

Master Thesis

Second-Generation Chinese Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Vienna: Identities and Economic Activities

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Abstract

This thesis aims at supplementing existing discussions of immigrant business whose homogenization tendency contributes to negligence of differences among immigrant entrepreneurs of the same ethnicity. By studying the second-generation Chinese restaurateurs in Vienna, this research shows that there is a great divergence among businesses of immigrants who belong to different generations, which reflects not only the owners' structural positions but also their varied identities. Through the theoretical lens of boundary-work, business strategies deployed by the second-generation Chinese restaurateurs are interpreted as ways of maintaining and negotiating boundaries between themselves and the first-generation Chinese. This thesis maps out three kinds of boundary-work: cultural, professional, and moral, and claims that the actors' disposition to any one of them might be explained by the actors' social position, career experience, or the structure of their businesses.

Kurzfassung

Diese Arbeit bezieht sich auf eine Ergänzung der existierenden Literatur in Bezug auf "immigrant business", deren Vernachlässigung der Divergenz zwischen immigrierenden Unternehmern mit gleichem ethnischen Hintergrund durch die homogenisierende Tendenz verursacht wird. Es wird durch eine Forschung der chinesischen Lokalbetreiber der zweiten Generation in Wien gezeigt, dass es zwischen den Geschäften der Immigranten verschiedener Generationen große Unterschiede gibt. Einerseits liegen die Unterschiede an dem sozialen Hintergrund der Unternehmer, andererseits sind sie auch mit Identitäten der Immigranten verbunden. Mit dem theoretischen Ansatz der "boundary-work" wird die Art und Weise der Geschäfte der chinesischen Lokalbetreiber der zweiten Generation als Aktivitäten bezeichnet, durch die eine Grenze zwischen den Chinesen der ersten und der zweiten Generation gezogen wird. Drei Arten von "boundary-work" werden beschrieben: kulturelle, professionelle und moralische. Die Arbeit behauptet, dass die Neigung der Akteure zu einer der drei Arten von "boundary-work" von ihren sozialen Positionen, Arbeitserfahrungen und der Struktur ihrer Geschäfte abhängig ist.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. RESEARCH APPROACH: IMMIGRANT BUSINESS

The thesis will set out from discussions of immigrant business, which tries to answer the question: why some members of minorities pursue self-employment. Due to different pace of their contemporary histories of immigration, North America and Europe were hosting a prominent growth of ethnic entrepreneurship at different times, which led to their unparalleled development in related academic discussions. Generally speaking, North American scholars took lead in the research of immigrant entrepreneurship and minority businesses, which was followed by British authors and caught up by continental Europeans. Basically, the discussions can be divided into three periods that are characterized by different approaches.

In the first period (before 1980s), ethno-cultural traits were considered as the most important factor. Later on, in the second period (1980s), a variety of other perspectives were introduced: economic, sociological, political, and geographical, and as a result, concepts of social network, economic structure, institutional and regulatory framework etc. were playing an increasingly important role in analyses. In the third period (1990s), the Dutch sociologist, Kloosterman, proposed the concept of "mixed embeddedness" to integrate socio-economic, ethno-social, and institutional factors into a more comprehensive research scheme. Given the specific socio-economic context of welfare state that has been faced by immigrants in Continental Europe, Kloosterman pointed out the inability of existing approaches to explain current phenomena in Europe.

Kloosterman's idea was widely accepted and inspired an abundance of studies on immigrant business all around the world. Its pivotal role in the field can also be found in the fact that during the last few years no other comparable research approaches have been proposed. Nevertheless, it neglects some aspects that are central to immigrants' lives and cause differences in immigrants' businesses: gender, class, generation, immigrant experience, just to name a few.

An increasing amount of studies thus aim to challenge the existing studies which tend to treat immigrants with the same ethnic background as a homogeneous group and ignore differences among immigrants' businesses. Strüder¹ differentiated Turks in London, and found out that Turkish entrepreneurs with different backgrounds do not necessarily intend to sustain relationships with each other. The same fact was also discovered in Leung's² research on Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Germany, among whom the line between Taiwanese and Chinese origins is emphasized and consciously maintained through a variety of institutions. With more subtle descriptions and analyses, their works call the methodological homogenization of immigrant studies (especially those on immigrant business) into question, and provide possibilities for deeper understanding. This thesis intends to follow the above-mentioned line of inquiry, focusing on differences among immigrants and their businesses by investigating the second-generation Chinese restaurateurs in Vienna.

