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Balancing the 'Yin' and the 'Yang' – the transformation and diversification of Chinese family businesses in Britain

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ABSTRACT

The majority of Chinese owned enterprises in Britain today are typically family run catering businesses, set up by first generation migrants to overcome the limited socio-economic opportunities in their country of origin. These small-scale or micro businesses are composed of Chinese takeaways [CTA] and Chinese restaurants [CR] established during the 1960s and 1990s. Despite the presence of CTA and CR in every town and city in Britain today, very little is known about the nature of these businesses and the families themselves.

This paper investigates the extent to which Chinese family businesses in Britain have influenced entrepreneurship in second generation Chinese adults, and whether entrepreneurship is hindered or fostered as a result of their experiences in Chinese catering. The popular notion is that ethnic entrepreneurs turned to entrepreneurship as a response to the discrimination prevalent in mainstream society, and that the Chinese were able to draw on their elaborate networks, access to community resources, and their relative 'invisibility' for their business success. The paper argues that additional factors, such as, cliques and fall outs within the first generation and the acculturation concerns of the second generation affect the life cycle of the Chinese family business.

The 'Family Business Life Cycle Model' offers useful insights about generational differences in the patterns of business proprietorship between the 'sojourning' first generation and 'acculturated' second generation. Past studies have tended to concentrate exclusively on the experiences of the first generation or failed to account for the heterogeneity of Chinese entrepreneurs. Case studies, drawn from in-depth interviews with British Chinese entrepreneurs and professionals, have been used to shed light on the different challenges that the first and second generation Chinese face as a result of their acculturation, and the consequences of these for the future of Chinese entrepreneurship in Britain.

KEYWORDS

Chinese catering, family business, cultural identity, Hakka, Cantonese, generation

1. INTRODUCTION

Past research on the Chinese community in Europe tended to fall under the sociological perspective: for example, the experiences of Chinese youth in catering [Parker, 1995; Pang, 1999 and the impact of their migration history on community development in European countries [Benton and Pieke, 1998]. Chinese entrepreneurship in Europe is synonymous with the catering trade and this study builds upon our understanding of entrepreneurial tendencies across different generations by focusing on the socialization of second generation Chinese, and identification of key factors that may have hindered or facilitated acculturation and entrepreneurship.

Migrating caterers

Figures about the population of the Chinese community were not available until 1991. Recent figures reveal that there are 247,403 Chinese in Britain, making up 0.4% of the population, at least 29% or 1 in 3

are believed to be British-born [Census, 2001]. Britain's Chinese community is a highly dispersed and fragmented one; 'Chinese immigration is extremely heterogeneous... it involves many different countries of origin and destination, social classes, migration routes, and time periods' [Pieke, 1999:6]. Watson [1974,1975:67] described three generations of migration that characterise the population today:

1. Jumped ship sailors in the early 10th century [economic necessity]
2. Initial restaurant founders in the 1950s [economic opportunity]
3. Restaurant employees during the 1950s and 1960s

Post war arrivals were largely Hong Kong small scale farmers who chose to emigrate for a better life [Wei,1994:45]. The Hakka and Cantonese dialect groups who make up the majority of Hong Kong Chinese migrants in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s are the focus of this study, as it was during this period that chain migration from the villages of Hong Kong occurred to fill the vacancies in the burgeoning CR trade.

Table 1. Growth of the Chinese community in Britain 1900 - 2000

Year		
1900s	<i>Labourers & sailors</i> 'Jumped ship migrants'	(First wave)
1901	400 Chinese in Britain	
	1st Chinese laundry in London	
1907	49 laundries (Liverpool), > 30 (Cardiff)	
1931	500 Chinese laundries in Britain	
1945	Development of Chinese restaurants; Influx of <i>rice farmers</i>	(Second wave)
1948	British Nationality Act	
1956-65	Rapid expansion of restaurant trade	
1962	Commonwealth Immigrants Act	
1960-70	Arrival of family dependents Growth in take-away trade	
1970	Saturation point in restaurant trade	
1990s	Chinese <i>professionals</i>	(Third wave)
2000	Mainland Chinese migrants	

According to Pieke [1999], migrants were largely married men whose purpose was to raise income, facilitate the eventual migration of his family and / or leave their children behind with grandparents until they were old enough to migrate. This chain migration led to a decline in the number of male villagers aged 19-50 in Hong Kong, whilst CR work in Britain ensured their low visibility and limited their acculturation into British society [Watson 1974:213]. CR owners 'gave preferential treatment to their immediate kinsmen and the new openings became the exclusive property of specific families or lineages' [Watson, 1977:189]. CRs were typically multi-family partnerships where cooks, managers and waiters had a stake in the business with the understanding that individual partners would eventually seek independent businesses when opportunities arose [Wei,1994:47]. CRs peaked in the mid 60s as the trend for individual ownership of CTAs became the norm for former CR cooks and waiters, funded largely by personal savings, family resources and some British banks [Watson, 1977:192]. CTAs were easy to start up and overcame any immigration restrictions [Watson, 1977:191]. These small, single family based CTAs meant that all family members had to work in the family business. Some former caterers also established supporting non catering businesses such as, travel agencies, gambling halls, grocery stores to service these catering families [Wei, 1994:47].

