to set the perspective for an analysis (in the following section) of the educational attainments of the Chinese in Britain in light of the attainments made by indigenous and other ethnic groups in Britain. It is proposed here that education has been and remains immensely important to the Chinese. An historical account will reveal that over time and space, the fundamental functions of education for the Chinese has not altered, although the content of education has undergone a change, as the culture has adapted to the different demands of the host societies worldwide.

The Chinese have a long tradition of holding education in the highest esteem. The scholar in Imperial China occupied a status at the apex of the social structure. Confucius (551-479 BC), regarded as the greatest sage although he was little known during his own lifetime, is widely recognised to be responsible for elevating education and the educated to this exalted position. Commencing a paper discussing the Literati, Weber commented that:

"For twelve centuries social rank in China has been determined more by qualification for office than by wealth. This qualification in turn, has been determined by education, and especially by examinations. China has made literary education the yardstick of social prestige in the most exclusive fashion." (Weber, 1964:107).

Confucianism is not a religion. It is more a set of ethics which establish guidelines for social behaviour and conduct. Nevertheless Confucianism is almost synonymous with Chinese culture, for the latter draws heavily from the philosophies of the former. Education in conjunction with the doctrine of filial piety (discussed in Chapter Five) form the salient basis of Chinese culture. The ideology behind the promotion of these values is explicit, as Confucius explained in his Classic "Great Learning":

"Those who wished to bring order to their states would first regulate their families. Those who wished to regulate their families would first cultivate their personal lives. Those who wished to cultivate their personal lives would first rectify their minds. Those who wished to rectify their minds would first make their wills sincere. Those who wished to make their wills sincere would first extend their knowledge. The extension of knowledge consists in the investigation of things." (in Chan, 1973:86/87)

Therefore, learning was considered the starting point in moral and social life in Confucian China. Through learning

one could purge the mind of prejudices and rid the will of self-deception and so lead to the cultivation of the person, which is seen to be essential to the well-being of the family and hence to achieving national order, and ultimately world peace. Education and learning had assumed a central purpose in the socio-political life of China.

A micro view is that the functions of education for the individual during these times were two-fold. First, on the personal level education was a gratifying end in itself, and being educated automatically bestowed status on the achiever. Second, education provided a practical means for (ostensibly) any individual in society to achieve upward social mobility into the administrative ranks of government by passing a number of examinations, which were "purely political affairs" (Weber, 1964:126) and which "tested whether or not the candidate's mind was thoroughly steeped in literature and whether or not he possessed the ways of thought suitable to a cultured man" (Weber, 1964:121). The content of this education was designed to cultivate the person through literature, and if appropriate to prepare the individual for the civil service. However, the intention of education was never for the following purposes, as it was remarked:

"...economic and vocational work was the Philistine activity of expert professionals. For the Confucian, the specialist expert could not be raised to truly positive dignity, no matter what his social usefulness. The decisive factor was that the 'cultured man' (gentleman) was 'not a tool'; that is, in his adjustment to the world and in his self-perfection he was an end unto himself, not a means for any functional end." (Weber, 1964:246)

However, change occurred from the turn of this century with the abolition of the, by then, corrupt system of examination in 1905, and the creation of the Republic in 1911. But it was not until "the first decade of Communist rule in China, [that] criticism became vituperation" (Smith, 1973:193), and the educated lost their privileged status and social prestige. Wong commented that: "During the Cultural Revolution in mainland China in 1966-1976 ...educated people at universities were not respected. Many of them had to go through tough labour training and were forced to join the production line of the country" (1992:51). Yet it was noted that "As soon as the communists gained for themselves an unchallenged supremacy in China, they set about the task of preserving China's cultural heritage, which is..a Confucian heritage" (Smith, 1973:195).

While this socio-political turbulence shook the cultural foundations of China, and Confucian ideals were relentlessly challenged and eroded, the principles survived overseas - in fact they were never endangered. The early diaspora of Chinese in South-East Asia from about the fourteenth century ensured that the Chinese culture was perpetuated in countries all over South-East Asia generations before the internal turmoil in China.

Eventually the culture was carried to the West by the (historically recent) Chinese migrants, who safe-guarded those aspects of the culture which served to promote their advancement in the host society. Chinese entrepreneurial success abroad, for example, was attributed to such

traditional concepts as the Chinese work ethos coupled with filial piety (discussed in Chapter Five), which effectively operated to commit the family members' loyalties to the business, and so provided the entrepreneur with a cheap (if not free) and diligent workforce. The Chinese work ethos and filial piety concepts were also suggested as being responsible for the high occupational achievements of the younger generations of Chinese in the wider labour market.

However, other features of the culture have not been transplanted and incorporated into the Chinese migrants' lives in the West intact, exemplified by education. While education has remained highly valued and much sought after by the Chinese overseas, a subtle change had nevertheless occurred. This is not surprising since culture is dynamic. By necessity it must evolve or suffer the consequences for: "Many traditional cultural characteristics disappear or change when they are no longer able to meet the challenge of social, economic and technological changes. This has bearing on the acculturation process, and ultimately mediates on the achievement process" (Verma et al, 1986:16).

To overseas Chinese in the contemporary West endeavouring to establish themselves, this strong positive cultural orientation towards education has not diminished. The emphasis on the function of education has shifted though, but what has changed most markedly is the content of education. In a potentially hostile environment and ever conscious of their marginal position, pursuing education in reverence for its own sake is a luxury that the Chinese in

the Western societies cannot afford. Although important per se, education has become more a means to an end - the end still being social but also economic advancement. To achieve this, the content of the education has perforce altered. Whereas Confucius disdained the use of an education for economic purposes, the Chinese in the contemporary West are deliberately shunning the literary education (that is, the arts and humanities) advocated by Confucius, and choosing 'practical', vocationally oriented educations to acquire the marketable skills to promote their chances of achieving their goals of socio-economic advancement. The fields of study followed by the Chinese will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

In particular the overseas Chinese have a preference for aiming towards those qualifications which will gain them access to the professions, as discussed in Chapter Five. Why the professions it may asked? It is because the professions offer all the benefits with none of the disadvantages of entrepreneurship in the ethnic niche. That is, the individual would gain independence and autonomy, pecuniary rewards and social prestige, without for example, the financial risks, the hard physical labour in unpleasant working conditions and unsocial hours of running a catering business. Furthermore, the prestige of the professions is recognized within and outside of the Chinese community. This is important since the more settled an ethnic group is in the host society, the more they begin to measure achievements not only to the standards set by their own

community, but increasingly they begin to judge by the standards of the wider society - which invariably tend to be higher (Lee, 1960). Attainment of a professional occupation fulfils the criteria of both ethnic and indigenous groups: the high levels of education and training required reflects the restricted access into the high status work of the professions making it all the more elitist and therefore desirable; and recognized and rewarded accordingly by society.

The Chinese in Britain have, however, been wrongly and unfairly criticised by Pan (1990) for not upholding the traditional Chinese cultural values towards education, unlike their counterparts in America. This discussion was presented in the preceding chapter, and it was concluded that Pan's statement was erroneous based on the fact that all research on the Chinese in Britain, including the present study, have reported findings which contradict Pan. However, it was admitted, that the desire of the British Chinese parents to see their children be well-educated and thus gain a professional occupation, was somewhat tempered by the realities of their situation. This has been summed up by Taylor. She noted that:

"Many pupils of Chinese origin have a positive attitude towards schooling, reflecting the traditional value placed on education in Chinese culture. Many Chinese parents value education particularly as it may lead to wider career opportunities and a different way of life...They usually wish their children to succeed in education, though economic necessity may oblige them to call upon the assistance of their children in the family business rather than allowing them to devote themselves full-time to their studies. As the family becomes more settled and established

financially in Britain the traditional love of learning predominates and academic excellence in the child is encouraged." (1987:271).

The primary data indicates that most of the migrants to Britain came for economic reasons from Hong Kong (a country in which 99% of the population are ethnic Chinese), and are now engaged in the Chinese catering business. However, considering their apparent success at what they are doing, it begs the question of whether they might not see education as superfluous to 'getting on' in the host society and therefore encourage their children to follow in their occupational footsteps? After all, many parents have demonstrated themselves that with no education, no skills, no capital, and no language abilities, it has still been possible for them to achieve a high degree of socio-economic mobility through entrepreneurship in catering. The survey results indicate that this was not the case. As reported in the previous chapter, most of the parents thought education to be very important to obtaining a good job, and under the circumstances were very encouraging of the children in their studies.

It appears that far from negating their value of education, the experiences of these migrants have consolidated their belief in the value of education. They realise that their economic vulnerability had been due in part to their lack of education. The collapse of agriculture in Hong Kong, as the colony progressed from being an agrarian state to an industrial one, left a large proportion of the citizens unemployed, and unemployable without training. The education that the Chinese had traditionally prized, had not

been within the means of most of the citizens to obtain, nor had it previously been necessary for their farming work. The educated (middle class) Chinese were able to remain in their homeland, while many of the male peasants were forced to seek a living abroad. The argument here is that these Chinese migrants, having endured economic hardships in their homeland which necessitated their migration to the West, and their experiences of the very arduous life in catering, combine to give the migrants an acute awareness of the disadvantages that lack of an education presents. These migrants have a heightened sense of the imperative nature of obtaining a good education, such that it becomes more than culturally significant. It takes on a practical significance too, becoming a prerequisite to socio-economic advancement in industrialised societies.

For the Chinese youth socialised into this mode of approaching education, it creates a strong sense of achievement motivation, which coupled with the other cultural trait, filial piety, magnifies their need to succeed academically through a 'fear of failure' mentality - the consequences of failure being psychological and/or socio-economic (Verma et al, 1986:99). Thus, it could be argued that these Chinese have an unusually high need (motivation) to achieve both academically and vocationally.

Educational success promises the achiever multitudinous rewards. On a social level it bestows prestige on the individual and his/her family within (and external to) the Chinese community. Dealing with an ethnic group so

concerned with 'face' this is an important motivational factor per se. Of course, if the educational attainment results in a job in the professions this further enhances the social standing of the individual and his/her family. In addition there are the potential financial gains attached to a professional occupation. Material rewards are a fundamental incentive for the Chinese to succeed scholastically. This relates to their marginal position in Britain. While the Chinese catering industry can yield rich rewards too, the quality of life is substantially poorer. Access into the professions, which can only be gained through an education, means above all a release from the life in catering to 'something better'.

In summary this section comes to the conclusion that education has been and remains vital to the Chinese. The attitudes towards education of the Chinese in contemporary Britain were traced back to Confucian China, and it was found that over time and space, the functions of education have barely altered for the Chinese. To be well educated is still regarded as gratifying per se, and is also a much desired status symbol; but for the Chinese in the contemporary West there is a greater emphasis on the role of education as the means to achieving socio-economic mobility. In order for education to fulfil this function, the content of education has of necessity changed quite drastically. The literary education of Imperial China has been replaced by a vocationally oriented education, which provides the

Chinese with the means, through access into the professions, of achieving this socio-economic advancement.

III - LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Having emphasised the positive cultural orientation of the Chinese towards education this section focusses on the educational attainments of these young Chinese adults. A recent paper reporting the results of an analysis of 1991 Census data confirms that the Chinese in Britain are more likely than any other group to remain in education beyond the minimum school leaving age. It was found that: "Education participation rates are highest...for the Chinese, amongst whom students represent over 86% of 16-24 year olds. For this ethnic group a significant proportion of students will therefore be 'mature' students aged over 25" (Owen, 1993:8).

From an analysis of Labour Force Survey data, Table 6.1 below shows the highest qualifications obtained by the following four groups of 16 to 30 year olds in Britain: White British, West Indian, Asian (Indian), and Chinese. The white British will serve as the 'control group' by which the attainments of the ethnic minority groups will be measured. Also, Table 6.1 presents the results from the questionnaire survey of the highest qualifications attained by the respondents.

Examining the LFS data first. The Chinese in the LFS prove themselves to be one of the most, if not the most highly qualified of the four groups. Over one in five (22.4%) of young Chinese adults have a bachelor degree or equivalent as their highest qualification. Compared to the other groups, one and a half times more Chinese than young Indian adults obtained a first degree; two and a half times more Chinese than white youth, and seven times more Chinese than West Indian youth held a first degree. However, fewer Chinese proceeded to get a higher degree than the Asian counterpart, but marginally more Chinese than West Indian and white youth attained a higher degree.

Table 6.1 Highest Qualifications By Ethnic Group

Qualification	Labour Force Survey				Primary Data	
	White %	West In %	Asian %	Chinese %	Chinese %	N
Higher degree	0.9	1.0	2.8	1.2	9.6	7
First degree	8.6	3.2	14.7	22.4	47.9	35
HND, BTEC, etc	4.0	2.4	4.8	8.2	4.1	3
A-level	16.9	12.6	18.2	21.2	11.0	8
OND, BTEC, C&G	22.2	24.0	18.7	10.6	4.1	3
O-level	29.8	33.1	21.4	22.4	11.0	8
CSE	10.1	13.3	9.1	8.2	5.5	4
YTS	0.5	0.3	0.6	--	--	--
Other profnl.	6.2	8.8	8.2	4.8	4.1	3
None	0.1	--	0.3	--	2.7	2
Don't know	0.7	1.4	1.1	1.2	--	--
Total N	61490	716	872	85	--	73

It can be observed that the Chinese tend to take the traditional 'academic' route through education (that is, by doing GCEs), as opposed to the 'vocational' route, for example, by taking business and technical diplomas. The Chinese are slightly less likely than other groups to stop their education upon gaining CSEs; and after the Asian youth, are the second least likely to stop their studies after gaining O-levels. However, slightly more Chinese drop out of the education system after A-levels relative to other groups, yet even so, there remains a large proportion of Chinese left in the education system who proceed on to gain degrees.

On the vocational path, the Chinese who take ordinary business and technical diplomas and certificates are unlikely to stop there, but to continue onto the higher level of those courses before stopping. The Chinese do not participate in Youth Training Schemes - just as they are unlikely to register as unemployed. Indeed analysis of 1991 Census data shows that for 16-24 year olds, "The Chinese...experience unemployment rates comparable to white people" (Owen, 1993:8), which is lower than the unemployment rates experienced by other ethnic groups in Britain. The reason has been suggested that the Chinese catering industry, regarded as the more attractive option, has the capacity to absorb these young adults who do not do well educationally and who would otherwise be destined for unemployment or manual work in the lower sectors of the occupational structure (HAC, 1985; Jones, 1993). The

Chinese are also under-represented in the 'other professional - non-degree' category compared to other groups. This includes teaching, clerical and nursing courses. This would indicate that the Chinese are discriminating in their choice of professions too, aiming for the more elite professional bodies which often require first degrees for entry or whose own professional examinations are equivalent to first degrees.