1.2. CASE AND RESEARCH QUESTION: SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE RESTAURATEURS

The author's preliminary interviews and observation show that the Chinese restaurateurs in Vienna can be divided into two groups: first-generation immigrants and second-generation Chinese. It conforms to the cliché that first-generation immigrants who do not have good command of local language and highly-valued human capital usually enter the restaurant business. However, when it comes to second-generation Chinese who grow up and are educated in the host society, the case becomes intriguing. Why do they choose to take over their family's businesses instead of entering local labor market, now that language and occupational qualifications may not be as much a formidable obstacle to them as they were to their parents? What are the factors that can explain the tendency of self-employment among the second-generation immigrants?

¹ Inge R. Strüder, "Do Concepts of Ethnic Business Explain Existing Minority Enterprises: The Turkish Speaking Economies in London," Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis Series 88 (2003). <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/geographyAndEnvironment/research/Researchpapers/rp88.pdf> (accessed April 05, 2008).

² Maggi Wai-Han Leung, "Being My Own Boss: A Way of Home-making", in *Chinese Migration in Germany: Making Home in Transnational Space* (Frankfurt: IKO, 2004): 93-108.

Moreover, it is supposed that different ways of running restaurants that are taken by immigrants of different generations can be linked to important aspects of social life, such as immigrants' socio-economic position, inter-ethnic relations, and identities. The first-generation immigrants tend to have diners or takeaways but second-generation immigrants own mostly trendy restaurants. On the one hand, the differences reflect the immigrants' objective variance: their social positions and their access to opportunities and resources. The second-generation immigrants have better German skills and know the Austrian culture much better than the first-generation, therefore they are in an advantageous position to compete in the high-end market. On the other hand, the differences may also reflect the immigrants' subjective distinction. The second generation's activities of pursuing differentiated business strategies could be seen as conforming with their identities. Due to different life-experiences which lead to the forming of sub-groups among the immigrants, the second-generation Chinese immigrants develop a different self-image and different identities which contribute to corresponding boundary-drawing activities. To verify the hypothesis, this thesis will investigate the following questions: what are the identities of the second-generation Chinese restaurateurs? What are their concrete business activities? How different are their businesses from those of the first generation? Is there an affinity between the second-generation Chinese' identities and their business activities?

1.3. RESEARCH METHODS AND THESIS OUTLINE

First of all, in order to get an overall picture of the Chinese community and Chinese restaurant business in Vienna, I collected information such as the number of Chinese immigrants and the number of Chinese restaurants in censuses (*STATISTIK AUSTRIA*), governmental reports, and academic reports. Since full-fledged documentation of Chinese migration history and the development of Chinese community in Vienna is not available, I conducted an interview with a scholar of Chinese descent who has been working in a Chinese migration organization for 5 years and is doing research on the Chinese community in Vienna.³

³ Interview, 21. May 2008.

Secondly, this thesis follows the approach of "mixed embeddedness" to analyze the context in which Chinese restaurant business in Vienna forms and develops. As proposed by Kloosterman, political, economic, and institutional backgrounds will be the focus of analysis, in which the institution of citizenship, economic structure, and migration regulations are some of the most important topics. In addition, the opportunity structure, including technology and cost of production, demands, and government's policies on self-employment, also contributes to the understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship.

Thirdly, in order to find out the reasons for second-generation entrepreneurship that have not been explained in existing theories, semi-structured interviews with Chinese restaurateurs are conducted, supposed that personal experiences could reflect social forces and invisible structures. An important part of the interviews focus on second-generation immigrants' specific ways of operation as opposed to the first generation. Questions about their identities and connections with Chinese communities were asked as well in order to find out more about their "boundary-drawing" activities.

From April until July 2008, 10 interviews were conducted, 6 of which were with second-generation and in-between generation Chinese restaurant owners, 3 were with first-generation owners, and 1 was with a second-generation Chinese university student. "Theoretical sampling" was taken as sampling strategy during the research process. At first, I looked for second-generation Chinese owners of restaurants that are trendy and well-known in Vienna, the point of which is to show an unfamiliar new genre of Chinese restaurants and the logic behind it. Later, owners who also belong to the second-generation but run restaurants in a more traditional way were interviewed, in order to avoid only a partial representation of the second-generation entrepreneurship. Lastly, three first-generation owners were chosen to facilitate comparing differences between generations and investigating how subjective identities are entangled with economic activities. The only non-restaurateur second-generation Chinese whose parents are blue-collar workers was chosen for investigating whether parents' occupation has an influence on children's education achievement. Eight interviews were tape recorded upon interviewees' agreement, and were later fully transcribed.