Unlike other ethnic groups who tended to cluster in Britain, the dispersal of CTAs 'in urban neighbourhoods, suburbs, and small towns throughout the country' ensured families had 'access to a large middle class clientele', although some see it as a deliberate strategy to 'actively resist bonding with fellow migrants', particularly if they have found the 'demands of a tight knit network of fellow migrants oppressive' [Watson, 1977:182; Pieke,1999:17]. According to Watson [1977], despite a steady growth in catering during 1956-1965, saturation point was reached in 1970 and many emigrated to Holland, Belgium, West Germany and Scandinavia. Recent figures show that 1 in 6 Chinese more likely to be self-employed in Great Britain, with 50% Chinese men and 2 in 5 Chinese women concentrated in distributive and restaurant trades [ONS 2004].

Research on ethnic communities often underestimates the heterogeneity within different dialect groups [Gambe,1999:152]. There are in fact, two separate 'linguistic and sub cultural groups, the Cantonese and the Hakkas' [Baker,1994:304]. Watson [1977] believed that as much as 70% of the Chinese in Britain are Cantonese, 25% Hakka and the rest from Singapore, Taiwan. The Hakka group are rural villagers who arrived in Hong Kong several centuries after the Cantonese, and settled in the hilly, marginal areas of the New Territories [Wei,1994; Watson,1975]. Their disadvantaged position in Hong Kong meant Hakka out migration trends was common and Watson [1975] contend that a large number of 'jump ship' sailors were Hakkas who eventually came to be concentrated in the CR trades in Britain during the 1950s and 1970s. The size of the Hakka community in Britain may be much larger than the figures reveal as they are often mistaken as Cantonese. Almost all Hakka in Hong Kong are fluent in Cantonese, preferring to use this in mixed company [Erbaugh,1992:945]. The 'traditional dichotomy' of Cantonese versus Hakka is maintained in Britain although they have found it advantageous to 'underplay their ethnic differences' whilst in Britain [Watson, 1977:205; Baker,1994:304; Wei, 1994:38]. However, ethnic group boundaries still exist with the Chinese community as the phase of settlement, language and place of origin create barriers for some [Watson,1977:8; Wei,1994:51].

Past research on Chinese entrepreneurship in Britain assume that the community is composed largely of Cantonese, without delving further into the respondent's origins and failed to acknowledge the contributions of the Hakkas to Britain's Chinese community. The author's research is the first to expand upon the heterogeneity of the Chinese community by asking respondents to divulge their dialect / ethnic origins and throw light on this lesser known Hakka Chinese community. The research is timely in that the heterogeneity of Britain's Chinese community is finally given the attention it deserves.

2. SECOND GENERATION ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The bulk of 1980s ethnic minority research in Britain were drawn from American frameworks developed by Bonacich [1973] and Light [1972]. Ethnic entrepreneurs become self employed because of they were unable to obtain mainstream jobs and their 'sojourner' mentalities restricted any integration with host society. Immigrants readily embraced opportunities discarded by native entrepreneurs [Light, 1984, p199] because their values / expectations differed. Immigrants were quick to use their kinship networks effectively for funds and access to low waged / unpaid family labour, exploiting any ethnic identity / solidarity advantages by undercutting mainstream firms [Light 1972, Bonacich 1973, Bonacich and Modell 1980; Barrett et al, 1996]. By the 1990s, studies concentrated on ethnic resource mobility, opportunity structure and ethnicity / group characteristics [Jones et al, 2000]. Opportunity structures facilitated the development of 'break out' strategies as seen in Asian owned convenience stores located in non co-ethnic areas to serve mainstream customers [Waldinger et al 1990]. Jones and McEvoy [1992 as cited in Jones et al, 2000] proposed 4 typologies where ethnic firms are not only distinguished by ethnic versus non ethnic market orientation but by whether their customer base is local or not depending on customer ethnicity and customer proximity.

The notion that some ethnic groups are culturally programmed for self employment is often disputed because contextual factors affecting the ethnic / cultural / national identities once immigrants leave their home countries have not been accounted for and these have important implications for entrepreneurial behaviour. [Jones and McEvoy,1986:199]. Recent research using cultural approaches to explain ethnic entrepreneurs' abilities to access familial co-ethnic labour [Song,1997] have been criticised for emphasising the supply side of resources and social networks and failing to account for the demand side and economic class of entrepreneurs, with limited references to the socio economic contexts [Ram and Jones,1998; Rath, 2000:190]. Kloosterman et al [1999]'s mixed embeddedness comparative approach addressed these limitations by looking at opportunity structure, social networks, as well as, the economic and institutional environment of the host country [Kloosterman & Rath, 2001].