The young West Indian adults who display a pattern of occupational location in the labour market resembling those of the young white adults, also have similar patterns of educational attainments. The young West Indians are clustered primarily around the same levels of qualifications obtained by the white counterparts, that is, they have a high propensity to stopping at O-levels and ordinary level business and technical qualifications, and to a lesser extent at A-levels and CSEs. Hence a large proportion of the young West Indians are also concentrated like the white youth in SEGs 5 and 6, and SEGs 9 and 10 in the British labour market (see Chapter Four), which are the sectors where most of the jobs in Britain are to be found.

The young Asian adults are better qualified than the white or West Indian counterparts, and display a higher propensity to proceed onto further and higher education. However, there is also the characteristic cluster of Asian youth finishing their education at O-levels as with all groups, and although a substantial number stop after gaining ordinary business and technical diplomas/certificates this

is less than the white or West Indian youth. Along with the latter, the young Asian adults have the highest propensity to have 'other professional' qualifications as their highest qualification. Yet, in contradiction to Penn and Scattergood (1992:94) who discuss the 'relative absence of young Asian adults from the YTS scheme', the analysis of the LFS show that the Asians have the highest participation rate on this scheme, although this remains only a fraction of one percent.

The Chinese and Asian youth appear to aim for and succeed in getting a higher education, overall surpassing the educational attainments achieved by the indigenous population. How can this disparity between the Chinese and Asian youth, compared to the white and West Indian youth be explained? The answer would appear to lie in cultural differences. Previous researchers have also concluded that examination achievement is culture-based (Verma *et al*, 1986; Gupta, 1977). For example, Verma looked at the different motivations of the Asian and white youth, and concluded that the former were driven by a 'fear of failure' while the white youth operated on a 'hope of success' mentality (Verma *et al*, 1986:99).

The Asian (Indian) adults bear many similarities in values and behaviour to the Chinese. Not only do the Asian adults have a high propensity to go into small business ownership which resembles the Chinese reliance on entrepreneurship as a means for upward social mobility in Britain, but their parental aspirations for their children mirror those of the

Chinese too. One study of the Asian community in Britain reported that most Asian parents "...see the future careers of their children in terms of academic and professional qualifications rather than shop ownership" (Jones, 1982:476). And this in turn has influenced the aspirations of Asian children, which reflect those of Chinese children. A study of Asian youth by Taylor revealed that:

"What is remarkable is that all but three, or possibly four, of all 27 young men in full time education expected to enter professional, meritocratic occupations...These men not only set their expectations on professional careers, but sought them overwhelmingly in the fields of medicine, science and engineering." (1976:67/68).

It has been illustrated that the high achievement (orientations) of the Chinese may be attributable to their culture. The point being stressed is that the Chinese have an extremely long and well-documented history of placing great importance on education, which still determine the behaviour of Chinese in the contemporary West (eg Britain, USA and Canada, Australia and New Zealand). However, if the Asians display similarly high attainments, would this in itself negate the cultural explanation? After all, how can the reason for the Chinese achievements be due to Chinese culture if another ethnic group demonstrates the same traits? The response to such a criticism would be that:

"..cultures are not discrete entities. Particular values, attitudes and behaviours...may be part of a number of cultures, although their relative importance may vary considerably from culture to culture. Thus, it could be said that intercultural differences are often ones of degree rather than absolute ones." (Verma et al, 1986:17).

Therefore, cultural traits need not be mutually exclusive and specific to one ethnic group. The fact that this positive orientation towards education, for example, also appears in the Asian culture, does not mean that the cultural explanation becomes worthless. On the contrary it is concluded that the similarities between the Chinese and Indian values system and behaviour actually enhance rather than undermine the cultural argument, because it sets them apart from 'culturally different' groups such as the West Indian or the indigenous British.

Table 6.1 also displays the results of the Chinese respondents in the present survey. The high achievements of the Chinese in the LFS survey have been supported by the primary data. However, the latter exaggerate the high educational attainments of the Chinese, in that over twice the rate of Chinese in the present survey obtained a first degree compared to the Chinese in the LFS survey. The fundamental trend remains apparent though, exemplified by the Chinese propensity to take academic qualifications in preference to vocational qualifications (as a means into higher education) observed in the LFS data, which has subsequently been confirmed by the primary data. In addition, there is the low proportion of Chinese taking 'other professional' qualifications and their absence from YTS schemes which is apparent in both datasets.

Commensurate with their respective occupational attainments, a gender analysis reveals that the Chinese male respondents are better qualified than the females. The former had

proportionately more CSEs, O- and A-levels, and degrees than the females, with the exception of 'other professional' qualifications.

The basic difference between the results of the primary and secondary datasets lies in the fact that the present survey is more biased towards the highly educated Chinese, which is probably a consequence of the methods used (see Chapter Three). This very high educational attainment of the Chinese in the present survey is consistent however, with the trend of the respondents to be over-represented in the professions (see Chapter Four), compared to the LFS Chinese. Therefore, the present survey data may be regarded as a projection of the kind of occupational attainment pattern that might be established as the Chinese become increasingly better qualified over time. It demonstrates that with a higher level of educational attainments the Chinese would choose to enter the professions.

Do the Chinese have a clear strategy concerning their education? How do the Chinese make their educational decisions? Those Chinese respondents in the present survey who attained qualifications beyond O-levels were asked why they chose the subjects that they had. The results relating to those respondents who studied A-levels and for a degree may be observed in Table 6.2 below.

It can be seen from Table 6.2 that out of 49 responses at A-level, 45% of these respondents chose their A-level subjects based on their utility in fulfilling career goals. This

indicates that a substantial proportion of young Chinese adults as teenagers had fairly clear notions of the direction they wanted their career to take. However, almost one third (31%) studied their A-level subjects because of their ability or talent in the subject, while 22% of the respondents studied their chosen subjects out of interest. The effect of parental advice was negligible showing that in spite of their aspirations for their children to do well at school, they did not play an active role in advising on aspects of the children's education.

Table 6.2 Reasons for areas of study

Reasons	A-levels		Degree	
	N	%	N	%
Personal interest	11	22	23	59
Ability/ talent	15	31	7	18
Useful to career	22	45	9	23
Parental advice	1	2	--	--

At undergraduate level, the priorities were different. Fifty-nine percent of the 39 respondents who studied for a degree chose the course because of personal interest, followed by 23% giving the reason that the course would be useful to their career, and 18% chose the course because of their ability in the area. This apparent shift may be attributable to the fact that by the undergraduate stage, those respondents had already been channelled into the areas which were considered most progressive in terms of their careers or those areas which they considered their performance was best, so that the final decision on choice

of degree course from an already increasingly restricted range came to be perceived in terms of interest.

[Gender differences were notable for the pragmatic approach held by the males compared to the females. At A-level, similar proportions of females (42%) and males (48%) chose their subjects because it was considered useful for their career. However, they diverged in that another 42% of females chose their subjects on the basis of personal interest, as opposed to 44% of males who pursued their chosen subjects because of their abilities and talents in them. However, at degree level, the major proportion of both sexes chose their course because of personal interest (52% of the 23 males, and 69% of the 16 females).

Generally, with regards to field of study at undergraduate level the most popular courses were in science and technology (engineering) followed by health and social (administration and business) studies, and then vocational and other studies. This reflects in part the fact that there were more males at this stage than females. It was mainly the males who were concentrated in technology and engineering, (applied) science, and vocational courses, while the females tended to opt for areas in health, social (administration and business) studies, and (applied) science. This appears to bear out the earlier argument that the Chinese are inclined to choose vocationally/technically oriented educations in the hope that these qualifications will gain them access to the professions or similarly high status technical positions in the labour market. It also

lends support to the findings of Taylor (1993:435) regarding choice of subjects studied by the Chinese. He reported that the Chinese men (35%) apply significantly to courses in maths, engineering and technology, and to a lesser degree (23.8%) to social sciences and business and administration, whereas Chinese women were slightly more likely to apply for social sciences and business and administration courses (36%).

To summarise the findings in this section before turning to see how well the Chinese have managed to translate their investment in education into occupational attainments, it was found in the analysis of LFS data that the Chinese are amongst the most well-educated peoples in Britain, comparable to the Asian (Indian) who are noted for their high levels of achievement. Such levels of achievement were attributed to cultural factors. The respondents in the present study were disproportionately well-qualified, exaggerating the trend observed in the LFS data. The next section endeavours to see what type of returns the Chinese have made with their investment in education.

IV - QUALIFYING FOR THE PRIZE ?

It has been established that ultimate status, in the eyes of the overseas Chinese, is conferred on those who through an education gain entry into the professions; and also that it is the aspiration of most Chinese to reach this prestigious

position and to reap the associated social and economic benefits.

In general the young Chinese adults are a well-educated group as shown by LFS data supported by the primary data, presented in the section above. But of what value are these credentials in the labour market? The issue to be tackled next is: have the educational attainments made by the young Chinese adults translated into the appropriate level of occupational attainments in Britain? Table 6.3 below displays the results of the survey in terms of the respondents' socio-economic groups (ie their job levels) by their highest qualification.

Table 6.3 Highest Qualification By ASEG

Qualifications	ASEG1 N	ASEG2 N	ASEG3 N	ASEG4 N	ASEG5 N	Total N	%
No qualifications	--	--	--	1	1	2	3
CSE, YTS	--	--	1	3	--	4	5
GCE-O,OND,C&G,etc	2	--	3	6	--	11	15
GCE-A,HND,oth. prof	1	--	6	4	2	13	18
First degree,equiv	1	26	7	2	--	36	49
Higher degree	--	3	2	--	2	7	10
Total N	4	29	19	16	5	73	--
Total %	5	40	26	22	7	--	100

The results show some expected trends, generally that the highly qualified young adults mainly gain employment in the professions or ancilliary and junior non-manual work in the wider labour market; the less qualified working in (semi-) skilled manual jobs primarily in the service sector. Those

in the top socio-economic group (ASEG1) were not the most highly qualified - in fact there were no postgraduates, and only one graduate who had been internally promoted to her present managerial position in an industrial company in the wider labour market. About 40% of the respondents became professionals, all of whom possessed first degrees or equivalent or higher. However, a relatively small number of equally highly qualified Chinese were also engaged in the intermediate non-manual sectors. The service sector (ie catering) had a range of respondents from graduates to those without qualifications. While in the manual sector, in addition to the well to poorly qualified respondents, there were also two postgraduates with higher degrees.

This data indicates that in general the large proportion of the Chinese have managed to translate their educational attainments into correspondingly suitable levels of occupational attainments. However there are also some Chinese adults who are employed in occupations incommensurate with their qualifications and capabilities, while some relatively poorly qualified adults have achieved high levels of socio-economic status. How highly these young Chinese adults achieve academically and occupationally seems to be the result of a complex interaction of individual and structural factors. The details of four cases will be given and then discussed to see how two well qualified Chinese have achieved only a low socio-economic status, while two poorly qualified Chinese have reached the top of the socio-economic strata.

Case A

A came to Britain from Hong Kong in 1979 a few years after her parents. Her parents thought education unimportant in getting a good job and had neither encouraged nor discouraged her from her studies. She left school with some O-levels, with which she was neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. She attributed her low academic achievements to having helped out too much in the family business while still at school. It had been expected of her. She did have aspirations while at school, influenced by her careers advisor, of going into accountancy or banking because of her interest in figure work. At the time of the survey she was managing the family business. In spite of the 'good income' she was dissatisfied with her job because of the monotony - 'doing the same thing over and over again'.

Case B

B came to Britain from Hong Kong in 1973 to join his parents who had arrived here in the 1960s. B had attained A-levels and an HND in electrical and electronic engineering, and had aspired to become an engineer 'because I wanted to get away from working in Chinese catering business'. His parents had believed education to be important, but had been very unencouraging towards him in his studies. He was dissatisfied with his academic credentials and explained that he had been distracted from his studies by his friends (mainly Chinese), and also he had helped out regularly in the family business because it had been expected of him. However, in spite of his qualifications, he did not realise his aspirations, and was working as a chef in a Chinese catering establishment. He was ambivalent about his employment, disliking the working conditions and environment, but suffered it because 'the pay is reasonable'.

Case C

C had been studying in Britain for ten years and gained a bachelor degree in science (engineering) in addition to which he also gained a masters degree in business administration. His parents, still in their homeland of Hong Kong, believed education to be very important and had been very encouraging towards him in his studies. C was very satisfied with his academic achievements. However, at the time of the survey C was working as an electrician, a job which he got through some friends. He was very dissatisfied with his position, disliked the low wages, but felt that he had no other choice. Although he did not have a catering background, he had worked in a catering establishment before as a means to earn extra money, and with this previous experience had

considered working in a Chinese catering establishment, ultimately rejecting the idea because such work was too boring.

Case D

D was born in China but his family were resident in Hong Kong before coming to Britain. Educated in Hong Kong D came to Britain in 1987. His parents believed education to be very important, but had neither encouraged nor discouraged him in his studies. He was satisfied with his academic achievements (an OND). His aspirations had been to become self-employed for the potential financial gains. He realised this, as at the time of the survey, D ran his own small electrical engineering company. He was very satisfied with his work.

These cases all depict the circumstances of those Chinese (both highly qualified and poorly qualified) who failed to attain professional or technical jobs which seems to be the ambition of most Chinese, but are instead positioned in SEGs either at the lower end of the occupational structure, or even higher than the professional sector. By focussing on the marginal cases in the socio-economic hierarchy the workings of the individual and structural factors which influence the occupational attainments of these young Chinese adults may be viewed more clearly. Before discussing them in detail, a point to note is that although cases A and D are immediately distinguishable from B and C because the former two are at the top of the social hierarchy, while the latter two are placed at the bottom end, A actually has in common with B the fact that they are employed in catering, while C and D are employed in the wider labour market.

A, while not well qualified, has achieved substantial socio-economic advancement through management of the family business, a level of mobility probably denied her if she had

sought employment in the wider labour market in view of her credentials. In this respect A is acting like the first generation Chinese migrants who used entrepreneurship as the vehicle for social mobility, although unlike the latter this was probably not a calculated move on her part. A is a product of that genre, having grown up in the business, and it was probably a natural progression for her to go into the family business after she did not get the necessary qualifications to realise her expressed aspiration for a career in accountancy or banking. Although at present A was the only such case in this position in the survey, it is speculated that in the not too distant future, more Chinese parents will be relinquishing control and/or transferring ownership of the family business to their children. LFS data appears to be indicating that such a trend might already have begun, judging by the numbers of Chinese who were managers of small establishments (see Chapter Four).

B is also a product of the catering life, although he does not have A's fortune of inherited capital. Although well qualified, B also works in catering, but as an employee for a relative. He appears to typify those Chinese who are reluctant to leave the safe and familiar social and economic environment he grew up in, for the uncertainties in the wider labour market. He has good qualifications, but insufficiently good to secure him a job in the professions. Opportunities do exist in the wider labour market in junior non-manual or ancillary work for someone with this level of qualifications - as the other Chinese (some less qualified

than B) employed in these sectors show, so it is speculated that it is a personal preference on B's part not to leave the security afforded him in the Chinese catering industry.