Table 1: Interviewees' data

Owner/ Date of Interview	Age	Generation/ Age at Immigration	Ethnicity	Education	Parents' Social Status	Restaurant Style	District
Lo 28.04.2008	24	2/ 6	Chinese (Zhejiang)	<i>Hauptschule</i>	Restaurant Owners	Trendy/ Hot Pot	6th
Ju 30.04.2008	50*	1.5/ 15	Taiwanese	University (unfinished)	Diplomats	Trendy/ Snacks and Restaurant	1st, 3rd, 6th
Tan 13.05.2008	31	2/ 4	Chinese (Zhejiang)	<i>Hauptschule</i>	Restaurant Owners	Traditional/ Neighborhood Restaurant	23rd
Yeng 14.05.2008	34	2/ 6	Chinese (Zhejiang)	<i>Gymnasium</i>	Restaurant Owners	Trendy/ Restaurant and Bar	6th
Chen 21.05.2008	34	1.5/ 15	Chinese (Zhejiang)	<i>Hauptschule Konzession</i>	Restaurant Owners	Trendy/ Restaurant	N/A
Song 24.05.2008	31	1.5/ 13	Chinese (Zhejiang)	University (unfinished)	Restaurant Owners	Traditional/ Neighborhood Restaurant	3rd
You 24.05.2008	55*	1/30*	Chinese (Zhejiang)	N/A	N/A	Traditional/ Neighborhood Restaurant	3rd
Mong 08.06.2008	58*	1/ 30*	Taiwanese	University	N/A	Traditional/ Buffet	1st
Fu 08.06.2008	40*	1/ 23	Chinese (Zhejiang)	N/A	N/A	Fine Restaurant	1st
Hua 04.07.2008	22	2/0	Chinese (Vietnam)	University	Blue-collar Workers	-	-

* estimated by the author according to information provided by interviewee.

The research was conducted in a qualitative method, for which the number of samples is very much determined by the saturation of information. More interviewees would definitely provide more life stories which might be informative to the research, however, after a certain point the information bearing upon the key research questions would hardly differentiate with the increase of informants. Therefore, eight interviews in this research are justifiable, although the number is much smaller compared to quantitative researches in general.

1.4. IMPORTANT TERMINOLOGY

1.4.1. Ethnic Entrepreneurship, Ethnic Business, and Immigrant Business

According to Maggi Leung's review, these terms have different emphases and were developed in different contexts. While *ethnic entrepreneurship* and *ethnic business* are more used to emphasize cultural backgrounds and cultural characteristics of entrepreneurs, *immigrant business* focuses on entrepreneurs' migrant biographies. In Britain, due to a longer migration history in the 20th century, the term *ethnic business* (or *ethnic minority business*) was preferred in referring to those British-born next-generations. On the other hand, in Germany where the discussion revolves around guest workers and their offspring, *immigrant business* is often seen in literature.⁴

Since the context of migration history and migrant economic activities in Austria is similar to Germany, *immigrant business* would be a better term to be used in this thesis.

1.4.2. Second Generation

Theoretically second generation refers to the children of immigrants children who are born and grow up in the host country. Nevertheless, immigrant children born in the home country who migrate before school-age share many linguistic, cultural, and developmental experiences similar to the "real" second generation. As a result, they are usually included in the "second generation".⁵ And in the Austrian context, the term second generation applies to children who migrate before the age of six.⁶

Immigrant children who arrive in the host country before adulthood are named as the in-between generation (or the one-and-a-half generation), who straddle across the

⁴ Maggi W.H. Leung (2004): 95-96.

⁵ Min Zhou, "Growing Up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants," *Annual Reviews of Sociology* 23 (1997): 65.

⁶ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, "Ethnic Segmentation in School and Labor market - 40 Year Legacy of Austrian Guestworker Policy," *International Migration Review* 37, No. 4 (2003): 1125.

old and the new worlds but are fully part of neither.⁷ Because of the prominent difference between them and the first generation in terms of language and cultural integration, they are also included in most discussions about second-generation immigrants. Children who arrive between the age of six and 15 in the Austrian context are counted in this group.

This thesis follows most of the existing literature to include both the "real" second generation and the in-between generation as research subjects. In my opinion, though the in-between generation do not start school in the host country, they spend their most malleable years there, and would therefore carry many more local characteristics than their original ones, and build very different identities compared to the first generation. In addition, the in-between generation enter the local education system, which is one of the most important integration institutions. Their education and career achievements would thus serve as a criterion to examine the integration process. Considering these two points that are critically important to this thesis, the in-between generation are thus strategically taken as equals as the second generation.