The last 10 years has seen increased research about the second generation [Waldinger & Perlmann, 1998]. Peters [2002] contend that future studies to explain different entrepreneurial styles, and why different generations and immigrant groups move from employment to entrepreneurship can only be understood fully by accounting for historical perspectives and generation dynamics. This paper addresses

these shortcomings by looking at the generation and history of Chinese migration to Britain. Previous studies tended to focus exclusively on first generation yet family businesses are at a stage in their life cycle where they are going through transition from one generation to the next [Janjuha and Dickson, 1998]. Succession rate is declining as second generation seek out mainstream professional employment outside traditional ethnic trades [Chan, 1997; Chan and Pang, 1998], facilitated by perceptions that Chinese catering amounted to 'ethnic stereotyping', and parental pressures for a quality education [Song, 1995]. Their high expectations mean second generation resist low paid, low status jobs but they may lack the skills and education to match their rising aspirations [Zhou, 2001:188]. In addition, segmented modes of assimilation have been found in the second generation where some were able to achieve upward social mobility whilst others formed the 'urban underclass' [Waldinger & Perlmann, 1998:7; Gans 1992: 176]. Second generation immigrant children are therefore faced with the stark choices of acquiring an education in order to move into the professional elite or accept the same menial jobs as first generation [Neckerman et al, 1999]. Despite these factors, second generation in Britain see catering as 'safety net' strategies against middle and bottom level employments [Pang, 1999:45]. In addition, middle class minorities conforming to white middle class lifestyles face the 'psychological burden of loneliness and isolation, social disadvantage', as well as, having to manage their relationships with poorer co ethnics [Neckerman et al, 1999:949]. Although poorer minorities experience joblessness, low wages, prejudice and discrimination, they are spared the 'subtle biases and mechanisms of exclusion' that mainstream occupational success brings [Neckerman et al, 1999:951]. Thus Chinese entrepreneurship in Chinese catering suffers from racial stigma and conflicting perceptions about its attractiveness as a desirable ethnic niche [Song, 1999:178; Gans, 1992:182]. In addition, avoidance of catering employment indicated an individual's rejection of Chinese heritage [Song, 1997:352].

Understanding how the first generation Chinese came to be concentrated in catering provide clues to the construction of Chinese cultural identity. The dispersal of CTAs, first generation reliance on family labour and their insularity meant second generation Chinese identities are linked to 'racialised and gendered encounters', explaining the difficulties of achieving a 'British based collective identity' or 'cultural hybridity' [Parker, 1998:98]. However, shared experiences of racial discrimination have helped to reduce the ethnic differences between the Hakka and Cantonese [Parker, 1998:105]. Second generation identities exists in many forms [Parker, 1998:100]:

1. Basically British [assimilationists] - strong sense of being British
2. Self regionalisation – adoption of local British accents
3. Combinatory/mixed/multiple forms of identity including 'best of both worlds' [biculturalists - Chinese at home but conform to British norms] and 'ambivalent' [neither wholly British nor Chinese]
4. Strong Chinese identity – resorting to pure Chinese identity as a result of racism

Individuals living in between two cultures are perceived as 'marginal', likely to experience 'psychological conflicts' from double consciousness and divided loyalties [Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935]. The initial trauma of being in a new culture suggests individuals either assimilate and reject all Chineseness [La Fromboise et al, 1993:396], or adopt a new 'asian' consciousness [Sue & Sue 1971, Chen & Yang 1986:20]. In the middle are biculturally competent individuals with cultural competence in both cultures [La Fromboise et al, 1993: 403]. How individuals cope with biculturalism and commit to one's cultural identity depends on their stage of ethnic identity development - the more integrated their identity, the better their coping patterns [Sue & Sue 1990].

There is a need for further second generation research to account for the characteristics of Chinese catering in Britain. Past studies overemphasised first generation entrepreneurs or the insertion of second generation Chinese in mainstream labour markets [Watson, 1977; Parker, 1994; Song, 1995; Pang, 1993, Chan, 1997]. This paper updates past models by explaining how cultural identity, Hakka characteristics may have influenced different adaptive modes in first and second generation entrepreneurs and consequently, implications for their involvement in entrepreneurship. The ethnic entrepreneurship models highlighted above indicate how ethnicity and the migrant situation have shaped the business motivations of the Chinese in Britain. How does this differ for the second generation who have achieved some degree of acculturation in Britain? Second generation entrepreneurs who are educated with a more professional approach to entrepreneurship are already diversifying into new areas.

3. METHODOLOGY

The widely dispersed nature of Chinese communities in cities around Britain meant that they are far more diffused compared to other ethnic groups [Parker, 1993], thus a cost effective method had to be adopted in raising interest for the survey. Published sources and directories were unreliable, and earlier ethnic entrepreneurship studies that utilised lists of those belonging to an association or network were found to be difficult to replicate in studies involving the Chinese in Britain because of their fragmented settlement patterns, that not all the Chinese belonged to an informal network, the rate of business failure or frequency in the change of business ownerships. Information about the demography of the Chinese in Britain, for example, using the Labour Force Surveys, Census or the Electoral Register was outdated [Wong and Cochrane, 1989; Metcalf et al, 1996; Baxter, 1988]. A phenomenological approach using qualitative, in-depth investigations allows researchers to gather subjective rather than objective data. This was important for this study in order to unravel the complexities of social and cultural change about the second generation. This study utilised a snowball sampling technique to access Chinese entrepreneurs and professionals and overcome the inherent problems of location and sampling. The target population of the investigation was British born or raised Chinese individuals have entered into entrepreneurship (sole traders, owner-managers, partnerships) or are considering proprietorship (professionals in salaried employment). The sample was made up of those who defined themselves as 'British-Chinese' as well as those with British citizenship or nationality or permanent resident status. Those who were born overseas were also included in this study provided they have migrated before the age of 10 or have lived in Britain most of their lives. Past studies on the Chinese community have failed to make any distinctions between the Hakka and Cantonese, instead grouping all respondents collectively as 'Chinese' [Pang, 1993; Song, 1996], or merely identifying 'place of upbringing' [Parker, 1993] or 'place of origin' [Ng, 1999]. The author obtained in depth data about first generation ethnicities and migration patterns to provide new clues to the adaptive entrepreneurial strategies of the Chinese in Britain.