In the non-catering sectors, C is a highly qualified individual who seemed to be unable to do better than obtain skilled manual work as an electrician. Was C just a vocationally unmotivated individual? The answer appears to be a negative. First, C expressed great dissatisfaction with his present employment, but took it because he had no other choice - apart from catering work, which he rejected. Second, research indicates that those who are educationally highly motivated are usually highly motivated in terms of their careers (Smith, 1983). Was he a victim of racial discrimination? C claimed not to have experienced it, although he believed that racial discrimination was practised by half of all employers in Britain based on the fact that most of his friends (largely Chinese) could not get a job with British employers. He may, however, have been an unknowing victim of it. The issues of racism and discrimination in the British labour market are discussed in Chapter Seven.

Focussing back at the top of the socio-economic strata, D owns his own electrical engineering company. D may be indicative of the new breed of entrepreneurs - juxtaposed with A who resembles more closely the earlier Chinese immigrants. With an average education D has managed to set up his own business **outside** of catering. This might signal a new direction taken by the younger educated generations

who do not feel they can advance sufficiently quickly employed in the wider labour market. D has thus taken the tried and tested route of entrepreneurship, but outside of catering, to accelerate his socio-economic mobility in Britain.

The young Chinese adults can be observed to be endeavouring to establish themselves educationally and occupationally in Britain. For various reasons, be they personal or structural, there are well-educated Chinese employed in the Chinese catering industry or in other manual (skilled and semi-skilled) work. Many of those who have grown up in the Chinese catering business are quite likely to experience occupational inheritance through poor educational attainment (often as a result of helping out too much), like case A; or are loathe to leave the familiarity of this haven unless they can secure a good job in the wider labour market, preferably in the professions, illustrated by the case of B. The well qualified Chinese, with or without connections to the Chinese catering industry, seem to be trying to translate as best they can their educational attainments into occupational attainments in the wider labour market, most it must be noted rather successfully, although there are some cases like C who find it difficult to make returns on their education. D indicates that the next generation of Chinese may still rely on entrepreneurship as a means of achieving rapid socio-economic advancement outside of the ethnic (catering) niche in Britain.

A large proportion of the Chinese in the survey have managed to obtain a good education and employment in the wider labour market and this trend is anticipated to continue in the future, given that the younger generations of British-born Chinese will be better placed to achieve this, for example, since the younger generations will be receiving all of their education in Britain and family economic power (of the petite bourgeois Chinese) will have been secured.

Thus the findings in this study do not appear to show support for the conclusions drawn from previous research on the second generation of 'migrant labour' (Castles et al, 1984; Wilpert, 1988). The results do suggest evidence for Bonacich's middleman minority thesis, insofar as the younger generations of Chinese in Britain are already displaying a high propensity to seek employment at the middle range to higher levels of the occupational structure. There is also some occupational inheritance, but the situation is as Bonacich described it for the Japanese-Americans, that "those..with higher education could utilise it..to escape from the ethnic economy. The result..has been to leave the ethnic economy increasingly in the hands of the less educated" (Bonacich and Modell, 1980:152).

A look at the educational and vocational experiences of the Asian-Americans (who have been settled longer in America) may usefully elucidate what may be expected of the British-Chinese within the next generation or two, since the Asian-Americans appear to be setting trends that seem to be followed by the Chinese in Britain. That is, the activities

and behaviour of the British Chinese operate in parallel to, but on a time scale behind that of the Asian-Americans in the USA.

V - LESSONS FROM THE USA

Touted as the 'model minority' in the USA, the Asian-Americans (a collective term for Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, etc) are perceived as a highly successful group which has 'made it' and fulfilled the 'American Dream'. They have been able to achieve a higher level of education and greater upward mobility in comparison with other visible ethnic minority groups. In a reputedly open society as the USA it has naturally been taken for granted that "Endowed with the Confucian ideology of strong commitment in educational pursuits, Chinese Americans may be expected to attain a high socio-economic level" (Li, 1987:95). Research confirms that Asian-Americans are overall a highly educated group, but the consensus is that this educational attainment is not matched by a corresponding level of income attainment when compared to white Americans.

In terms of actual occupational prestige the Asian-Americans appear to be doing quite well. A study by Maykovich (1976) reported that: "By 1960, the Japanese and Chinese were more likely than any other group (including white Americans) to be found in professional and technical occupations" (quoted in Smith, 1983:178). This view has been supported by Chang

(1988). The argument is that the Asians have achieved this because:

"The career development of Asian Americans has been influenced by their culture. Asian Americans have a collective rather than an individual orientation. Their selection of career fields seem to reflect this orientation. Although many Asian Americans go to college, their degrees are almost never in the liberal arts, but rather in business administration, engineering, or science. Asian Americans tend to view education as a means of acquiring saleable skills rather than as a means of developing a critical mind." (Maykovich, 1976, in Smith, 1983:173).

However, while it is generally accepted that the Asian Americans are the most highly qualified group in American society, and they have managed to gain positions in the professions and technical jobs, this has still not resulted in income parity with whites for the same level of work. The following research studies have confirmed this.

Li (1987) found that the return on educational investment was not very effective for Chinese Americans compared with other minority groups, **except** for the extremely highly educated (ie postgraduates) who managed to be competitive with other groups in the American labour market. Ko and Klogg (1989) reported that Chinese born in America had **almost** gained parity in income earnings to whites; the foreign born Chinese however, lagged behind the whites. In 1990, Barringer et al presented their findings which were that overall Asian Americans were better educated than whites, but that the Chinese showed smaller income advantages compared to their high levels of education (due in part to the large proportion of recent immigrants).

The presence of Asian Americans in colleges and in the professions and other high level occupations have led the American public to assume that all Asian Americans are successful. Yet as the research indicates, even the highly qualified Asian professionals, ceteris paribus, have not achieved income parity with white Americans. Not only is this image of the Asians misleading, it is actually detrimental to the group. Such a stereotype of the Asian Americans is particularly damaging because:

"Vast socio-economic differences exist among groups within the Asian American communities. Popular emphasis on success covers over the fact that even 'successful' Asian Americans are worse off than similarly educated and employed white Americans. As a consequence of the stereotype of success, many experts believe that Asian Americans have been neglected and ignored by governmental agencies, educational institutions, private corporations and other sectors of society (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1980)." (Shephard, 1993:290).

The trend in Britain seems at the moment to reflect those in America. The Chinese in Britain are going to institutes of higher education and graduating in degrees primarily in science, engineering and business - all 'saleable skills' which will enable them to enter the professions and technical positions in the wider labour market. Prima facie the young Chinese adults seem to be achieving a measure of success. What remains to be seen in future research is whether these young adults gain income parity with white British, which their Chinese counterparts across the Atlantic have been striving to achieve, but which appears to elude them still. This issue will be raised again in the next chapter.

A final point to note is the paradox of the fulfilment of these ambitions for high achievement propelled by the Chinese culture. The irony is that the more successful a Chinese is at realising the aspirations for high attainment the more the achiever is gradually drawn further away socially from his/her own ethnic group (cf Bonacich and Modell, 1980). For example, in order to succeed academically, the individual must immerse himself/herself into an education which provides constant exposure to Western influences (in terms of the curriculum, socialising with peers, etc). On attainment of a (professional) job in the wider labour market, the nature of the work would probably bring the Chinese into contact with non-Chinese colleagues and clients. Had the individual wanted to make a conscious effort to maintain close social links with the Chinese community, that is, with the Chinese in catering who embody the culture and where ethnic solidarity is likely to be strongest (Bonacich and Modell, 1980), the incompatible hours would make socialisation between the Chinese employed in the wider labour market and the Chinese catering worker quite difficult. This weakening in social ties may eventually undermine the culture, which has implications for the achievement (orientations) of future British Chinese.

This is illustrated by the Asian-Americans and the case of the Japanese-Americans. It has been argued in America, as it has been proposed in this thesis with regards to the Chinese in Britain,

"...that Asian academic excellence is due to culture, socialization and influence of the

family. Most Asians see education as the key to success. Moreover, in the Confucian ethic, which is so much a part of the Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese and Korean cultures, academic excellence is the only way to repaying the debt owed to parents....'Asian kids have terrific motivation. They feel it is a disgrace to themselves and their families if they don't succeed'." (Shephard, 1993:290)

Out of the eclectic group the 'Asian Americans', the Japanese Americans are the most assimilated. They are also the least educated of the Asian Americans, which to reiterate are collectively the most highly educated in America - surpassing even White Americans. It was reported in The Economist (1989) that:

"White Americans still speak of assimilation. Asian Americans dislike the idea as much as the Hispanic minority does. But the Asians have a different reason. Hispanics fear the loss of their language and culture; Asians fear the loss of their education. America's Asians do as well as they are doing because they studied hard first. So when a Chinese-American remarks that a third-generation Japanese-American child is growing closer to the American norm, he is not saying something flattering".

VI - SUMMARY

It has been established in this chapter that the Chinese have a long tradition of valuing education traced back to Confucian times of Imperial China. While this value has not diminished for the Chinese in the contemporary West, and the instrumentality of education remains as a means of achieving social advancement, the content of the education pursued by the Chinese has altered significantly from a literary one to the present vocationally oriented one. This was presented as an instance of the culture of a group adapting to the

different demands of the economic environment of Western industrial societies.

The immense value the Chinese place on education was reflected in the high educational attainments of young Chinese adults in Britain, which was observed in both primary and secondary data. LFS data revealed the Chinese to be one of the most highly qualified groups in Britain.

Most of the young Chinese adults successfully translated their educational attainments into similarly high occupational attainments. However, this present survey did not explore the income attainments of these young adults, which research in the USA suggests is a critical point which highlights the persistent disadvantage of ethnic minorities in America. This may be exemplified by the Asian-Americans who inspite of being the most highly qualified group in the USA, and achieving occupations of high prestige, have nevertheless still failed to achieve income parity with white Americans. The whole issue of whether and to what extent the Chinese in the British labour market are experiencing disadvantage is addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

"A foreigner may become British, but he can never become English."

-Pan (1990:294).

I - INTRODUCTION

Given the high educational (Chapter Six) and occupational (Chapter Four) attainments of the young Chinese adults in Britain, which is in contrast to the findings on most other second generation ethnic minority groups, this would suggest strong support for the 'cultural explanation' of the Chinese achievements. Therefore, is it appropriate or necessary to consider whether racism and discrimination have played any part in the lives of these young Chinese adults? The answer to the question depends on whether the Chinese are achieving their full potential in the wider labour market. That is, are they restricted in their employment opportunities by wider forces? This chapter focusses on the perceptions and experiences of racism and discrimination of the young Chinese adults in the British labour market and assesses whether and how this may have affected their location in the occupational structure.

The examination in this chapter of the role played by racism and discrimination in the British labour market on the positions of the Chinese in the occupational structure, brings full circle the discussion in this thesis which has

endeavoured to tease out the complex interaction of structural and cultural influences on the occupational attainments of young Chinese adults in Britain.

Chapters Two and Five had begun by arguing that structural factors stimulated the migration of Chinese to Britain, and channelled these post World War Two migrants directly into the Chinese catering industry. The genesis of the latter was shown to have been itself the result of institutional racism and the exclusion of the early Chinese settlers from employment in the wider labour market. Cultural explanations were given for the success of the Chinese at these small businesses, and hence ironically the ultimate confinement of this generation of Chinese to this sector.

The consequence of this for the second generation is that most of their parents are either petite bourgeois owners or salaried employees in the Chinese catering industry. Chapter Five found that this class distinction was not significant to the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults, although the cultural values were found to be reinforced by class. The impact of culture then was concluded to be greater in determining the levels of motivation, aspirations and attainments of the young Chinese adults.

Chapter Six explored the influence of culture further by focussing on one aspect - education - traditionally highly valued and central in Chinese society. It remained so for the contemporary Chinese in Britain (and other Western

countries) and the high levels of commitment to and achievement in education were attributed to the culture. However, while the function of education was still a means for achieving social advancement, the content of education was shown to have altered considerably to meet the demands of the different economic environment of the West. This was an example of the modification and adaptation of the culture to the structure.

Since the culture has been partly shaped by the structure, a wholly cultural explanation for the attainments of the young Chinese adults is therefore inadequate. This chapter therefore returns to focus back on structural constraints, and argues that these young Chinese adults are still experiencing restricted employment opportunities in spite of the fact that they have penetrated the higher levels of the occupational structure. For the specificity of the educational and occupational directions taken by the young Chinese adults seems more than just a response of the individuals to satisfying culturally-directed requirements while coincidentally matching them with the demands of the wider society. This chapter argues that the process is more complex, and endeavours to show that the Chinese have deliberately adopted strategies for entering the labour market only at levels in the occupational structure in which it is worth while to leave the safe haven of the Chinese catering industry, while aiming for those areas in the occupational structure which minimise the opportunities for

(racist) discrimination to be practiced against them in the wider labour market.

First, some definitions are in order before proceeding further. 'Race' is a socially constructed phenomenon, and scientifically it cannot be proven that biologically one 'race' is different genetically from another (Harvey, 1990; Solomos, 1989; Rex, 1986); it may be self-defined/imposed but is more usually 'other'-defined/imposed; and may be used as a resource by both the in-group or more frequently by the out-group for the purpose of inclusion or more commonly exclusion. Miles wrote of racial categorisation that:

"The 'scientific racism' of the nineteenth century... insisted that there was a deterministic relationship between phenotypical variation and cultural difference. Additionally... contemporary racism... suggests that there is something about the behaviour or belief (ie culture) of a group which is identified in terms of some phenotypical characteristic which warrants exclusion."
(1982:51).

Racial categorisation often infers differentiation for the purposes of ranking groups hierarchically, which has implications for the dynamics of relationships between groups. Racism is the system which develops from such perceptions of the innate superiority/inferiority of 'races' relative to others. Phizacklea and Miles (1980:22) defined racism as:

"..those negative beliefs held by one group which identify and set apart another by attributing significance to some biological or other 'inherent' characteristic(s) which it is said to possess and which deterministically associate that characteristic(s) with some other (negatively evaluated) feature(s) or action(s)."

They continue with this definition to describe the acts and practices resulting from racism - racial discrimination, that:

"The possession of these supposed characteristics is then used as justification for denying that group equal access to material and other resources and/or political rights" (ibid).

Therefore, while 'race' may be an "ideological construct...it is reinforced by material facts like violence, job competition and segregation" (Roediger, 1988:294). Thus this chapter attempts to show how the perceptions and experiences of racism and discrimination in the British labour market may, in addition to the cultural influences, have affected the occupational location of the young Chinese adults. In effect what this chapter attempts to do is highlight the fact that the individual 'choices' made by the Chinese respondents, which in their mind are rational decisions, are in fact circumscribed by structural factors.

The organisation of this chapter will be as follows. In Section II there will be an historical analysis of the consequences of both occupational integration and segregation of the Chinese in Britain. Section III looks at the perceptions of racism and racial discrimination in the British labour market of the young Chinese adults. This is followed in Section IV by an examination of their experiences of racism and racial discrimination. The questions have been adapted from the Third Policy Studies Institute report (Brown, 1984), and where appropriate secondary data from the Third Policy Studies Institute

survey will be referred to. All respondents' replies are quoted verbatim. Finally, in Section V, the concept of the glass ceiling will be discussed, highlighting the form of discrimination that can persist after recruitment into a job in the wider labour market.