⁷ Min Zhou (1997): 65.

2. THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

Walking in European metropolises, one may at first glance be impressed by magnificent historical architecture reminiscent of long history and magnificent culture which belong to the European past. However, at the same time, one can hardly neglect a drastic change of scenes and atmosphere -- people of different ethnicities are becoming part of European cities' looks. European metropolises are not only experiencing the convergence of their history and post-industrial development, but are also increasingly embodying a mixture of cultures and ethnicities.

The most apparent sites of non-European cultures and ethnicities are not embassies, official institutions, museums, temples or various cultural fairs taking place sporadically in cities, on the contrary, stalls, diners and small shops standing quietly at corners of every busy street are claiming the very presence of new members living side by side with the locals. They constitute a more realistic aspect of the meeting of cultures and daily encounters of people of different origins. Therefore, research on immigrant business activities has been winning significance in understanding the changes of metropolises, immigrants and ethnic minorities' social lives, and the interaction between people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

This chapter will briefly discuss existing research on immigrant business, including their main research questions, historical background, and theoretical debates. Lastly, this chapter will propose new research directions based on which the topic of this thesis will be developed.

2.1. RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANT BUSINESS

2.1.1. Historical Background

In discussions about immigrant business since the 1970s, most authors try to answer two basic questions: Firstly, why do some minorities pursue self-employment?⁸

⁸ Inge R. Strüder, "Do Concepts of Ethnic Business Explain Existing Minority Enterprises? The Turkish

Secondly, does self-employment provide immigrants and ethnic minorities a chance of upward social mobility, or does it only lead to a dead end?⁹ Answering the second question usually requires long-term cross-generational research, therefore, currently available literature on ethnic business mainly concentrates on the first question.

Existing research on immigrant business is highly relevant to a country's history and current situation of migration. In the 20th century American history, there were two major periods when waves of immigration took place. The first wave occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when a large number of Southern and Eastern Europeans went to the United States to reside mainly in big cities and work in factories.¹⁰ The second wave was triggered by the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, which lifted restrictions on immigration.¹¹ With the new wave of immigration, American scholars started to pay attention to immigrants' new economic activities, of which self-employment was a prominent phenomenon. Therefore, starting in the 1970s, research on immigrant business has gradually gained grounds and become an important academic field.

Even though after the Second World War there were already big scale movements of people taking place, across the Atlantic, related research was not widely found until the 1980s. Current studies on immigrant business in Europe mostly refer to self-employment activities of the immigrants including their offspring who came to Western Europe after the 1960s through special recruiting projects. The most studied groups: the Turks, former Yugoslavians, and Moroccans all came in the 1960s and 1970s under special conditions without intention of long-term stay. Since then, their presence created niches for immigrant business, which was broadened and continued by guest-workers' unintended permanent residence. However, in comparison to the United States, related studies emerged relatively late, which can possibly be explained by

Speaking Economies in London." Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis Series 88, London School of Economics (2003): 8, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/geographyAndEnvironment/research/Researchpapers/rp88.pdf> (accessed April 05, 2008).

⁹ See Robert Kloosterman et al. "Mixed Embeddedness (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23, No. 2 (1999): 253.

¹⁰ Roger Waldinger and Joel Perlmann, "Second Generation Decline? Children of Immigrants, Past and Present -- A Reconsideration," *International Migration Review* 31, No. 4 (1997): 894.

¹¹ Roger Waldinger and Joel Perlmann (1997): 893.

Europe's indifference towards entrepreneurship and self-employment policies.¹² Moreover, as Kloosterman points out, the promotion of immigrant entrepreneurship that may contribute to relevant academic works was rooted in the neo-liberal surge in the 1980s.¹³

As a result of the uneven migration currents taking place at different times and different parts of the world, we can find a general trend of the geographical expansion of research on immigrant business which originated in the United States in the 1970s and extended to Britain and the Netherlands in the 1980s. Later on, scholars in Germany, Belgium, and other Western European countries also took part and contributed various cases of different ethnic groups and business sectors to the discussion.¹⁴

2.1.2. Theoretical Discussions

2.1.2.1. Group Characteristics and Social Capital

Since the 1970s, immigrant business has been analyzed with several different approaches. At the outset, due to the obvious over-representation of ethnic minorities' self-employment and their concentration in certain business sectors, ethno-cultural traits were considered intuitively as the most possible factors to explain the phenomenon. Qualities such as hard-working, saving, gravitating towards entrepreneurship were attributed to certain immigrant groups to explain their self-employment, including the success and sustainability of their businesses.¹⁵ Indeed, without mentioning ethno-cultural traits it would be very difficult to understand why only certain immigrant groups especially tend to enter self-employment, and why different immigrant groups

¹² Tüzin Baycan-Levent and Peter Nijkamp, "Migrant Entrepreneurship in a Diverse Europe: In Search of Sustainable Development." Series Research Memoranda 0011, Free University Amsterdam, Faculty of Economics, Business Administration and Econometrics (2007): 2.
<ftp://zappa.ubvu.vu.nl/20070011.pdf> (accessed April 06, 2008).