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Profile of respondents

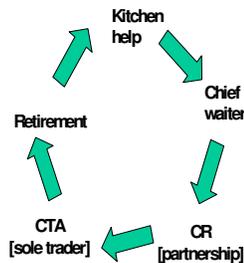
Table 2: Respondent age, place of birth, cultural identity, dialect and language

Name	Age	Age upon migration / Place of Birth POB / first generation settlement pattern	Cultural Identity	Dialect group / origins in Hong Kong [China]	Language spoken at home
TYW	28	6 [Manchester - Surrey - Middlesex - Lewisham]	British Chinese	Cantonese Sai Kung	Cantonese & English
GC	51	POB Glasgow - Wirral - Liverpool	British Chinese	Cantonese [China]	English
LM	24	POB Gateshead - Newcastle - London	BBC	Cantonese	Cantonese & English
JT	42	POB Wirral - Stoke - London	BBC	Cantonese [Guangdong]	English
SC	31	3 Hendon - Richmond	BBC	Waitowa Fanling	English
TL	37	12 Somerset - London	Anglo Chinese	Cantonese	Cantonese
GY	46	16 London - Manchester	Anglo Chinese	Cantonese [Canton, China]	Cantonese
CJ	37	25 London	British Chinese	Cantonese [China]	Cantonese
PL	31	POB Great Yarmouth - Norwich - Ipswich - London	British born Chinese - anglophile	Cantonese	Cantonese
AC	22	POB Bournemouth - Grantham - York - Spalding Southampton	British born Chinese - anglicised	Cantonese NT & Kowloon	Cantonese
JY	31	POB Kings Lynn - Hong Kong - Newcastle	Chinese	Hakka Tai Po & Shatin Cantonese	Cantonese
KC	23	POB Birmingham	British Chinese	Hakka Tai Po	Cantonese
GaC	20	POB Birmingham	British Chinese	Hakka Tai Po	Cantonese
RC	26	POB Liverpool - Canterbury	British born Chinese 75% westernised	Hakka, NT	Hakka
RL	29	POB Rugby - London	BBC	Hakka Tun Mun, NT	Cantonese
KY	28	2 London - Aylesbury - Oxford	Anglo Chinese	Hakka Tai Po	Cantonese / Hakka mix
JW	24	POB Hounslow - Hong Kong - Macclesfield	British of Chinese origin	Hakka Sai Kung	Cantonese
WM	27	POB Holland - Middlesbrough	British Chinese 60:40	Hakka NT	Cantonese
PH	28	POB Bishop Stortford - Spalding - Kingston	BBC	Hakka NT	Cantonese
SYL	24	POB Stockport - Bury - Whitefield - London	British Chinese	Hakka	Hakka & Cantonese
CHL	30	POB Kent - Gillingham	British born Chinese British citizen	Hakka Fanling	Hakka
CC	25	POB Bristol - Northampton Bath	English [Chinese if asked]	Hakka Sai Kung	Hakka & Cantonese
WLL	31	POB Enfield - Eastbourne	Chinese born in Britain	Hakka Tai Po	Hakka & Cantonese
HL	38	8 Kidderminster Wolverhampton - Leeds	British Chinese / English Chinese	Hakka ShaTau Kok	Hakka
DL	31	3 Glasgow - London	British Chinese	Hakka Tai Po	Hakka
WY	62	21 London	Chinese	Hakka	Hakka & Cantonese
SL	36	POB Birmingham - London	British born Chinese or Chinese	Hakka [Guangding]	Hakka & English
JL	26	POB Edware - Birmingham	Chinese born in England	Hakka Sai Kung	Hakka
SaL	37	12 Bournemouth - London	Overseas Chinese	Hakka	Cantonese

4.2 Catering Circle

The findings of this study concerns first generation migrants who arrived in Britain in the late 1950s to late 1980s. First generation immigrants, upon migration, all followed a similar pattern of moving up the catering ladder, from employed kitchen worker to entrepreneur, as depicted by the 'Catering Business Life Cycle' in Figure 1:

Figure 1 Catering Business Life Cycle



The key stages of the 'Catering Business Life Cycle' are;

1. Hired kitchen help
2. Chef waiter [for those with good English]
3. CR - partnership [dependent on the availability of partner[s] & acquisition of funds]
4. CTA - sole trader [due to family reasons / partnership breakdown] by owning business outright / leasing business / rental of business premise / second generation take over
5. Retirement [consolidation of businesses, part time work as chef or hired kitchen help]

By the late 1990s, many of the first generation migrants have retired after 30 to 40 years in the catering trade. The findings indicate that CTA ownership have a lifespan of about 20 years. The CTAs may then be leased to other families if no suitable successor is

found, although the majority are sold to 'relatives'. There appears to be no shortage of buyers for profitable CTA businesses, as recent migrants from mainland China and second generation professional entrepreneurs return to the catering trade.