II - RELATIONS WITH HOST COMMUNITY

The levels of racism against the Chinese have fluctuated in their short history in Britain. What this section attempts to demonstrate through an historical overview, is that the degree of racism is linked to job competition. Thus a conflict perspective is adopted whereupon I argue here that racism against the Chinese is economically grounded - that it is the manifestation of competition for employment/jobs.

Some of the young Chinese adults in the survey had commented on the way the Chinese in Britain have been treated with a large measure of forbearance, and been subjected to less racism than many other ethnic groups in Britain. A medical laboratory scientific officer wrote: "In any culture there will always be people who are racialist, but on the whole, I think the attitude towards Chinese people is quite positive". Such toleration was perceived to stem from the image of the Chinese as being amongst other qualities, dedicated workers, as another scientific officer remarked: "Generally, Chinese have fair reputation of being industrious"; and similarly a medical secretary believed that while employers in Britain would refuse a job to a

Chinese on the basis of their 'race', also added the point: "But they would to all races, in fact Chinese are less discriminated as they are known as hard workers". This stereotype of the Chinese as diligent and hard-working has not always been to their advantage. These same traits can be, and have been regarded in a very different light under different circumstances. The experiences of the pre-1914 Chinese in Britain who tried to integrate occupationally will be compared with the post-1945 Chinese who have been socially and occupationally segregated in the Chinese catering industry.

As mentioned briefly in Chapter Two, the early (pre-1914) Chinese settlers in Britain had been merchant seamen recruited by the East India Company as a cheap and convenient replacement to the indigenous seamen who were commandeered into the Navy in the Napoleonic War. The extensive use of Chinese seamen, however, caused growing tension and indigenous seamen became increasingly hostile towards the Chinese who accepted berths at half the pay. The shipowners though, were adamant in their defence of the employment of the Chinese who were "more amenable to discipline and less addicted to drink" (Jones, 1979:399).

Thus:

"What shipowners regarded as the diligence of Chinese seamen could smack to merchant seamen of cheap, docile labour. This conflict over employment, which led to major campaigns being mounted against the Chinese by the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union (NSFU) provided the immediate background to the attacks on Chinese property in Cardiff in 1911" (Holmes, 1991:22).

To reinforce the point that the agitation against the Chinese by indigenous workers was economically grounded and stimulated by job competition requires the comparison of difference in level of hostility directed towards those Chinese sailors in Cardiff and those in Liverpool. Due to the structural differences in the shipping industry the Chinese sailors in Liverpool experienced less violence (Holmes, 1991:95).

But were such incidents racist though? The Chinese are phenotypically distinct, but this is of little consequence unless these characteristics are used to categorise the Chinese into a 'racial group' and social significance and meaning are attributed to these differences. The evidence suggests that these were racist incidents as measured by these criteria. Jones reported the incident in 1908 of "British seamen, organised by their union leaders...holding large meetings at West India Dock gates adjacent to Chinatown, demanding..an end to the 'Yellow Peril'" (1979:399). Such references to skin colour to categorise the Chinese were in addition consistently linked to cultural differences, with negative stereotypes circulating that the Chinese were opium (ab)users, unhygenic, or corrupted young white girls by seducing them. Pan delineated the hostile situation of that period:

"In Liverpool, the Chinese minority caused locals some disquiet in 1906, though neither the city's Chief Constable nor the City Council's Commission of Enquiry, specially appointed to report on the morals, habits and economic aspects of the Chinese presence, could put their finger on any particular cause for this unease. The sanitary standards of the Chinese, reported the commission, seemed

satisfactory enough. Perhaps, the Constable thought, it was the competition they offered the city's laundries and boarding-house keepers. Chinese laundries were not popular; in London five years before, the prospect of having one spring up on North Street had inflamed the residents of Poplar into 'a state of ferment'. The place was besieged by a great crowd all day, reported the Evening News, and brickbats and stones were hurled against the shutters and doors." (1990:90).

The high levels of racism and antipathy the pre-1914 Chinese experienced is in contrast to the relative tolerance of the post-1945 Chinese migrants by the indigenous population. Size of the community was quickly dismissed as irrelevant to understanding this disparity in treatment. Holmes could find no evidence to conclude that a positive correlation existed between the level of hostility and size of the ethnic group in comparing the pre-1914 Chinese with the post-1945 Chinese migrants. He wrote:

"Relating to the Chinese after the Second World War ...a consequence of immigration, particularly from Hong Kong, the Chinese, who created a powerful centre in Gerrard Street, London, became more numerous than in any earlier period...Yet the hostility which this group encountered particularly in takeaways and restaurants, pales into insignificance compared with the antipathy which the numerically insignificant group of Chinese faced before 1914" (1991:84).

Migration of large numbers of Chinese to Britain did not occur until after the Second World War in keeping with much of the migration from the New Commonwealth countries. As Miles stated, these (ex)colonial migrants came at a time when Britain's retreat from the empire and its repercussions were a matter underlying the political agenda, and the ideological context was not neutral, that is, "racist images and beliefs were..an element of British national culture, shaped as it was by the need to explain and rationalise

colonialism" (1982:165). And yet, with this in mind, it is significant that much of the violence of the 1950s and 1960s, for example the race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill of 1958, were directed largely at other migrant groups while the Chinese suffered comparatively little abuse. How can this be explained? It could be argued that the larger migrant groups from the New Commonwealth (eg those from the West Indies or those from the Indian sub-continent) took the brunt of the racism and agitation, deflecting hostility away from numerically smaller groups such as the Chinese. But as Holmes stated, hostility is not a fixed quantity and there is no reason to believe that if it is transmitted in one direction there are insufficient reserves left over for other groups (1991:95). The explanation may lie in a combination of the following factors: that the Chinese are not only numerically one of the smallest ethnic groups, but are also geographically dispersed and therefore less visible, but most importantly, they were not recruited into positions in the wider labour market and therefore were not competing directly for work with the indigenous population, since they went straight into the Chinese catering industry on arrival. Thus while racism and attacks may have occurred on an individual level, the Chinese community as a whole escaped relatively unscathed in these volatile decades.

The salient feature then which explains why the post-1945 Chinese have experienced less racism than the pre-1914 Chinese, and also in comparison to other post-1945 New Commonwealth migrants, is that the post Second World War

Chinese were absorbed almost exclusively into the catering industry, which is not an economic sector traditionally dominated by the white British, but has been more an area for ethnic rivalry. Unsurprisingly therefore, the stereotypes of the Chinese as diligent and dedicated workers no longer posed a threat, being channelled as the Chinese were into the catering industry. Safe from competition, these traits could be celebrated as positive qualities by the white British.

Recent developments over the Hong Kong/1997 issue and the debates in the House of Parliament concerning the question of whether to allow 225,000 Hong Kong citizens entry into Britain prior to 1997 when the colony reverts to rule by China, caused previous feelings of indifference towards this ethnic group to again run high in Britain. As Layton-Henry pointed out:

"..a remarkable consensus..quickly emerged... Government, opposition and Foreign Affairs Select Committee all agreed that British passport holders from Hong Kong should not be allowed the right of access to the UK." (1992:174).

On a general level, most of the arguments against the immigration were based on the need to keep election promises of tighter immigration controls. Fears were predictably roused by playing on the 'numbers game' (Bhat *et al*, 1988:15) with warnings being expressed of the consequences (of potential ethnic conflict) if such rights were granted. Even the purported support for allowing the Hong Kong Chinese into Britain seemed to damn with faint praise, as it was commented in the Economist (Dec, 1989):

"Even if the influx were to run into thousands, it would enrich Britain as much as burden it. Hong Kongers have a deserved reputation for creating much out of little."

The specific objection raised against the Chinese, a group which has kept a low profile in Britain, was the accusation that this ethnic community was unassimilable. Mr Tebbit was one of the most vociferous opponents.

"[He] ran a vigorous populist campaign in the press and on television, reminiscent of Enoch Powell's anti-immigration campaign in the late 1960s. He warned of ethnic tensions and civil strife...(and he) provoked a furious debate among politicians and in the media when he proposed a 'cricket test' of loyalty for ethnic minorities in Britain: namely, 'Which side do they cheer for?'. This would show, he argued, whether immigrants were committed to their country of origin or to the country where they live" (Layton-Henry; 1992:209).

Ironically, as the argument in this section emphasised, the times when the Chinese have endeavoured to integrate into British society have been the periods when they have experienced most hostility. However, the greatest paradox is that the proposal was to grant the middle classes - professional, technical and business sections of the Hong Kong population rights of entry and settlement in Britain. For this elite group, social adjustment and 'assimilation' would not have posed a major difficulty given their backgrounds. The implicit concern, it is speculated here, is that the objection was that these Chinese would have increased the competition for jobs in the British labour market - particularly at the middle to upper levels in the occupational structure. This economic/job competition, it has been argued, has been one of the root causes of antagonism.

The conclusion then is that the stimulus to conflict is job competition. The Chinese catering industry has shielded the Chinese from much of the racism and discrimination experienced by some other ethnic groups who are more occupationally (and socially) integrated in Britain. The movement of the younger generations of Chinese into the wider labour market should therefore, by these reasonings, have repercussions on the (future) relations between the Chinese community and the indigenous population.

III - PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

What then are the beliefs about racism and discrimination in the labour market of young Chinese adults in contemporary Britain? This section explores the views of young Chinese adults regarding the extent of racism and discrimination in the British labour market, and also what the young Chinese adults perceive to be the reasons for the racism and discrimination.

The questions in this and the next section have been extracted and adapted from questions in the Third Policy Studies Institute report (Brown, 1984). The survey had originally been designed to study people of Asian and West Indian origin. The comparison of the results of the present survey on the Chinese with the findings of the PSI study pertaining to Asian, West Indian, and white workers is in keeping with the rest of the thesis which also use these groups as points of comparison. What should be borne in

mind, however, is the fact that the primary data (the present survey) was collected almost a decade after the PSI study, and also the range of ages of the workers in the latter study is much greater than that in the present survey. The implications of this may be that the views of the Chinese on racism and discrimination may be much stronger than it might otherwise have been, since this age group of the Chinese respondents may be more alive to these issues than the 'culturally enclosed' older generations (see Section IV later in this chapter). In addition the present survey was conducted as Britain plunged deeper into the recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and this may have affected their attitudes and employment (seeking) experiences.

First the question posed to the young Chinese adults was "Do you think there are employers in Britain who would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their race?" The respondents' answers are presented in Table 7.1 along with the Third PSI results.

It can be observed from Table 7.1 that the same proportion of young Chinese adults concur with the West Indian workers as to the existence of racial discrimination in the British labour market. However, almost one quarter of the Chinese perceived that British employers would not discriminate against them for the sole reason that they were Chinese, while the West Indian preferred to opt for the the non-committal 'don't know'. The Chinese responses to this question are quite similar to those of white workers, a high

proportion of the latter believing that British employers would discriminate against workers of another ethnicity, but also one quarter believing than this would not happen. The Asian group seemed to be the most reticent to commit themselves at all on this issue.

Table 7.1 Belief In Racial Discrimination In Employment

	Policy Studies Institute Survey			Present
	White %	West Indian %	Asian %	Chinese %
Yes	71	77	38	77
No	25	6	20	23
DK	4	17	42	--
If yes, how many?				
Most	4	15	7	6
About half	14	24	12	12
Less. half	30	29	14	37
Hardly any	17	3	2	4
Don't know	6	6	3	18

As for the prevalence of this practice of discrimination by employers in Britain, the largest single category of responses for all groups was that 'fewer than half' of white employers were believed to discriminate against ethnic minority workers. The responses of white workers were clustered around 'about half' to 'hardly any' categories in contrast to the West Indian who were clustered in the 'most' to 'fewer than half' categories. The responses of the Asian and Chinese were less extreme, and a fairly large proportion

of Chinese felt uncertain about the extent of employer discrimination.

When the results for the Chinese respondents in the present study are broken down by socio-economic group, as presented in Table 7.2, a distinct pattern emerges in which perceptions of the level of racial discrimination in the wider labour market diminishes with each increase in level of ASEG, with the exception of ASEG4 (the Chinese catering workers). In general these results contradict Smith's tentative proposal that "the levels of discrimination are higher for non-manual than for manual jobs", although he made a qualifying note that that was not "a definite conclusion on the point" due to methodological weaknesses (Smith, 1977:130).

Table 7.2 Belief In Racial Discrimination In Employment By ASEG (Chinese)

	ASEG1		ASEG2		ASEG3		ASEG4		ASEG5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	1	25	23	79	17	89	10	63	5	100
No	3	75	6	21	2	11	6	37	--	--
Total	4	100	29	100	19	100	16	100	5	100

Based on the primary data, my argument is that in the case of the Chinese, the further up the occupational structure they are located, the more young Chinese adults perceive discrimination to be less widespread (see Table 7.2). The reason proposed here is that in the lower stratas, that is, manual work in the wider labour market, the pool of labour is larger than at higher levels, and this therefore presents

the (racist) employer with greater opportunities to discriminate against ethnic minority workers in favour of white workers. According to Smith:

"An Asian or West Indian has to make about twice as many job applications as a white person before finding a non-skilled job...It cannot be explained away on the grounds that the experience of applicants from the minority groups was inferior, since these were non-skilled jobs, for which little, if any experience is required." (1977:99).

The primary data shows that all those Chinese in ASEG5 (manual workers) believed that employers in Britain would discriminate on racial grounds.

Conversely, the data shows that the Chinese in the higher socio-economic groups were less likely (although the proportions remain high) relative to manual workers to believe employers in Britain discriminated against the Chinese because of their 'race'. This may be due to the fact that these Chinese may perceive that to enter the higher levels in the occupational structure, for example, professional occupations or ancilliary work, requires more objective criteria of selection, such as qualifications and training. Although these act as a means of exclusion (for many ethnic minority workers), in the case of the Chinese who are prepared to invest resources (temporal and financial) in obtaining a high level of education, it works in their favour, because by comparison the white adults tend to drop out of the education system before reaching higher education (see Chapter Six). Consequently, the pool of white workers at these higher levels is reduced, thus diminishing the chances of the employer to discriminate

against the Chinese professional in favour of a white professional. This argument is raised again later in this chapter.

The point on which I concord with Smith, and which explains the anomaly of the Chinese catering workers in the pattern established in Table 7.2, is his explanation that:

"Whether people are aware of discrimination and whether they claim personal experience of it are strongly influenced by their general attitudes and way of life. The clearest indication of this is that **culturally enclosed** Asians - those who do not speak English well - **are much less aware of discrimination**, and claim less personal experience of it than the more out-going middle-class element" (Smith, 1977:130) [my emphasis]

The Chinese catering industry is the 'traditional' sector which has provided social and economic security for the Chinese migrants. It is here in this niche that ethnic solidarity and culture are arguably strongest (cf Bonacich and Modell, 1980). Segregated in this way from the wider society except for commercial dealings, these Chinese have a lower awareness of racial discrimination than those Chinese who have gone out into the wider labour market in search of employment. Smith's analysis of the 'culturally enclosed Asians' is equally applicable to the Chinese in the catering industry. He wrote that:

"Culturally enclosed Asians because they venture comparatively little outside their own communities, are unlikely to encounter discrimination personally, but they will also be less alive to it and less concerned about it because the focus of their interests is their relations with other Asians and not their relations with white people" (ibid).