¹³ Though it may only explain the situation in the Netherlands. See Robert Kloosterman, "Creating Opportunities. Policies Aimed at Increasing Openings for Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Netherlands," *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 15 (2003): 167.

¹⁴ See Nonja Peters, "Mixed Embeddedness. Does It Really Explain Immigrant Enterprise in Western Australia (WA)?" *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research* 8, No. ½ (2002): 32.

¹⁵ Maggi W. H. Leung, *Chinese Migration in Germany: Making Home in Transnational Space* (Frankfurt: IKO, 2004): 96-97.

usually choose different business sectors. However, this approach also implies essentialism, taking immigrant groups as having unchanging patterns of behavior. Apart from ethno-cultural traits, some authors look for explanations in social capital theories, and propose that ethnic resources (especially social networks among co-ethnics) provide people with immigrant background a better chance to start and maintain their business.¹⁶ Nevertheless, social networks fail to explain what makes immigrants or ethnic minorities decide to start their own business instead of pursuing other possibilities. Moreover, it is also questionable because the social-network explanation may not only apply to immigrant groups but also to the society's majority.

2.1.2.2. Mixed Embeddedness

Instead of mining for more characteristics specific to immigrant groups' cultural and social aspects, recent works focus more on general institutional and structural factors that affect immigrants' self-employment. So far, the most influential research frameworks, opportunity structures and mixed embeddedness, were proposed by the American sociologist Roger Waldinger and the Dutch scholar Robert Kloosterman respectively.

In his framework, Waldinger introduces the concept of "opportunity structures" to supplement the older approaches which only focus on predisposing factors and ethnic resources. His basic idea is that ethnic boundaries are "inherently fluid", and "ethnicity is a possible outcome of the patterns by which intra- and inter-group interactions are structured", therefore, ethnic labels should be used more carefully and more emphasis should be put on structural aspects.¹⁷ With "opportunity structures" he refers mainly to two types of conditions that are relevant to immigrants' entrepreneurship: market conditions and access to ownership.

1) Market conditions: according to Waldinger, there are basically two types of markets for immigrant business. The market for ethnic consumer products arises mostly with the

¹⁶ E.g. Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner, "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action," *The American Journal of Sociology* 98, No. 6 (1993): 1320-1350.

¹⁷ Roger Waldinger and Howard E. Aldrich (1990): 131-132.

growth of immigrant communities. Immigrant communities have their own special needs and preferences, which usually can only be satisfied by immigrant entrepreneurs who know them well. Moreover, in their integration process, immigrants meet problems for which they need help from co-ethnics due to their distance from government services. This also contributes to the forming of market niches. Though at the beginning markets of this kind are often restricted in their size, immigrants can take advantage of their relatively low-cost labor and informal networks and "break out" to other branches.¹⁸

On the other hand, immigrants could also start their businesses in non-ethnic markets, which are deserted by locals because of city gentrification or difficult operation conditions. Facing markets where economies of scale are low, immigrants take self-exploitation strategies in exchange of minimum profits. If demands in markets are unstable, the immigrant informal networks can provide necessary flexibility. The only exception in this category is a market formed by demands of exotic goods.¹⁹

2) Access to ownership is conditioned by interethnic competition and government policies. When the competition between immigrant and native groups is high, the former may be pushed out of the market, or be constrained to certain sectors. However, fierce competition may also help immigrants to form tight networks, which in turn increase the immigrants' access to ownership.²⁰

Government policies influencing access to ownership can be either indirect or direct. Indirect policies refer to general immigration policies which regulate immigrants' social and economic activities, such as who can stay and who can work. Direct policies are various kinds of governmental programs aimed at assisting immigrants to start their own business.²¹

¹⁸ Roger Waldinger and Howard E. Aldrich (1990): 115-116.

¹⁹ Roger Waldinger and Howard E. Aldrich (1990): 116-117.

²⁰ Roger Waldinger and Howard E. Aldrich (1990): 118-120.