'They would sell up to similarly uneducated Chinese or a few highly educated Chinese would franchise out .. consolidate their restaurants and takeaways to one single takeaway' PH

'The people who have generally migrated in the 70s are now retiring ..they usually sell up or lease to younger entrepreneurs or recent immigrants' KY

First generation entrepreneurs, after retirement, either returned to Hong Kong or remained in Britain to offer support for second generation involved in traditional catering eg KC's father's became a part time sales manager to help KC's business, whereas WLL's mother continued to work for other part time in the catering sector. Second generation entrepreneurs planning to establish traditional catering businesses would even ensure their business is located within reasonable travel distance from their parents so that part time help would be possible at short notice.

The heterogeneity of Chinese caterers in Britain is best illustrated by the comparison of Hakka and Cantonese first generation entrepreneurs, as shown below. The differences largely stem from migration period, community network access, education levels attained and business-family demarcation.

Table 3 – comparison of Hakka vs Cantonese first generation caterers

Dialect	Migration period	Networks	Family / business emphasis	Style	Education
Hakka 'Apprenticeship caterers'	1950s- 60s Earlier arrivals – greater dispersal Upon migration, travelled long distances in search of work – typical catering cycle	Adhoc networks – time spent building up contacts Kept to themselves – social group is the family	Family and business enmeshed	Traditional outlook – inward looking	Limited education / English ability
Cantonese 'Business Caterers'	1970s- 80s Later arrivals – concentrations in Cantonese populated areas, arrived with more funds and set up CTAs right away	Formalised social community networks that are easily accessible and well established	Business emphasis – family involvement limited	Modern, more westernised outlook - 'progressive'	Primary & secondary school educated. Fluent English

Cultural confidence

Forming a strong sense of British Chinese identity is difficult when the community is highly fragmented, silent and insular. Second generation often talked about being brought up in two cultures. In contrast, first generation parents possessed a sense of cultural superiority and were acutely aware that their children were 'drifting away' from Chinese culture. AC's mother was dismayed that her son defined himself as 'British'. Some families mitigated against the adoption of a British identity by encouraging the second generation to attend Chinese language schools and forge closer links with Hong Kong. The study revealed that the younger population of second generation were better exposed to Hong Kong culture at a critical stage in their identity development, compared to the older, more established second generation with their limited affiliation to Hong Kong culture. In addition to Chinese schools, Chinese cultural identity was also influenced by education level and the age of migration. Second generation born overseas were more aware of their dual identities and were surprisingly 'Pro British' in their outlook eg DL was concerned about 'blending in'. Early migration may have led to greater pressures to fit in than for their British born peers; *'I am not strictly a British born Chinese – I am a second generation English Chinese who has lived in England since the age of 3'* HL

Linguistic ability is a clear cultural identifier and second generation felt their accents provided clues to both native British and Hong Kong Chinese about the level of acculturation, as well as, their socio economic status. WLL discussed at length how other's perceptions of his Chinese and English accents affected him. Although visits to Hong Kong reduced feelings of physical self consciousness, not all experiences were for second generation Hakkas whose limited Cantonese exposed them to 'low level prejudice' from native Cantonese speakers. All respondents expressed an interest to improve their Chinese language skills. Second generation Cantonese speakers were better able to retain their spoken language therefore better able to maintain links with the Chinese community to help their business ventures. This strong sense of identity facilitated by first generation Cantonese parents is in contrast to other non Cantonese speaking families.

Table 4 – Comparison of Hakka vs Cantonese second generation characteristics

Dialect	Age group	Language	Style	Networks	Culture	Identity
Hakka Second generation	Older age group eg 30s-40s	Fluent in Hakka – a few fluent in Cantonese	Professional businesses	Limited contact with community – no contacts maintained	Limited affinity to Hong Kong culture	Pro British – likely to achieve acculturation
Cantonese Second generation	Younger age group eg 20s-30s	Majority are fluent in Cantonese	Aspirational businesses [see later]	Socialised in established Chinese community – maintained similar contacts to parents	Identifies with Hong Kong culture readily	Mix of Pro Chinese / British. Hong Kong identity stronger

The second generation is often described as a 'lost generation' as shown by their ambivalent attitudes to cultural identity. Chinese cultural identity may be 'diluted' or 'weakened' as eventual acculturation with British society and culture occurs.