This would explain the lower perception of racial discrimination of the catering group of young Chinese adults

compared to those in the wider labour market (except for those in ASEG1, discussed below). However, although it is lower, it is not low by any means considering almost two in every three of the respondents engaged in catering work believed that British employers discriminated against the Chinese. This high percentage may be explained by the fact that these young adults have a better understanding of the English language than the older generation, and therefore have a greater access to the media, which informs them on the issue even though they may not be in a position to experience this type of discrimination in the labour market. In addition, these young Chinese adults may have experienced racism in their work as waiters and waitresses or counter assistants, in their contact with customers, making them aware of the issue.

As for those in ASEG1, the numbers are extremely small such that the low perception of racism and discrimination by this group can only be tentatively suggested as arising from the fact that those in this category, employers and managers, are either 'culturally enclosed' (as with the small business owners in catering), or if they have successfully reached the managerial level in the wider labour market, are much more likely as a result to hold the view that discrimination does not exist in the British labour market.

The respondents were then asked the open-ended question "Why do you think they would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their race?" This drew many tautological replies, exemplified by:

"Innate racism" (Dental Surgeon).
 "Racist nature" (Assistant Architect).
 "Racism pure and simple" (Research Assistant).

The other responses are all related to culture and cultural differences. They have been categorised under the following headings: employers' discrimination because of : language difficulties; xenophobia; ethnocentrism; and finally, workers' racism. Each will be discussed in turn.

i) - Language difficulties

Lack of fluency in the English language has proven to be a very real disadvantage in the British labour market in the experiences of West Indian and Asian workers (Brown, 1984:129). This is one of the most pressing problems for the Chinese since it has been mainly language and communication barriers which have prevented their social and occupational integration into British society (O'Neill, 1972; Home Affairs Committee Report, 1985). The stereotypical image of Chinese speaking excruciatingly bad English persists inspite of the fact that present survey results show that 29% of the respondents are British-born (see Chapter Four) and about one quarter of the Chinese population are estimated to be British-born (HAC, 1985:xii).

To be fair, the Chinese population in Britain, originating mainly from Hong Kong, have not been undeserving of such a reputation for poor command of the English language. Historically, the Chinese working in Britain had no incentive to learn English. For example, the early Chinese seamen were exempt from the language tests as citizens of

the British colony of Hong Kong, and so could acquire and maintain their jobs without much English. The later Chinese, in the catering industry, found that they did not need more than the most rudimentary (if any) English to earn a living, so had neither the motivation nor the time to learn the language.

All this amounts to the fact that this portrayal of Chinese speaking poor English, although rather out-dated, is not unfounded. Stereotypes once created are difficult to dispel. One respondent was critical of English employers and the "ignorance on their part as to the ability and communication skills of Chinese people" (Senior Audit Staff). However, the fact remains that language and communication problems are still perceived to be a major barrier to a large number of young Chinese adults obtaining employment in the wider labour market. The general belief was that employers in Britain would refuse a job to the Chinese because of the latter's poor standard of English as a selection of views from the respondents show:

"Their ability in communication if they are not educated in English language" (Research assistant).

"Chinese person lacks understanding of English or has a bad accent" (Nanny).

"Because some jobs involve in good communication, and you have to be good sociably, which some Chinese may lack because of language problems. This may be the impression the employers get" (Chef).

"Some Chinese cannot speak perfect English and most English judge people from their English language" (Technical Analyst).

Rejecting a Chinese applicant on the basis of lack of linguistic competence may be justified and acceptable if fluency in English was integral to the performance of the job. However, this is also a convenient facade behind which the racist employer could disguise essentially discriminatory acts. Jenkins highlights that "it should also be borne in mind that in the selection interview it is the recruiter, who will typically be white, both ethnically and dialectically, who has the power to define what is taken to be competent, 'fair' English" (1986:72). The subjective nature of such judgements certainly calls into question the recruiter's objectivity in these assessments.

One respondent went so far as to accuse employers of adopting a behaviour or attitude which might exasperate the situation, intimidating already nervous interviewees to perform more poorly than they might have done in a more congenial and encouraging atmosphere. "Racist attitudes undermine language (English) ability" wrote one youth worker succinctly. Thus the attitude of the employer may be a contributory factor to the overall poor performance of Chinese interviewees. Many of the Chinese appear to be (self-) consciously aware of their disadvantage in the labour market due to linguistic problems without it being blatantly drawn to their attention, as in the case of one respondent who reported the following experience: at one interview this Technical Analyst was informed by the interviewer: "There is no point for you to apply to this job if you cannot speak English perfectly".

It has been found in earlier research that "Asians and West Indians tended to avoid situations in which they might be subjected to discrimination" (Smith, 1977:113) and the Chinese appear to have adopted this strategy too. This may explain somewhat the concentration of Chinese in selected fields of study and work. For example, they have displayed a propensity for studying science and vocational subjects rather than the arts and humanities, and have subsequently entered professional sectors and technical positions in the labour market, as the results in the previous chapters revealed. In these areas, the Chinese can compete on better terms, since 'perfect' linguistic skills are subordinate to the requirements of qualifications and training in which the Chinese are more prepared to invest resources than the indigenous people (see Chapter Six). Consequently there are fewer indigenous workers at those higher levels to compete for the jobs, so the Chinese have increased chances of successfully obtaining a job at that level - this relates back to the argument presented at the beginning of this section.

This strategy of avoiding direct competition with white workers would contribute to an understanding of the bimodal distribution of the Chinese in the British labour market. Those young Chinese adults with relatively poor qualifications and weak command of the English language are more likely to stay within the Chinese catering industry than enter the wider labour market. They do not, however, tend to work in the manual sectors of the wider labour

market because competition (and hence racism and racial discrimination) would be greater there, yet the rewards are only comparable if not lower than in the catering sector, thus providing no incentive to leave the security of the Chinese catering industry. In contrast the Chinese who do enter positions in the wider labour market tend to be those relatively highly educated/trained Chinese aiming for professional and technical/ancillary jobs. At these levels there is less competition, and more limited opportunities for employers to discriminate against the Chinese because of the smaller pool of qualified (white) labour from which to make a choice - as discussed earlier.

The rapid concentration of the young Chinese adults in the professions over one or two generations in Britain is therefore no coincidence. This strategy of aiming for the professions, which offers the best opportunities in the wider labour market to be judged on objective criteria, such as qualifications and training, enables the Chinese to combat the structural disadvantages they face. It is coincidental and fortunate that the attractions of the professions matches the requirements sought by the Chinese, such that the Chinese specifically aspire to these occupations; and certain aspects of the culture have adapted readily and easily to enable the Chinese to achieve these goals, such as the change in the content of education pursued by the Chinese from the traditional literary one to a vocationally oriented one. The professions are a viable route through which the Chinese can escape a life in

catering without compromising their hopes of attaining extrinsic and intrinsic rewards, while minimising direct competition with the white British and thus racism and discrimination in the process. By being selective in choice of professional fields and opting for ones requiring adequate, not perfect English, the Chinese have circumvented the main obstacles which could block their entry into positions in the wider labour market. The establishment of successful role models in these occupations thus pave the way for other Chinese to follow suite, and the image of the 'Chinese professional' becomes in time another stereotype and self-fulfilling prophecy.

A similar trend was observed early on in America. Maykovich reported that:

"First they (Asian Americans) went into low-level clerical and technical fields in order to avoid direct competition with white Americans. Once they performed well in these areas, the positive stereotype was created. These areas then became established as fields in which the Asian American was expected to excel naturally. Parents pushed their offspring into accounting, engineering..." (quoted in Smith, 1983:179).

ii) - Xenophobia

The next category of responses from the Chinese respondents as to why they thought an employer in Britain would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their 'race', is encapsulated in the words of a dentist who wrote: "Prejudice, ignorance, and fear". This appears to indicate a process whereby prejudice stems from ignorance of a different ethnic group (and its culture), which in turn

generates fear, and causes further minimisation of contact by excluding the group from the mainstream culture and institutions. The result is a cycle of prejudice and discrimination, since the state of ignorance cannot be rectified by imparting knowledge about the minority group's culture to the dominant group because of the exclusion, so the fear remains and the social distance is perpetuated.

Research suggests support for this, as reported:

"Hostility towards groups different from one's own is not unusual. Eugene Hartley (1946) found that college students not only wished to minimise their contact with people from thirty-two nations, and even wanted to keep them out of the country, but the students also rejected 'Danierians', 'Pireneans', and 'Wallonians', three fictitious ethnic groups. Obviously fear of those who are different extends to imaginary groups that sound strange." (Schaefer, 1988:56).

The cultural divide between the British and the Chinese has been observed by numerous respondents. Some thoughts were expressed along the lines that the indigenous employer's unfamiliarity in dealing with the Chinese has resulted in the reluctance of some British employers to recruiting Chinese workers. A sample of the views were:

"Lack of previous contact with Chinese, lack of trust in their abilities" (Project Engineer).

"Racist, lacking of understanding of Chinese people (ie Chinese culture)" (Analyst Programmer/Knowledge Engineer).

"Because of different culture, therefore different thinking" (Quality Controller).

Thus the Chinese are aware that they might be rejected for positions not on the basis of lack of skills, qualifications or experience, but because of the recruiters' discomfort with dealing with someone of a different culture. A

waitress explicated this point: "Suppose they feel a natural closest with their own people. With a Asian because their colour is different, they would be seen as alien. The natural bond isn't there". Under these circumstances it is irrelevant how highly qualified or experienced the Chinese applicant may be, or how well that applicant may speak English or fit into the organisation, for the fear of the recruiter for this phenotypically different person is sufficient to rule out the serious consideration of the Chinese applicant for the job.

Even the image of the diligent Chinese worker then would be of no advantage given a xenophobic recruiter, as one scientific officer remarked: "Generally Chinese have a fair reputation of being industrious, but English or white people, they think, suit more to the pattern of their own environment", 'own environment' meaning of course a white British one.

The underlying theme is that the employer/recruiter's lack of understanding or knowledge of the Chinese culture, and resistance to learning about and accepting someone from this culture is the root of the problem. But language difficulties on the Chinese part, and social and economic isolation of the older generation have been factors exacerbating the situation. Lack of communication and socialisation between the two groups have compounded the notion that socially the Chinese will not fit into the organisation. Hence the reticence or refusal of some employers in Britain (whether real or perceived by the

Chinese) to hire Chinese workers at all levels, will prevent the less determined Chinese from endeavouring to seek work outside of the Chinese catering industry.

iii) - Ethnocentrism

Rather different to the discrimination caused by ignorance or fear, this racist behaviour is caused by a sense of superiority over peoples of another nation or culture - ethnocentrism. However, this does not exclude the possibility that such a belief of innate superiority could originate from ignorance of other cultures.

The emergence of an attitude of superiority of Western civilisation over Eastern civilisation is a relatively recent phenomenon as Kitano pointed out. He illustrates this by remarking that "The Adventures of Marco Polo" in the thirteenth century was written from the point of view of the member of a relatively undeveloped European nation who confronted a superior Asian culture (Kitano, 1974:137).

The ethnocentrism and racist behaviour of some British people is frequently attributed to Britain's imperial and colonial past. Miles argued that:

"..the interdependence of capitalist development and colonial exploitation were at least partly responsible for the articulation and reproduction of racism as an ideology within Britain. Racist images and beliefs were therefore an element of British national culture, shaped as it was by the need to explain and rationalise colonialism." (1982:165).

Britain had played a central role in the oppression and exploitation of peoples in many countries worldwide.

Capitalism was introduced to China, for example, by the force of the British gunboats. Pan detailed these moments in history:

"The Treaty of Nanking which concluded the first Opium War was imposed upon the Manchu court at gunpoint, and by signing it China agreed to the cession of the island of Hong Kong to Britain, and the opening of five treaty ports...to foreign trade and residence....[But] the Western powers had not achieved all that they wanted...Making the most of minor incidents, British forces, presently joined by the French, had started the Second Opium War with a bombardment of Canton in 1856. The allies had then pushed north to bring the imperial government at Peking to terms...The victors then dictated another charter for the expansion of foreign privileges in China, the Convention of Peking of 24 October 1860." (Pan, 1990:43-51).

This territorial expansion of European capitalism was justified by a racist ideology. To some respondents, the legacy of colonialism is all too apparent in the behaviour and attitudes of some British people. Some responses were:

"White is the most supreme race to them"
(Insurance Salesman).

"Because they think they're superior" (Retail Sales Assistant).

"Prejudice and belief in the old order ie belief in own superiority, refusal to accept that empire no longer exists" (Financial Accountant).

"Mainly depend on British character. Some of them are snobbish and look down the Chinese" (Interior Design Assistant).

A belief exists among some of these young Chinese adults that due to employers' ethnocentrism, they are rejected for jobs because some employers prefer to employ white people even if the latter are not as highly qualified or suited to the position as the Chinese applicant. The ethnocentric employer may rationalise his/her discrimination in the following way, by believing that:

"..there is a 'right' way of doing things; this is the white, 'British' way...Cultural difference is viewed as alien and distasteful, and racism is merely the upholding of 'normal standards'. Discrimination, by this token, vanishes; in its place one finds people insisting they are not prejudiced, but simply defending what is 'right and proper', upholding the maintenance of 'acceptable standards'." (Jenkins, 1986:102).

Exclusion of Chinese because of ethnocentric employers may affect the Chinese at all levels, but may be particularly acute at higher levels in the socio-economic structure, or in terms of promotion. The opinion of a typeface designer was that employers in Britain would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their race, but that it was considered true of hardly any employers, and that in these cases of discrimination it was limited to only "those applying for a managerial position (I think)". The view was that such British employers would be prepared to take on Chinese workers as subordinates, but would not want a Chinese or other ethnic minority worker to be in a position of giving instructions to the white person. The results of the British Social Attitudes Survey for 1991 indicate that the majority of those questioned believed that most white people in Britain would not find a suitably qualified person of Asian and West Indian origin acceptable as their boss. The findings were that 51% of 'most white people' would mind 'a little bit' or 'a lot' about having a West Indian boss, and 52% of 'most white people' would mind 'a little' or 'a lot' about having an Asian boss.

Research has found that "It is highly significant that management trainee applicants face a high level of

discrimination, because this is one of the main routes by which young people can set off towards really senior positions" (Smith, 1977:121). This has implications for the promotion prospects of the Chinese in the wider labour market, a point raised later.