²¹ Roger Waldinger and Howard E. Aldrich (1990): 120-122.

Based on Waldinger's framework, Kloosterman goes further and emphasizes that these market conditions are themselves "embedded and enmeshed in institutions (...) such as the welfare system, the organization of markets, the framework of rules and regulations together with their enforcement, housing policies and also business associations and specific business practices (...)." ²² On the other hand, he also believes that immigrant entrepreneurs are concretely embedded in host society "in other ways as they operate in cities with their own morphology, socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics as well as in sectors with more or less established traditions of doing business" ²³. These two aspects make up his "mixed embeddedness" framework, which is claimed to encompass the interplay between the social, economic and institutional contexts. ²⁴

At first glance, Kloosterman's framework does not differ much from Waldinger's opportunity structures. Both of them are not satisfied with traditional research approaches which only one-sidedly pay attention to immigrant groups' characteristics, neglecting the conditions faced by immigrants in host societies. Nevertheless, while both of them focus on structural aspects, Waldinger only talks about market opportunities, but Kloosterman goes deeper to query in what kind of social, economic, and political contexts are these opportunities embedded. In his case study of Islamic butchers in the Netherlands, he shows that the "opportunities" are actually conditioned by the welfare state's basic social policies and a corporatist tradition. ²⁵ This could be understood well by investigating the scholar's background. Kloosterman comes from the Netherlands and made his empirical studies there, therefore, the welfare state context, which differs drastically from the background of many Anglo-Saxon authors, became a critical issue for him. His influence is shown by the fact that recent studies on immigrant business (especially those in continental Europe) mostly take his concept of mixed Embeddedness as research framework. ²⁶

²² Robert Kloosterman et al. (1999): 258.

²³ Robert Kloosterman et al. (1999): 258.

²⁴ Robert Kloosterman et al. (1999): 257.

²⁵ Robert Kloosterman et al. (1999).

²⁶ For a few examples please see Giles Barrett et al. "The Economic Embeddedness of Immigrant Enterprise in Britain," *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 8, No. ½ (2002): 11-31; Nonja Peters (2002); Robert Kloosterman (2003); Maria Kontos, "Self-employment Policies and Migrants' Entrepreneurship in Germany," *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 15 (2003):

2.1.2.3. Pursuing Diversity

Diversity has increasingly become an important subject in social-scientific research, and this can also be seen in migration studies. Generally speaking, migration studies have always paid attention to differences between ethnic groups in aspects such as culture, social network, social capital etc., and how they influence immigrants' path of integration and achievement. However, in addition to inter-group differences, more recent studies emphasize in-group differences which take place along axes such as generation, gender, class, life stage, and migrant experience. Studies of this kind respond to the main problem of Kloosterman's mixed Embeddedness framework, which prioritizes the various institutions' influences on immigrants in general and thus leaves the diversity in immigrant groups aside.

In her research on Turkish business in London, Strüder²⁷ found that Turkish entrepreneurs with different backgrounds, be it determined by gender, religion, or class, actually have very different business styles and do not necessarily intend to sustain relationships with others who share the same ethnic origin. Leung's²⁸ research on Chinese immigrants in Germany also points out that within the "Chinese" immigrants, there is a fine line between Taiwanese and Chinese, which is emphasized and consciously maintained through a variety of institutions. In another article, Strüder²⁹ queries whether Turkish women, compared to their male counterparts, have special reasons to enter self-employment, using different resources, networks, and ways of doing business. Mushaben's³⁰ research on Turkish entrepreneurship in Germany also touches on the gender issue, and deals with the interplay between Turkish women's self-employment and gender-role in family and community. These examples show a

119-135; Jan Rath, "A Quintessential Immigrant Niche? The Non-case of Immigrants in the Dutch Construction Industry," *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 14 (2002): 355-372; Maggi W. H. Leung, "Beyond Chinese, Beyond Food: Unpacking the Regulated Chinese Restaurant Business in Germany," *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 15 (2003): 103-118.

²⁷ Inge R. Strüder (2003).

²⁸ Maggi W. H. Leung (2004).

²⁹ Inge R. Strüder, "Self-employed Turkish-speaking women in London: Opportunities and Constraints within and beyond the Ethnic Economy," *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation* 4, No. 3 (2003): 185-195.