Table 5: Second generation cultural characteristics:

Pro Chinese	Pro British
Fluency in spoken Chinese, proficiency in written Chinese	Limited knowledge of spoken & / written Chinese
Aspire to settle in Hong Kong / perceive Hong Kong as 'home'	Sees Britain as 'home'
Hong Kong / expatriate experience & frequency of visits	Infrequent visits to Hong Kong
Attended Chinese language schools	Did not attend Chinese language schools
Increased socialisation with Hong Kong peers	Socialisation with non Chinese peers
Parental influence is pro Chinese	Parental influence pro British

4.4 Catering for acculturation

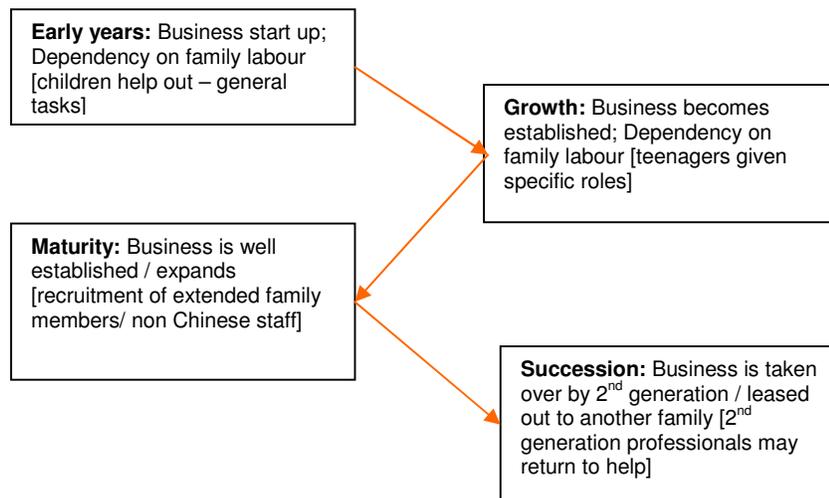
Helping out instilled a strong work ethic in the second generation, dictated by factors such as recession and the lack of reliable, motivated staff. Respondents were adamant that they were not 'forced' to help out in the family business but as 'model children', they were expected to contribute;

'You don't tend to question your parents GC

'I would try to get out of it in that if it wasn't busy, I'd go home' CC

The degree of helping out also depended on family size [larger families were able to sacrifice the education of older siblings or dissipate any negative effects by spreading the workload amongst all their children]. The responsibilities taken on by the older siblings meant that, within a Chinese family, older siblings were of the right age to work when the family first ventured into CTAs, allowing the youngest freedom to pursue a social life and education. As the business matures, dependency on the second generation is lessened as the owners look for alternative staffing arrangements with extended family members / non-Chinese staff. This feature of the catering life cycle explains why, within the same family, different degrees of acculturation, education and entrepreneurship can be seen.

Figure 2: Second generation contributions to the catering business life cycle



Some second generation professionals continued to help out at weekends, illustrating the strength of family obligations;

'it was just really, really little things ..just weekends so it wasn't serving people' CC

Family obligations may also have restricted the type of professional jobs that some second generation could realistically pursue eg WLL became a freelance graphic designer because the flexibility allowed him to help with the family catering business.

The first generation discouraged their children's exposure to catering by emphasising education so that their children could achieve academic excellence and ultimately well paid, respectable professional jobs. This is in sharp contrast to the earlier migrants who felt catering was the only way to earn a living for the second generation. Cantonese families were found to have a greater emphasis on education compared to their Hakka speaking counterparts, with more parental input on their children's occupational choices. Although previous research painted a negative image of the CTA environment for young Chinese adults [Parker, 1998; Song, 1999], not all the second generation viewed catering negatively eg CHL and WM both possessed positive attitudes towards Chinese catering that led them to consider setting up their own. Despite the largely negative experiences felt by Chinese youth, evidence suggests that working in a CTA can have its advantages for those who wish to consider catering as a future option.

'Pro Chinese' individuals were found to be more likely to follow traditional catering routes, with some updating the tried and tested formulae already established by first generation entrepreneurs. In contrast, 'Pro British' individuals were more likely to enter mainstream professional occupations, particularly at the start of their careers, before setting up 'professional' businesses after some years' experience or 'traditional' businesses. Thus, in general, different characteristics of second generation entrepreneurs are emerging whereby those involved with 'traditional' family businesses tended to be younger in age, in contrast to 'professional' entrepreneurs who established businesses later in life after gaining experience in professional occupations, or 'aspirational' entrepreneurs keen to return to catering;

'I definitely did not want a career in the restaurant business when I was younger but now that I am older, I may go back into the restaurant trade' WM

Increased exposure to Chinese culture and socialisation with entrepreneurial Hong Kong peers meant 'Pro Chinese' respondents exhibited more entrepreneurial skills. Unsurprisingly, they also achieved lower levels

of acculturation to British society when compared to their prima facie less entrepreneurial 'Pro British' peers;

My Hong Kong born sister left home to live & work for an uncle's CTA at 15/16she's always been money grabbing and kept up her Chinese language and hung out with kitchen staff when learning the takeaway .. she's unusual for her generation' KY

Thus, cultural identity affects second generation in terms of future career and entrepreneurial endeavours by either turning them away from traditional catering businesses at the early stages of their career or rejuvenating their interest, depending on level of acculturation achieved.