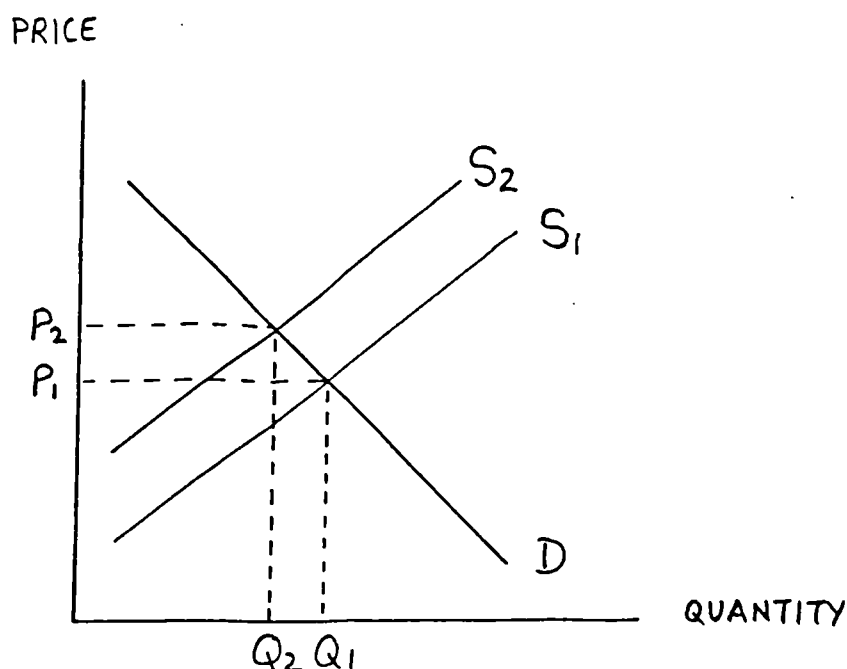
iv) - Workers' Racism?

There is a view prevalent in some Marxist approaches that racism is an ideological tool utilised by the 'ruling class' to divide the working class, for example, Castles and Kosack (1973). However, this notion of a 'capitalist conspiracy' is rejected on the grounds that the capitalist has more to lose by discriminating against certain groups of workers, while conversely the white working class has more to gain by practices of discrimination. These points will be elaborated on now.

In a laissez-faire market it is economically irrational for an employer to discriminate against some workers, for example, women or migrant workers. According to the neo-classical economists, an equilibrium price for a good or service is set at the point where the demand for a good or service intersects the supply of the good or service. Those employers who discriminate against a particular section of the workforce are upsetting the dynamics of the market forces. By excluding some workers, these employers end up paying more than the real market rate for labour. This is because the supply of labour (from which they are prepared to recruit) is reduced by their discriminatory practices and

refusal to use the skills of migrant or women workers. Graphically the supply curve shifts up from S_1 to S_2 (see Graph 7.1). The quantity of workers is reduced from Q_1 to Q_2 and the price of labour for the racist/sexist employer/recruiter increases from P_1 to P_2 . Therefore, if the employer operates on profit-maximising principles then she/he cannot afford to discriminate.

Graph 7.1 Price Of Discrimination



As for the white working class, it could be argued that it is to their material advantage to perpetuate a racist system. Through "racial restrictive practices, reserving skilled jobs for whites, increase white bargaining power" (Stone, 1985:66) the white workers have much to gain. It is arguably in the interests of the white working class to maintain racial boundaries and discrimination as a mechanism

to improve their own position by separating migrant workers into a buffer group to occupy the lowest strata in the social structure and take the most poorly remunerated jobs. However, a counter-argument may be proposed in that some Marxists believe that this fractionalisation of the working class deflects these workers from what should be their common aim of uniting against the bourgeois class (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980).

However, markets are not perfect, and inspite of the fact that neither is it in the employers' economic interests to discriminate against certain groups of workers nor in the interests of the white workers to encourage this discrimination against ethnic minority workers, the fact remains that such practices exist. One respondent thought that it was "Because they are racist or think it would be bad for business/ work relationships ie they concede to other people's racism" (Policy Analyst). The implication is that it is not necessarily a direct objection to race or the Chinese per se (although this could be partly the reason), it may be the bowing to other pressures which causes the employer to discriminate.

Along these lines then avoiding industrial relations problems appears to be a possible motive for not recruiting Chinese workers. A pharmacist believed that British employers did discriminate because of "fear of unfamiliarity therefore distrust. Fear of causing disruption in work among racist". Smith reported that "Some firms exclude Asians and West Indians altogether... because they fear

resistance from white workers to employment of the minorities and expect ensuing labour relations difficulties" (1977:134). However, resistance from white workers to the employment of racial minorities was concluded by Ramdin to be "not particularly common" (1987:266).

An alternative reason British employers may discriminate against the Chinese is because they may feel that the Chinese worker will not fit into the organisation socially. Again this raises the issue of the cultural divide between the Chinese and British. A trainee chartered accountant gave the reason for his belief that employers were reluctant to offer employment to the Chinese: "I believe that an employer would want an employee who can get on with as many people as possible so their first choice would be a caucasian". Similarly a senior engineer perceived the Chinese difficulty in a British firm of "Mixing with their workforce. Communication problems" as the reason employers discriminated against Chinese workers. Ramdin, in discussing black workers, found that Asians experienced similar problems:

"..It was found that a high proportion of large plants had complaints from white workers, and complaints were more often than not made where Asians rather than West Indians constituted the main minority group. This latter point is important in reflecting the cultural disparity between Asians and Whites." (1987:266).

As mentioned in Chapter Six the Asian culture and Chinese culture were found to be convergent and similar in many respects, whereas West Indian culture was considered to be closer to the British (cf Jenkins, 1986:90).

In discussing culture, it has been highlighted by one respondent that "our standard of working pace and eagerness to learn would create and reflect the pressure onto other employees within the company" (Graphic Designer). Ironically the stereotype of the industrious and enthusiastic Chinese worker (earlier seen by some Chinese as being beneficial) is here regarded as a liability. Notably this trait is seen in a negative light when it involves the Chinese in the wider labour market (cf Chinese seamen). Jenkins discusses the issue of the evaluation of stereotypes, and points out the double-edge to interpretation, for example, being a good worker can be regarded in a different light as 'greed' and 'working for the top bonus', or ambition may be seen as 'pushiness' or 'overambition', traits which are denigrated in British culture (Jenkins, 1986:88/89).

All this emphasis on the workers may be just a smokescreen behind which the employer may conduct discriminatory practices. "It is frequently the workforce or customers who are presented as objecting, and this is doubtless true to a certain extent. However, it is probably equally true that the tastes and foibles of the white workforce may provide a convenient legitimation for the decision not to hire" (Jenkins, 1986:102). Whichever is the real motive is almost impossible to establish because the recruitment procedure is such a 'black-box' - a point raised again in the next section.

IV - EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The views of the young Chinese adults were almost unanimous in their beliefs that racial discrimination was still being practiced in the British labour market inspite of the Race Relations Act 1976, which forbids discrimination on racial grounds (defined as colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins). Although 77% of the respondents believed that a British employer would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their 'race' and elaborated on why they thought British employers would do this, many respondents were unable to explain how they knew some employers discriminated against the Chinese.

In response to the open-ended question: "How do you know that employers refuse jobs to Chinese people because of their race?", the replies were frequently "I don't know - just guess". However, many did manage to offer some sort of explanation in support of their opinion. These ranged from the vague response of 'general observations of society', to word of mouth experiences, to personal experiences. These will be looked at in turn.

i) - Personal experiences

Only two respondents gave instances of personal experiences of racial discrimination in the British labour market to substantiate their claim as to its existence. This low incidence may be due to the fact that the Chinese have adopted a strategy of avoiding areas of high competition

with white British. Added to this is the fact that employers' discrimination is so difficult to detect in the first place. Even in the case of the above two respondents, they were unable to provide concrete evidence to prove that they had been a victim of racial discrimination, although reference was made to "More rejection letters in job applications" (Project Engineer). An accounts assistant recalled that "I have had quite a few job refusals but of those which I am not certain as to why, it is quite easy for them to say that I lacked qualification".

In fact racial discrimination is not only extremely difficult to prove in most cases, often it is so subtle that one may not even be aware that one has been a victim, for the net effect of anti-discriminatory legislation is not to have eradicated the problem but to have driven it underground, so that it is operated insidiously - and therefore made all the more difficult to detect. Smith wrote that:

"It is quite clear...that in most cases where an Asian or West Indian job applicant is rejected because of unfair discrimination, he is not told the true reason for his rejection and he could not know that discrimination has occurred. He may, of course, suspect that there has been discrimination; whether or not he does so will depend partly on small hints and cues in the circumstances or the behaviour of the employer" (1977:127).

Employers may practice discrimination covertly without raising suspicion. The multiple hurdles that must be overcome in obtaining employment in the wider labour market means that many opportunities are available to the (racist) employer/ recruiter to discriminate. The first screening

device is the application form. For the racist employers, some Chinese pointed out, the application form gave early indications of the applicant's ethnicity:

"In the application form they need you to specify where did you born or originally come from" (Receptionist).

"A lot of examples of employers refuse to interview the candidates because of their Chinese names" (Research assistant).

However, even if the Chinese applicant was called for interview, it did not necessarily mean a fair interview, according to some respondents. One management services trainee felt that "tougher questions during interviews" were asked, while some Chinese expressed feelings of distance, sometimes antipathy from the interviewer, in "The way they look at us", said one retail supervisor, and "The ways they reaction to you, eg. facial expression and attitude", said an interpreter. Not all respondents considered employers acted this overtly. A waitress remarked that "You get treated well whereby it disguises how they think about", and another waitress stressed that "One would not know all the time because during the interview the interviewers seemed to be objective in his or her questions".

Because of the difficulties in establishing that such an incidence occurred, several Chinese resorted to using more conspicuous examples from other spheres of life, exemplified by housing, education, and such like, to 'prove' that racism and discrimination existed, and from this infer/deduce that discrimination exists in the labour market also. Some responses were:

"I never experienced this for applying job, but I experienced this when I was shopping in markets. They tend to ignore me even though they saw me arrive at the store before other customers, but they would serve the other first instead of me" (Interpreter).

"I have been ignored by X Medical School when I applied and later on heard on the news that they had a racially biased selection process" (Trainee Chartered Accountant).

It is interesting to note the disparity in the numbers of Chinese who used personal experience of racial discrimination as the reason for their belief that employers in Britain rejected candidates on racial grounds (that is, two respondents), compared to the numbers of Chinese who when asked directly if they had ever been refused for a job for reasons which they thought were to do with their 'race', replied that they had (that is, seven respondents). The results to the latter question are presented below.

Table 7.3 Experiences Of Racial Discrimination In Employment

	Policy Studies Institute		Present	
	West Indian %	Asian %	Chinese % N	
Yes	24	9	9	7
No	47	32	70	51

The numbers for the Chinese are too small to make more than tentative statements about their experiences of racial discrimination. However, given that discrimination is widespread in recruitment, the incidence claimed by the Chinese is low, in keeping with other ethnic groups (as seen in Table 7.3). This would support Smith's claim that the

low figures reinforce the point that the victims of discrimination are not usually aware of it and that:

"..far from being over-sensitive to any signs of unfair treatment, resentful in their position in relation to the host community and militant for change, the minority groups are often the last to recognise an injustice that affects them most closely" (1977:129).

ii) - Experiences of friends and relatives

Several young Chinese adults reported the experiences of people they knew who were considered to have been subject to racial discrimination in the British labour market. Even so there was no conclusive evidence, but speculative comments such as:

"Because most of my friends' interviews have no reply" (Waitress).

"Most of my friends couldn't get a job from them" (Electrician).

"Because I have heard of other Chinese people being turned down without any specify reasons given" (Analyst Programmer/Knowledge Engineer).

Again the indications that these Chinese were discriminated against are like those of personal experience, that is, high refusal rates and lack of communication of reasons for the rejection from the recruiter.

iii) - Observations of society

Under this broad category are the conclusions the Chinese have drawn from observations of the labour market and society in general. From these the Chinese deduce that

racism and discrimination are still prevalent in all aspects of life in Britain, not just in employment.

Concerning the labour market specifically, some of the respondents have noticed the sometimes conspicuous occupational segregation of the Chinese, and drawn their own conclusions from this. A selection of the opinions expressed are:

"No direct experience but just from general experience of people's attitudes to immigrants - acquaintances' and colleagues' remarks on the 'audacity' of foreigners coming to England for a better life" (Dentist).

"Rare to see a company with mixed races" (Computer Operator/designer).

"Because many British Chinese have similar qualifications/experience as white people but this percentage is not represented in practical terms" (Waitress).

"Because Chinese people tend to work in certain places" (Sales Assistant).

"Most Chinese will not have ended up in Chinese restaurant and takeaway if they could easily get jobs elsewhere" (Senior Audit Staff).

Thus some respondents have noticed the lack of Chinese employed in the wider labour market overall, while others have highlighted the small presence of Chinese in specific areas and sectors in the labour market. What was also apparent was the role of the Chinese catering industry as a safety-net.

Perhaps it may be argued that the Chinese rely too heavily on the Chinese catering industry and the ethnic enclave. This may well be the case judging by the reply of an electrician working in the ethnic sector, who revealed that

fear of racism and racial discrimination had prevented him from attempting to seek employment in the wider labour market. The electrician wrote: "I just have this impression [that British employers discriminate on racial grounds] therefore I have never tried to get a job with white employers". Such an attitude has been criticised by another Chinese respondent, who wrote: "It may be true to say that unemployment does not affect Chinese people in general because we can always go back to our old traditional takeaways. And Chinese people do not care or do not pursue it further even when there are cases of racism" (Scientific Researcher).

Many Chinese gave the examples of racism and discrimination against black people in Britain (reported in the media) to support their claim of 'knowing' that these invidious practices exist in Britain. From these instances the respondents inferred that racism and discrimination are also likely to be practiced against all non-white people in Britain. Research by Smith concluded that:

"discrimination is based on the general colour prejudice, which does not distinguish much between people belonging to different racial groups, having different religions, speaking different languages and coming from different countries. They are all lumped together as 'coloured people'." (1977:111).

Some replies elicited from a few respondents are:

"No direct experience - conclusion drawn from working and living in Britain as non-Caucasian" (Financial Accountant).

"A logical assumption since no society has an anti-racist society" (Waitress) [she means racism free].

"Personal assumption from media coverage of racism against black people..white people's prejudice may extend to all non-whites" (Medical Researcher).

The powerful role of the media is emphasised. Television and newspapers/magazines are the medium through which many of these young Chinese adults are informed about the incidences and extent of racism in Britain, since only a small proportion appear to have direct experience of racial discrimination, for example, in the labour market [cf Smith, 1977]. Messages and information transmitted via these means of mass communication is partly how their 'general observations of society' and perceptions of racism and racial discrimination are constructed.

"I've no sound evidence I'm afraid..[except for] media ie cases reported. Stories on racism always in newspapers, but the most recent concerned finding a bedsit in Brighton, and sending a black and white man to a no. of places" .

Therefore, constant allusions are made to black people and the injustices and unfair treatment they have suffered, in order to establish that racism and racial discrimination exist in Britain.

V - THE GLASS CEILING

That primary and secondary data indicate that young Chinese adults in Britain have penetrated into the higher positions in the occupational structure, and the reported number of experiences of discrimination in the British labour market by the Chinese respondents in the present survey are low, do not refute the fact that discrimination exists in the British labour market. Access into an occupation does not

preclude the practice of discrimination altogether for the latter may take forms other than, and beyond the stages of recruitment and selection. Other forms of discrimination may be in terms of differential income attainments (discussed in Chapter Six) and differential promotion prospects (raised earlier in this chapter). These will be elaborated on.

Although the Chinese may have developed a strategy which enables them to enter the wider labour market at the higher to middle ranges, at which there are perceived to be fewer opportunities for the racist employer to discriminate against them, the fact that the racist employer perforce took on the Chinese for lack of qualified alternative workers (that is, white employees) does not necessarily mean that the racist employer must treat the Chinese as equitably as a white employee. For example, the racist employer may practice the subtlest form of discrimination by paying the Chinese less than a white worker would have been paid for the same job, and/or requiring higher qualifications from the Chinese than from a white worker for the same job.

Evidence of discrimination in the form of differential earnings in the case of Asian-Americans is well documented (see Chapter Six). In Britain, it has been found that ethnic minority workers are paid less than white workers for jobs at the same occupational level. Cross noted that:

"Socio-economic group is a poor indicator of an individual's command over resources. The evidence in this area suggest that minorities are likely to

earn less than their white peers, the higher the socio-economic level they achieve. For example, Field et al (1981) have suggested that minority males in professional employment achieved only 75% of the income gained by white professionals." (1988:69)

In a similar vein, Pirani et al remarked that:

"Even when ethnic minority workers have higher education and training their wages tend to be lower when compared with their white counterparts." (1992:40).

In addition to differential income and/or being required to have higher qualifications than the white person for the same job, there is also another form of discrimination known as the 'Glass Ceiling', which is concerned with the differential promotion opportunities of some groups of workers. There has been almost a complete absence of research on this factor in Britain, and even in the USA where the term was first used, the research and literature on this area are very recent. Morrison and Von Glinow wrote of this that:

"The glass ceiling is a concept popularized in the 1980s to describe the barrier so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women and minorities from moving up in the management hierarchy." (1990:200).

Morrison and Von Glinow continued to present the theories which have been postulated to explain this situation. These fall into three broad categories: first, that gender and 'race' deficiencies account for their differential treatment in management, for example, the alleged 'fear of success' of women, or the culture and socialisation of ethnic minorities which make them inappropriate as managers. The second group of explanations cite discrimination by the majority population as the major cause of inequities, that

bias and stereotyping are held to account for the slow progress of women and minorities into the management hierarchy. The third type of theories pinpoint structural, systemic discrimination as the root cause of differential treatment (rather than actions or characteristics of individuals) and that widespread policies and practices in the social system perpetuate discriminatory treatment of women and ethnic minorities (for example, the dual labour market system - see Chapter Two).

Rather than viewing these theories as disparate and mutually exclusive, these cultural and structural explanations as presented above are arguably interrelated, and act as a vicious cycle of exclusion in the labour market. For example, the operation of a dual labour market combined with the misguided preconceptions and prejudices of the traits, characteristics and suitability of women and ethnic minorities for management positions, means that women and ethnic minorities rarely get the chance to prove that they can perform the job as competently (if not more so) than white male counterparts. That means that it is impossible to dispel the myths and negative and detrimental stereotypes of their abilities. Thus white male workers are continually recruited in preference over women and ethnic minorities for jobs in the primary labour market and at managerial levels.

Looking at the case of the Chinese in Britain, it has been shown in the present research that contrary to previous research findings on the children of migrant workers, young Chinese adults in Britain have managed to work their way up

from the secondary labour market (specifically the Chinese catering industry) in which the majority of their parents are employed, to enter the primary labour market. However, the argument is that the glass ceiling does not operate **between** the labour markets (because the young Chinese adults have designed a strategy to penetrate the primary labour market by isolating areas of least competition with white workers), rather the glass ceiling operates **within** the primary labour market to block the promotion of Chinese to the upper levels of the management hierarchy. What is more, being new to the primary market, the young Chinese adults are also new to the fact that: "...many company promotions depend as much on political crawling and backscratching as achievement and merit. Chinese employees may be unsure of how to play games of corporate politics, which often seem ridiculously trivial and culturally specific" (Kenny, 1992:9).

This raises the question then: to what extent must the Chinese compromise their culture and conform to the 'British way' in order to succeed? 'Assimilation' does not seem to be the answer, as the case of the Japanese in the USA demonstrate:

"The Japanese...mostly born and bred Americans... are closer than any other Asians to merging with the American mainstream, though still better educated..than white Americans.....They are also likelier too than other Asians to try to climb the American corporate ladder. But even they can seldom get beyond the glass ceiling." (The Economist, 1989:28).

In Britain there have been no such studies on the Chinese, although research on ethnic minorities in general have revealed that:

"There appears to be both direct and indirect discrimination at institutional level, manifest in the perception of ethnic minorities as less promotable than similar white employees..... Ethnic minorities do not get promoted and in relative terms tend to stay on in lower grades relative to their education and qualifications."
(Pirani et al, 1992:40)

In summary this section has highlighted some other areas in the labour market, beyond the selection and recruitment stages of employment, in which Chinese and other ethnic minority workers may continue to be discriminated against. The purpose was to emphasis the fact that while young Chinese adults may have penetrated the higher levels of the occupational structure, this is not evidence that they are free from (further) disadvantage and discrimination in the wider labour market. Differential income and promotion opportunities are other forms of discrimination which require more research and attention.

VI - SUMMARY

This chapter began by giving an historical overview which illustrated how the levels of racism directed towards the Chinese in Britain have been linked to the level of economic (job) competition they provide against the indigenous British.

The beliefs of the young Chinese adults about discrimination in the British labour market were then explored. Over three quarters of the respondents believed that about half/less than half of all employers in Britain practised discrimination. The reasons given for this were all culture-based, that: employers discriminated against the Chinese because of perceived language problems; xenophobia; ethnocentrism; and workers' racism (which may be just a smokescreen for employers' racism). It was argued that the young Chinese adults' endeavours to enter the professions and technical positions in the occupational structure were strategies developed to circumvent as far as possible direct competition with white British (and thus racism and discrimination) in the wider labour market. For this reason, and because discrimination may be practised so insidiously, the incidence of discrimination reported by the Chinese was extremely low.

Finally, other forms of discrimination in the labour market beyond the selection and recruitment stages of employment were discussed, such as differential income attainment and differential promotion opportunities (the glass ceiling). This was to highlight the fact that even though young Chinese adults appear to have circumvented or 'overcome' one barrier of discrimination by successfully gaining access into the higher levels of the occupational structure, they may still be subject to discrimination in terms of remuneration and promotion, and may continue to be at a disadvantage throughout their careers.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

This research endeavoured to determine where young Chinese adults are located in the British labour market, and why they are situated in their current positions in the occupational structure.

Regarding the first of these aims, the primary data demonstrated that the young Chinese adults are bimodally distributed in the British labour market, as hypothesised, with the majority of these Chinese either employed in the professional sector or the service sector (essentially the Chinese catering industry). The secondary data (LFS), however, did not provide such incontrovertible evidence of a bimodal distribution of young Chinese adults in the British labour market. Nevertheless, the underlying trend of the greater propensity of the Chinese to enter the professions or the service (catering) sectors was clearly apparent.

The second aim of this project was to gain an insight into the influences which have affected the occupational attainments of the young Chinese adults. This was in essence an exploration of the effects and interaction of structure and culture, as observed in the part played by family background, the role of education, and the impact of racism and discrimination. The findings will be recapitulated.

To begin with, it was necessary to put into historical perspective Chinese migration to and settlement in Britain. Structural factors, particularly institutional racism, were highlighted as being responsible for the restricted employment opportunities experienced by the pre-1914 and post-1945 Chinese, such that they were forced to rely on self-employment, first in the laundry business and then in the Chinese catering industry. Cultural factors, however, were seen as inadvertently compounding the situation of confining the Chinese to these ethnic niches. For the Chinese response to circumvent the anti-immigration legislation, the utilisation of ethnic resources to establish the processes of chain migration and employment patronage to continue the migration, served to channel all new-comers directly into the Chinese catering industry. Their success within this niche has subsequently given these Chinese no incentive to endeavour to diversify into other occupations in the wider labour market, since many Chinese catering workers have been able to achieve further socio-economic mobility within this niche by setting up their own small businesses. Cultural explanations were proposed for the success of the Chinese at entrepreneurship.

This, the social and economic restriction of the post-1945 Chinese migrants to within the Chinese catering industry, formed the basis from which the career development of young Chinese adults in contemporary Britain was examined. It established that most young Chinese adults have a family background in catering, with parents either employed in or

owning a Chinese catering business. The effects of family background on the occupational attainments of young Chinese adults were assessed on two levels, in terms of structure (class material and class cultural resources) and second, in terms of ethnic culture (socialisation in Chinese values and ethos). It was concluded that overall, class effects were less significant than cultural effects, as mediated through the family, in determining the level of occupational attainments made by the young Chinese adults. The class material resources of the petite bourgeois Chinese were insufficient at the critical time to provide these children with superior lifechances over the working class Chinese youth. However, class cultural resources were found to reinforce the Chinese cultural values. The latter were seen as providing the strongest influences which motivated the Chinese youth to make their high achievements.

The theme of culture was continued in relation to education to explain how the young Chinese adults in Britain have come to be such a highly qualified group, inspite of the fact that previous research studies have consistently reported that opportunities are still not egalitarian in the British education system, and that ascribed characteristics (class, gender, 'race') continue to affect the educational attainments of youth in Britain. It was concluded that the traditional values and orientations of the Chinese towards education were crucial motivating factors in explaining their high educational achievements. However, while the (high) level of attainment was attributed to cultural

reasons, attention was also drawn to the fact that the culture itself (the aspect pertaining to education) has been shaped by structure. That is, while the importance of education has remained as a means for achieving social advancement, the content of education has altered for the overseas Chinese in the contemporary West in response to the different needs of the environments of advanced industrial societies. Thus the Chinese culture has adapted to the structure in order to further the socio-economic interests of the Chinese in Britain, for instance, where white collar and managerial/ professional sectors are expanding. The Chinese have consequently followed those fields of study which are anticipated to equip them with marketable skills and knowledge, and provide them with as much leverage in the wider labour market as possible.

Further analysis revealed the even greater role played by structure than at first appears in directing the areas of study and work taken up by young Chinese adults in Britain. The discussion went on to propose that the Chinese preference to enter the wider labour market only at the (middle to) higher levels or conversely to seek employment in the service (catering) sector of the labour market, is an adaptive strategy designed by the Chinese to enable them to combat the (real or perceived) structural constraints of racism and discrimination in the British labour market, by entering only at those levels which minimise or enable them to avoid opportunities for such incidents to occur.

Thus the suggestion was that the young Chinese adults have chosen those fields of study which give them the best chances of competing on equal (or as near equal) grounds with white British youth. These areas tend to be in subjects which require lower levels of English language competence, such as the sciences, engineering, and business. Qualifications and training in these areas are anticipated to gain them access into related occupational fields, perceived to be the sectors where fewer opportunities exist for the racist employer/recruiter to discriminate against the young Chinese adults in the British labour market. This was due to the fact that there was a smaller pool of qualified white workers (hence alternative labour) in the professions and technical jobs at the higher levels of the occupational structure than at the lower end.

For the young Chinese adults unable to obtain the prestigious professional and ancilliary occupations which most aspire to, their preference appears to remain in the catering industry, for the social and economic security it affords. Thus not only does the Chinese catering industry provide a refuge from the racism and discrimination which most of the Chinese believe exists in the wider labour market, the catering industry also serves as a safety-net preventing the downward intergenerational mobility of young Chinese adults into socio-economic levels beyond the service sector.

Having located the positions of young Chinese adults in the British labour market, and investigated the nature of the

roles of structure and culture in influencing their levels of attainment in the occupational structure, it is appropriate now to assess the implications of this distribution of young Chinese adults in the British labour market to the Chinese community in Britain, and also vis-à-vis the wider society.

I - IMPLICATIONS AND THE FUTURE

In Chapter Two it was held that the post-1945 Chinese migrants to Britain conformed quite closely to the middleman minority form. The persistence of the middleman minority form, however, was argued to be contingent on the existence of strong ethnic ties (Bonacich and Modell, 1980), which weaken with the social and economic integration of the younger generations into the wider society. And, according to Bonacich and Modell, education appears to be an important determinant of whether the younger generations remain in the ethnic economy or pursue occupations in the wider labour market.

From the findings in the present study, it may be concluded that the 'second generation' Chinese have acted in accordance with the hypothesis of Bonacich and Modell. Like the Japanese-Americans, a group which Bonacich and Modell regard as typifying the middleman minority form, the British-Chinese youth are using education "...to escape from the ethnic economy. [And] the result of this process has been to leave the ethnic economy increasingly in the hands

of the less educated" (Bonacich and Modell, 1980:152). The implications of the development of these two groups within the Chinese community, that is, the educated Chinese employed in the wider labour market and the less educated Chinese employed in the Chinese catering industry, will be further discussed.

In considering the implications of the entry of the less educated young Chinese adults into the Chinese catering industry, there are two levels on which such an assessment will occur: first, to the young Chinese adults themselves; and second, to the Chinese catering industry.

Dealing first with the young Chinese adults, the main concern is that although some Chinese 'chose' to stay in the Chinese catering industry for the social and economic security it provided, that does not mean that to these young adults, it is any less a "Hobson's choice". The problem is that many of these young Chinese adults, having spent all or most of their formative years in Britain, have as a consequence been socialised in some Western values, one of which is the notion of 'quality of life'. In Chapter Four (Section IV) this was found to be one of the reasons why many Chinese currently employed in the wider labour market rejected the idea of working in the catering industry. And unlike their parents who were economic migrants and therefore possessed pragmatic and materialistic attitudes to work and life in Britain, the younger generations seek more than extrinsic rewards from their work. Yet the Chinese catering industry can provide only minimal intrinsic

satisfaction, and even the 'independence and autonomy of being one's own boss' are arguably mirages (Gabriel, 1988).

All this may generate tension, resentment and dissatisfaction in this group of Chinese, who without sufficient qualifications are denied professional work in the wider labour market which many aspire to; yet fear of racism and discrimination coupled with fear of loss of status (peer pressure) prevents them seeking work in the manual sectors of the labour market or even the less prestigious types of non-manual work. Their social and economic isolation (like their parents) may result not only in alienation from the wider society, but also from fellow Chinese - those well-educated Chinese who have (rather enviably?) escaped the Chinese catering industry. The relations between the 'professional' Chinese and the 'catering' Chinese will be raised again later.