'Second generation do return to catering when they find that the professions have limited earning potential' GY

'My cousins have MA degrees but still experienced problems finding jobs so they became CTA owners ...they saw the potential of money and became embroiled in a 'reliable circle' of spending money, raising a family and getting their children to work for them. They were westernised when growing up but became more Chinese once they started their own CTAs' CHL

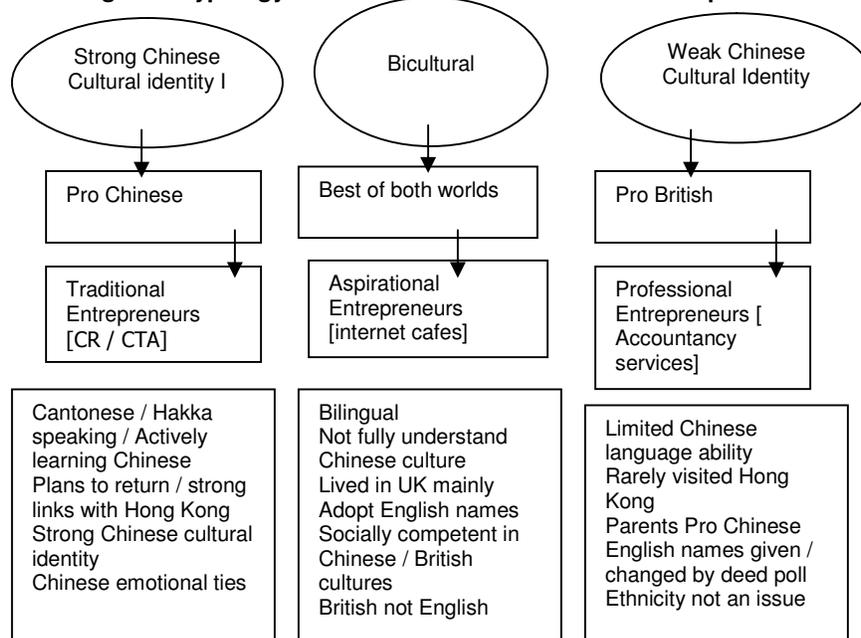
4.5 Stereotypical caterers?

Chinese catering businesses therefore influences the cultural identity of the second generation and ultimately their likelihood to enter that sector, particularly during the early identity formation stages of their lives. The author suggest that the combination of cultural identity, age / life stage, as well as, general factors such as experience and finance may serve to influence second generation British Chinese towards traditional entrepreneurship. The stronger their Chinese cultural identity, the more likely they will consider traditional businesses. In terms of earning potential, they face the dilemma of

1. Immediate monetary rewards by remaining in catering or
2. Initial low pay by striving for mainstream occupations

In addition, younger second generation caterers initially attracted by the monetary rewards that CTA ownership offered, may be concerned about the poor quality of family life and the stresses of their children growing up in catering and the racism they have to deal with. Despite the poor image Chinese catering may have for many, the second generation are recognising its lucrative potential [JT] and there are already signs that second generation professionals are returning to catering [RL, JL] once they have reached the ceiling in their occupations. Second generation Chinese caterers are no longer running their CTAs as 'family businesses' but as independent operations and the need to re-invest profits back into their businesses. There are also potential opportunities to reposition Chinese catering from cheap 'chop suey' fast food outlets to more upmarket, professionally run and competitive businesses.

Figure 3 Typology of Second Generation Chinese Entrepreneurs



The analysis has uncovered 3 main types of entrepreneurs, each with their own characteristics:

Traditional Entrepreneurs This group started up in traditional catering sectors [CRs and CTAs] at a relatively young age, typically early to mid 20's. These individuals either sacrificed their education to take over the family business [owned by the first generation] or those returning to catering after education / mainstream professional experience. These entrepreneurs perceive real benefits in the vast earning potential of Chinese catering over the glass ceiling of mainstream employment. As second generation entrepreneurs, some are still reliant on family members to support them during business start up or help out in the business. Their obligations to the family means that they have a stronger Chinese cultural identity and have no qualms about utilising the same community networks of the first generation.

'there's money in it ... you only make money if you are your own boss ...I am attracted by the cash economy in food ...I always thought I'd go into business on my own ..I've never wanted to work for anyone when growing up' RL

'British Chinese run family businesses because they are attracted by the lucrative catering trade' GC

Professional Entrepreneurs

This group is made up of those who have achieved a good level of education and eventually established businesses specific to their occupation / profession. These businesses are diverse and ranged from textile design, accountancy, pharmaceutical, architecture, web design, graphic design to import / export businesses. Professional entrepreneurs tend to be older - late 20's to early 30's. Their main motivations for start up were the lack of job opportunities, limited advancement in their professions or their need for more flexibility / creativity. They tend to have a British Chinese identity

'As a child I had a fascination with being my own boss ..it's your own – you can see things happen from your own actions.... otherwise you'll always under the shadow of your employer' TL

'I see myself as entrepreneurial without a doubt ...I am attracted by the money you get in running your own business ...otherwise you only get your measly 5% pay rise every year' RC