As for the second issue concerning the Chinese catering industry itself, the fact that it is the less educated Chinese who are succeeding the 'first generation' in this business should not be detrimental to the trade. For the 'first generation' were themselves mostly without an education, and this in no way hindered their success at the business, nor adversely affected the growth of the industry. What is of concern is the numbers of young Chinese adults entering this sector, which appear altogether insufficient to enable them to sustain the industry in the long term. The labour shortages arising from the gradual retirement of the 'first generation' and the small proportions of 'second

generation' entering into the trade, is further compounded by the demographic changes in the Chinese population in Britain. The young Chinese adults who will take over these businesses do not have the reserves of family labour (wives and children) that their parents did. Neither do the young Chinese adults have the option of recruiting fresh migrants from the Far East as the immigration doors in Britain have all but closed shut. The solution may be that the young Chinese in catering will increasingly have to rely on non-Chinese workers to work in the catering business; or the young Chinese adults may seek to replace labour with (investments in) capital, thus resulting in another restructuring of the Chinese catering industry in order to accommodate these changes and developments.

The educated Chinese employed in the wider labour market may be the object of envy from the perspective of those young Chinese adults in the catering industry, but as was discussed in Chapter Seven, the Chinese in the wider labour market are vulnerable even after recruitment, to many different types of discrimination, such as being required to be better qualified and/or being paid less for the same job as a white worker and/or being denied promotion to (higher) managerial levels. Since these Chinese are at the early stages of their career the full extent of racism and discrimination experienced by them may not become clear for some time yet.

Perhaps the position of the young Chinese professionals may not be as enviable as perceived by the Chinese in catering.

The young Chinese professionals, perhaps more than any other, are the most likely group to be caught 'between two cultures' (Watson, 1977). It has been observed that there is:

"..suspicion between...middle class professionals and working class caterers.....Chinese people from 'Anglicised' professional backgrounds..find hostility from fellow Chinese, coupled with racism in wider society, a crushing disillusionment."
(Ling, 1992:9)

Therefore this group of professional Chinese may become one of the most alienated in this community.

The growing heterogeneity and apparent weakening of ethnic solidarity and ties within the Chinese community may be exacerbated by the arrival of new Hong Kong Chinese migrants to Britain nearer 1997, when the Chinese population in Britain may expect to be swelled in numbers by a maximum of 50,000 Hong Kong Chinese families (approximately 225,000 people). The entry of these new migrants has implications not only in terms of inter-group relations within the Chinese community, but also in terms of the relations of the Chinese community as a whole with the indigenous population.

Who are these new Chinese migrants? The allocation of British passports to the Hong Kong Chinese will be given "on the recommendation of the Governor of Hong Kong and allocated on a points system based on seven criteria, namely age, experience, education and training, special circumstances, knowledge of English, British links and community service" (Rafferty, 1991:517). The distribution

of these passports will be in the proportions as shown in Table 8.1 below:

Table 8.1 Allocation Of British Passports By Occupational Sectors.

Occupations	N	%
Business managers, administrators, professionals.	19703	42.7
Disciplined services [1]	7000	15.2
"Sensitive services" [2]	6300	13.7
Engineers, architects, surveyors	3230	7.0
Teachers	2907	6.3
Doctors, nurses, paramedical staff	2584	5.6
Computer personnel, journalists	1938	4.2
Accountants	1615	3.5
"Key entrepreneurs"	500	1.1
Lawyers, judges	323	0.7
TOTAL	46100	100.0

[1] E.g. Police, armed forces, immigration, etc.

[2] E.g. Senior civil servants, political activists, people involved in intelligence, some journalists, etc.

Source: Segal (1993:107)

The Hong Kong Chinese migrants will probably have little association with the British Chinese in catering, but finding more commonality though with the British Chinese professionals. Even there, however, the relationship may be an uneasy one due to a generational difference (the Hong Kong Chinese will tend to be older than the young Chinese adults surveyed in this study, and are likely to have

families in most cases), plus the fact that the British-Chinese may be perceived as being more Anglicised than the new Hong Kong migrants.

However, perhaps the greatest significance of the arrival of the Hong Kong Chinese is related to its impact on the relations between the Chinese community as a whole with the indigenous population in Britain. It was proposed in Chapter Seven that overt hostility towards the Chinese surfaced only when the Chinese provided what the white British perceived to be 'excessive' competition for scarce resources. The aspect of economic competition focussed on in this thesis was employment. Where the gradual entry of young British-Chinese adults into the wider labour market may have gone unnoticed, the arrival of the new migrants would affect the middle to higher levels of the occupational structure, making the Chinese presence in the wider labour market felt through the increased competition for jobs at these levels. This could easily cause the feelings of ambivalence currently held towards the Chinese in Britain to rapidly degenerate into a state of antagonism.

There are, however, other areas of competition for scarce resources which are also significant, such as housing. Indeed quoted in The Economist was the concerns of one Member of Parliament, who stated that:

"These are middle-class Hongkongers who won't want to settle in Glasgow or inner London. They'll want to come and live in the nice bits of the Home Counties and the Thames Valley". (1989, Dec.)

The Corry Commission Report, summarized in Rafferty (1991), found some costs associated with the mass migration of Hong Kong Chinese to Britain.

"Public spending on housing, schools, education, and roads would have to increase. There would also be the danger of congestion in south-east England, with higher house prices and local labour market bottle-necks" (Rafferty, 1991:514).

The Commission also balanced this with the economic benefits to be gained by the arrival of these would-be migrants. Some of these were broadly:

- Economic growth would be stimulated.
- Britain's balance of payments would enjoy an injection of financial capital from the wealthier immigrants.
- Britain's labour force would increase instead of facing contraction.
- Hong Kong immigrants could inject new skills and energy into the British economy.

In spite of the vigorous objection and opposition, the legislation was finally passed in 1990 allowing the 50,000 Hong Kong families to settle in Britain. The irony is that after all the raucous and heated debate, the Hong Kong Chinese do not appear to want to come to Britain. For:

"By March 1991, when the deadline for applications for places in the British right-of-abode scheme had passed....some 66,000 applications had been received [the government had expected 750,000 applications].....For a scheme that was supposed to be a competition for scarce places, the take-up rate suggested there was an underwhelming demand for places in Britain". (Segal, 1993:109).

It was not that the Hong Kong Chinese did not want to emigrate. The North American (USA and Canada) governments and Australia - the most desired countries of emigration - claimed that applications for their passports had not

diminished (ibid). Therefore, one can only conclude that Britain was not a popular destination. It remains to be seen how many of the selected Chinese who have acquired a British passport will actually use this 'insurance policy' nearer 1997. The fears of some British over this issue may prove to be premature and/or out of all proportion.

Finally, some areas for future research arising from the discussions in this thesis are suggested. They are:

-To study the greater roles which could be played by careers guidance staff in advising and counselling Chinese youth, and providing them with an increased awareness of the diversity of opportunities in the British labour market, in order to challenge the stereotypes of the Chinese as either caterers or professionals, and so help future Chinese youth fulfil their potential.

-To study the Chinese employed in the wider labour market to determine whether and how they may be/are being discriminated against.

-To study the Chinese catering industry, and the changes which are occurring/ will need to take place as the result of demographic changes in the Chinese population, such as the changing structure of the Chinese family.

-To study the interaction between the different groups within the increasingly heterogenous Chinese community, for example, the catering workers and the professionals, or the British Chinese and the would-be Hong Kong immigrants.

-To study the social/economic/political impact of the arrival of new Hong Kong Chinese migrants to Britain.

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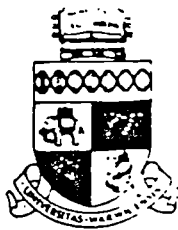
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APPENDIX A**QUESTIONNAIRE**



UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
COVENTRY CV4 7AL

TELEPHONE COVENTRY (0203)523523
FAX (0203) 523497

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

In reply please quote

April 1991

Dear

I am a Chinese student carrying out research for a PhD at Warwick University. In my research I am studying the occupations of young British-Chinese people. I am interested in which occupations are being taken up and why British-Chinese people choose the jobs that they do.

I would be most grateful if you could help me by filling in the questionnaire and returning it in the stamped-addressed envelope enclosed as soon as possible, and no later than June 20th, 1991.

Please be assured that all responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. The information you supply will be used for statistical analysis in which your particular details will not be identifiable. Apart from myself, no other person or organisation will have access to the information you supply. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on (0208) 523147.

Thank you for your time.

Yours faithfully

Yuet Ngor Mary Pang

SECTION A

1. SEX: MALE FEMALE (Please tick)
2. YEAR OF BIRTH: _____
3. COUNTRY OF BIRTH: _____
4. YEAR OF FIRST ENTRY TO BRITAIN IF NOT BORN HERE _____

SECTION B

1. Which language do you usually speak to your parents?
(Please tick ONE)
- (a) Chinese
- (b) English
- (c) Both
2. Which language do you usually speak to your brothers/sisters?
(Please tick ONE)
- (a) Chinese
- (b) English
- (c) Both
3. Are your closest friends: (Please tick ONE)
- (a) Chinese
- (b) White British
- (c) A mixture of Chinese and White British
- (d) A mixture of people from all cultures
4. Please list SCHOOL(S) attended since the age of 14, (choose from the following list):

Independent school
 Grammar school
 Secondary Modern school
 Comprehensive school
 Sixth form college
 Other

Type of school	City/Town	Dates attended

5. Compared to white children, how much attention and help did you get from most of your teachers? (please circle)

A lot less 1 2 3 4 5 A lot more

6. Please list any education you had after leaving school (including professional training)

Type of Institution	Dates attended	Full-time or Part-time	Course of study

7. Please tick in the boxes below ALL the qualifications you have obtained

(a) No formal qualifications	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(b) CSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(c) O levels GCE	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(d) A levels GCE (give subjects)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(e) Degree (give title and subject)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(f) Postgraduate qualification (give title and subject)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(g) Professional qualification (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(h) Any other qualifications (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	

8. If you have A LEVELS, please choose your MAIN reason for studying that course from the list below (tick one box only)

(a) personal interest	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) your ability/talent in subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) they were useful to your career plans	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) your parents advised/suggested them	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. If you took a DEGREE course, please choose your MAIN reason for studying that course from the list below (tick one only)

(a) personal interest	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) your ability/talent in subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) it was useful to your career plans	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Your parents advised/suggested it	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. How important did your parents think education was in helping you get a good job? (Please circle)

Very unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 Very important

11. How encouraging were your parents towards you in your studies?
(please circle)

Very unencouraging 1 2 3 4 5 V encouraging

12. How satisfied are you with your academic achievements? (Please circle)

Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

13. If you were DISSATISFIED (i.e. you circled 1 or 2 in question 11), please choose from the list below the most important factor which prevented you from achieving better results (tick ONE only)

- (a) too much time spent helping out in your family's business
- (b) (language) problems understanding the teachers
- (c) the unhelpful/unencouraging attitude of teachers/school
- (d) other reason (please specify)

14. Whilst in full-time education did you ever work regularly in a Chinese restaurant or takeaway? (tick ONE only)

- NO Go straight to Section C
- YES Go to question 15

→15. If yes, which of the following would you say was your main reason for working? (tick ONE only)

- (a) your family expect you to help out
- (b) you wanted to help in the family business
- (c) it was a convenient way of earning money
- (d) none of these (please specify reason)

SECTION C

→1. Before leaving full-time education (in school, NOT higher education) which occupation did you want to enter?

2. Why did you want to enter this occupation?

3. Who influenced you most in this choice? (Tick one only)

- (a) Family
- (b) Friends
- (c) Career advisor
- (d) Teacher
- (e) Other (please specify)

The next few questions are about your PRESENT full-time job (or last job if you are currently unemployed)

4. Please give title of job _____

5. Briefly describe this job _____

6. Are you: (please tick)
 (a) self-employed
 (b) an employee

7. How many employees work at your workplace? (please tick)
 (a) 1 - 24 people
 (b) 25 or more people

8. How did you get to know that a vacancy was available for this position? _____

9. Please give your reasons in as much detail as possible for entering this occupation

10. How satisfied are you with your present job? (please circle)
 Very dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

11. What do you most like about your job?

12. What do you dislike most about your job?

13. If you are NOT working in a Chinese restaurant or takeaway, did you ever consider working in one? (please tick)

YES — Go to question 15
 NO — Go to question 14

14. If NO, why did you NOT consider the possibility of working in the Chinese catering industry?

15. If YES, why eventually did you DECIDE AGAINST taking a job in the Chinese catering industry?

SECTION D

1. Do you think there are employers in Britain who would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their race? (please tick)

- (b) NO Go to question 6
- (a) YES Go to question 2

→ 2. If yes, do you think this is true of - (please tick)

- (a) most employers
- (b) about half
- (c) fewer than half
- (d) hardly any

3. Why do you think they would refuse a job to a Chinese person because of their race?

4. How do you know that employers refuse jobs to Chinese people because of their race?

5. Please explain in as much detail as possible the experience mentioned in Question 4 above

→ 6. Have you ever been refused a job for reasons which you think were to do with your race?

- NO Go to Section E
- YES Go to question 7

7. If yes, on how many occasions have you been refused a job for this reason?

8. Why do you think it was to do with your race?

SECTION E

About your father:

1. Country of birth _____

2. Last occupation in country of birth _____

3. Year of entry to Britain _____

4. Reason(s) for coming to Britain _____

5. Is he: (please tick one)

- (a) involved in business with the immediate family
- (b) a non-working partner (with other relatives/friends)
- (c) a working partner (with other relatives/friends)
- (d) an employee
- (e) other (please specify) _____

6. Please describe his present job (last job if not working now)

About your mother:

1. Country of birth _____

2. Last occupation in country of birth _____

3. Year of entry to Britain _____

4. Reason(s) for coming to Britain _____

5. Is she: (please tick one)

- (a) involved in business with the immediate family
 (b) a non-working partner (with other relatives/friends)
 (c) a working partner (with other relatives /friends)
 (d) an employee
 (e) other (please specify) _____

6. Please describe her present job (last job if not currently working)

Thank you for your time in completing this questionnaire. Please be assured that ALL responses will be treated in the STRICTEST CONFIDENCE.

I may need more information at a later date. Would you be willing for me to contact you again? (please tick)

YES
NO

If yes, please supply your name and address:

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

Telephone _____ (STD) _____

APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

(OPCS, 1980)

OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYSCLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS (1980)SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

The socio-economic groups are:

- (1) Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc. - large establishments.
- (2) Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc. - small establishments.
- (3) Professional workers - self-employed.
- (4) Professional workers - employees.
- (5) Intermediate non-manual workers.
- (6) Junior non-manual workers.
- (7) Personal service workers.
- (8) Foremen and supervisors - manual.
- (9) Skilled manual workers.
- (10) Semi-skilled manual workers.
- (11) Unskilled manual workers.
- (12) Own account workers (other than professional).
- (13) Farmers - employers and managers.
- (14) Farmers - own account.
- (15) Agricultural workers.
- (16) Members of armed forces.
- (17) Inadequately described and not stated occupations.