Aspirational Entrepreneurs These *budding* entrepreneurs have an entrepreneurial streak and would consider setting up businesses in their chosen professions [eg manufacturing / engineering / IT] utilising existing contacts established at work or innovative catering businesses. Therefore, given time and business opportunities, their chances of becoming entrepreneurs are very high. This group, age between late 20's to mid 30's, viewed catering opportunities positively [CRs or CTAS] as a 'fall back' option, given their experience and background in that sector. Aspirational entrepreneurs were keen to state that their catering ventures would not simply be 'just another restaurant' business. They tend to see themselves as British Chinese

'I have strong urges to set up a business and be my own boss...it's in my blood ...I've reached the peak of my career ... I've always thought I could bank on this idea of having a business ... I already have contacts ..and I am from that background' SaL

'the circumstances at work has changed ..I am thinking about setting up a business related to engineering seriously' CHL

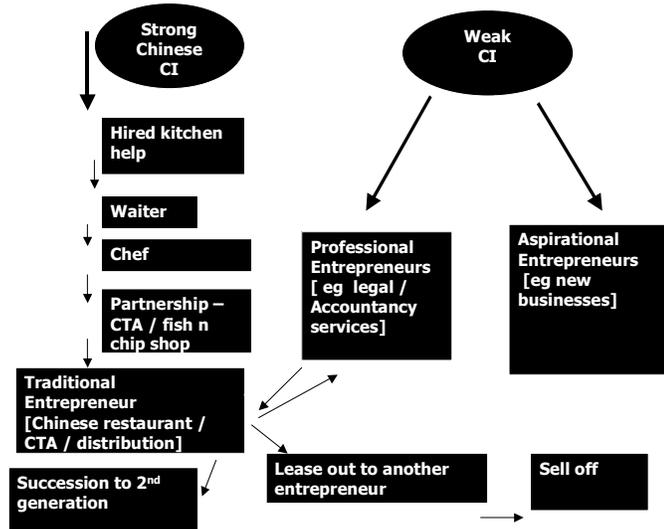
Another group, the non entrepreneurs achieved job satisfaction in mainstream employment and are not 'entrepreneurial' or motivated by monetary rewards, preferring the security of paid employment. Their family business background may have put them off the hard work, long hours and commitment that would be required for a business. Their lack of experience in business and parental influences were factors eg AC's father ensured his son would not become a restaurant owner by refusing him the opportunity to develop catering skills or reinforcing the message that the first generation sacrificed their own lives for a better life for their children. Non entrepreneurs tend to exhibit 'Pro British' characteristics.

'I wouldn't set up my own business as I have a fantastic job ..I only work 1 week in a month ... I would rather do this than have no time and having loads of money' CC

'I wouldn't consider it as it's such hard work – you have to be really committed & choose a business that's not going to consume you' CJ

The 'Family Business Life Cycle' model below incorporates cultural identity [CI] as a starting point for understanding the differences in the development of first generation entrepreneurship. First generation entrepreneurs, upon migration, enter the 'Catering Business Life Cycle' from hired help to entrepreneur. After 30-40 years in the catering trade, the business is taken over by the second generation [with stronger Chinese cultural identity], leased or sold to another catering family. Second generation entrepreneurs, with weaker Chinese cultural identity, on the other hand, either choose Professional entrepreneurship after some years' experience in mainstream occupations or Aspirational entrepreneurship with future plans for developing new concepts in catering or form partnerships with former colleagues

Figure 4. Family Business Life Cycle Model



5. CONCLUSION

Traditional entrepreneurs started in business at a much younger age [early 20's], compared to Professional entrepreneurs [early 30's], whereas Aspirational entrepreneurs varied in age range [with large numbers considering catering]. However, age / life stage are not the only factors for predicting Chinese entrepreneurship, as Chinese cultural identity, family obligations, education, parental guidance, business experience, money motivation, job security, and risk perceptions are also important influences. Some of these factors are personal, psychological, situational / contextual. Although Hakka Chinese are often perceived to be less entrepreneurial than their Cantonese counterparts, this community has shown considerable resilience and ability to embrace Chinese catering. Hakka and Cantonese identities have evolved interdependently in Britain in the last 50—60 years and has shaped second generation adaptation to entrepreneurial and professional life in Britain. The author argue that uncovering the migration and history of the Hakka Chinese in Hong Kong and Britain offer clues to acculturation and how family cliques and dynamics may have shaped entrepreneurial tendencies. In addition, cultural and ethnic identities are topical subjects of study and the proliferation of Hakka websites has fuelled academic interest in this dialect group. The frameworks highlighted in this paper suggest a complexity of factors are at play and that a good understanding of these dynamics will allow researchers to achieve a better understanding of migrant entrepreneurial behaviour, with important implications for second generation Hakka and Cantonese caterers, as well as, recent Mandarin speakers. Further research is needed to address how recent migrants from mainland China and second generation caterers will contribute to the future of Chinese entrepreneurship in Britain, and how their adaptive strategies and respective socio-linguistic networks will ensure that future communities will continue to co-exist symbiotically.

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