³⁰ Joyce Marie Mushaben, "Thinking Globally, Integrating Locally: Gender, Entrepreneurship and Urban Citizenship in Germany," *Citizenship Studies* 10, No. 2 (2006): 203-227.

simple fact that immigrant groups are in themselves not homogeneous. When it comes to self-employment, seemingly similar economic activities actually have a lot of variations that are related to immigrants' class backgrounds, gender, etc.³¹

Among various kinds of differences, generation difference is especially an important one. On the one hand, it clearly shows the existing of divergence within immigrant groups with the same ethnic background. The offspring of immigrants, who grow up and receive education in the host country, do not have the language deficiency the first generation suffer, and may possibly have equal educational or vocational qualifications as the natives. This makes them different from their predecessors in terms of human capital, social capital, and even identities, which is reflected in their entrepreneurship. For the second generation entrepreneurs, entering self-employment is no longer simply for economic survival, but a way to begin their vocational life, to achieve upward mobility and gain social recognition.³² Ethnicity may be something primordial for the first generation, but for the second generation, it means only a kind of resources. Based on her findings, Peters concludes that in second generation's entrepreneur process, class capital usually plays a much more important role than ethnic resources.³³

On the other hand, studying the second generation entrepreneurship has important contributions to the understanding of immigrants' integration process.³⁴ As mentioned, for many first-generation immigrants entrepreneurship is the only way for economic survival, while for second-generation immigrants with better human and language

³¹ For more examples, please see Levent Altinay and Eser Altinay, "Determinants of Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurial Growth in the Catering Sector," *The Service Industries Journal* 26, No. 2 (2006): 203-221, which discusses what factors are most important to the successful immigrant entrepreneurship; Maria Kontos (2003) points out in different stages of the migration process, self-employment has different meanings to immigrants. On the other hand, immigrants in different stages have different demands when starting their own business. Even in Kloosterman's own research (Robert Kloosterman, "Creating Opportunities. Policies Aimed at Increasing Openings for Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Netherlands," *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 15 (2003): 167-181), he shows that different types of government policies have uneven influences on self-employment of immigrants who differ in gender and social class.

³² See Maria Kontos (2003): 128-129; Nonja Peters (2002): 42.

³³ Nonja Peters (2002): 42.

³⁴ Seven J. Gold, Ivan Light, and M. Francis Johnston, "The Second Generation and Self-Employment," *Migration Information Source*. Washington, D. C.: Migration Policy Institute, Oct 2006 (revised 2007), <http://migrationinformation.net/Feature/display.cfm?id=447> (accessed Jan, 20, 2008).

capital it is only one of the options. Still, besides determinants such as identity and individual choices, the question remains whether there are structural factors which may explain some second-generation immigrants' preference for self-employment. Does "blocked mobility" exist? Is immigrant business a steppingstone for upward social mobility or a mobility trap? To respond to Kloosterman's framework, it is also important to ask if the "embeddedness" still holds in the case of second-generation's entrepreneurship.

2.2. RESEARCH DIRECTION AND HYPOTHESES

Based on the discussion of existing research on immigrant business, the thesis reveals that the second-generation ethnic entrepreneurship is an important topic, the studying of which will have its theoretical contributions for at least three reasons. Firstly, it signifies an important aspect: in-group differences, that has not been dealt with in the present immigrant business studies paradigm. Immigrant groups are not homogeneous, which is revealed in many aspects of their business activities and requires more empirical studies to be proven. Secondly, Kloosterman's concept of mixed Embeddedness might be challenged by research on the second-generation immigrant entrepreneurship. The second generation are bettered off than their predecessors in terms of legal status and social position, therefore, many structural restrictions put down by continental welfare states have no influence on them. In this way, Kloosterman's explanations should be reevaluated or even revised. Thirdly, research investigating the reason why second generation enter self-employment provides information about immigrants' integration process, which has always been the core problematique of migration studies.

The second-generation Chinese restaurateurs are chosen as the research subject of this thesis. In addition to the theoretical concerns mentioned above, this study will also try to explain the phenomenon that the later generation entrepreneurs of Chinese descent have very different business styles from their first-generation counterparts. The first generation usually own diners and takeaways, but the second generation tend to operate fine or trendy restaurants. While the first generation sacrifice the authenticity of Chinese food based on cost consideration, the second generation try to give a new touch to the

oriental imagination. On the one hand, it may lie in the later generations' advantage in class capital and understanding of the local market. On the other hand, however, I suppose it can be connected to their identities. Later generations' activities of pursuing differentiated operation strategies could possibly be seen as a way to draw boundaries between themselves and the newly arriving immigrants. Though later generations may not be totally integrated into the mainstream of the host society, they are still in many aspects different from the newly arrival immigrants who usually carry negative connotations. This different self-image and identity may very possibly be exemplified and maintained through concrete activities, of which the economic activity is a good example.

3. IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP'S EMBEDDEDNESS IN AUSTRIA

Based on the insight of Robert Kloosterman and Jan Rath who argue that the socio-economic positions of immigrant entrepreneurs should not only be understood by considering their immigrant social networks, but also "their more abstract embeddedness in the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment of the country of settlement"³⁵, this chapter will deal with the opportunity structure shaped on the national level in Austria, trying to explain the general conditions faced by immigrant entrepreneurs, and in particular, the Chinese restaurateurs.

3.1. THE WELFARE STATE CONTEXT

Esping-Andersen categorizes Austria in line with Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands as a "continental", "conservative", and strongly "corporatist" welfare state.³⁶ In general, welfare states of this kind are characterized by their social insurance system, which distributes social entitlements based on employment status. Besides, familial values are highly appreciated, which is reflected on state's generous family benefits. Social partners and unions usually play a prominent role in decisions concerning social and economic policies.

Several authors³⁷ share the point of view that due to a strictly regulated labor market in continental welfare states, low growth of low-skilled employment in the above-mentioned countries is a prominent phenomenon. Relatively high minimum wages, expensive social insurance paid by employers, inflexible working times, and short working hours discourage job creation in low-skilled and labor-intensive industries. Among other low-skilled labor force, immigrants disadvantaged by their deficiency of language skills and their legal status face the unpleasant consequences

³⁵ Robert Kloosterman and Jan Rath, "Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Advanced Economies: Mixed Embeddedness Further Explored," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, No. 2 (2001): 190.

³⁶ Brigitte Unger and Karin Heitzmann, "The Adjustment Path of the Austrian Welfare State: Back to Bismarck?" *Journal of European Social Policy* 13, No. 4 (2003): 371.

³⁷ See Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), Robert Kloosterman et. al. (1999), Kloosterman (2003), and Maggi Leung (2003).

directly. Named as a "push" power³⁸, an unfavorable situation in the labor market contributes to the immigrants' self-employment in sectors with low entry-barriers and low capital-concentration.

Moreover, continental welfare states' emphasis on familial values makes it difficult for immigrants to find jobs in care services that are usually options for less-educated and less well-trained immigrants in neo-liberal regimes. Since the 1980s, neo-liberalism took hold gradually, and had important influence on governmental policies and the design of institutions. Liberalization, deregulation, and privatization became the bandwagons not only in the Anglo-Saxon countries, but also in the continental welfare states, which were troubled by stagnant economic growth and increasing deficits. Under neo-liberalist reforms, many former governmental functions were privatized or out-sourced, e.g. outsourcing garbage collecting to private firms in the case of the Netherlands³⁹. However, social reproduction and care services in most continental welfare states are still kept in family, because of low participation rate of women in labor market and generous family allowances (e.g. maternal/parental leaves, allowances, and birth assistance)⁴⁰. Under these circumstances, immigrants, especially women in this case, having little chance in care services, are therefore left with opportunities in self-employment only.⁴¹

Talking about Austria's specific features that make it different from other continental welfare states, Unger and Heizmann mention three points -- an unusually high share of nationalized industries and public employment, outstanding involvement of social partners in the policy-making process, and a social-democratic government which remained in power for almost 30 years.⁴² These three aspects play a prominent role in forming Austria's labor market, in which immigrants' participation in formal economy is highly restricted.

³⁸ Robert Kloosterman (2003): 169.

³⁹ Robert Kloosterman (2003): 174.

⁴⁰ In Austria's case, in 1998, women's labor participation rate was 63 percent. Women were still considered less as workers than mothers, though it was experiencing changes. The parental allowance introduced in 2002 which does not consider previous employment records might even discourage women to enter labor market in the first place. See Brigitte Unger and Karin Heitzmann (2003): 383-384.

⁴¹ Maggi Leung (2003): 105.

⁴² Brigitte Unger and Karin Heitzmann (2003): 380.

First of all, in the mid-1980s, one-fifth of total Austrian industry was still nationalized. Though the pressure of internationalization and increasing budget deficit forced the government to renounce its nationalized industries, the number of workers in public sectors (including nationalized industries) kept growing until the mid-1990s.⁴³ Nationalized industries were taken as an effective measure to solve unemployment, and Austria did enjoy a relatively low unemployment rate compared to its other continental counterparts. However, due to the nationalist nature of nationalized industries, it is questionable whether jobs thus created were open to immigrants who do not hold Austrian citizenship.⁴⁴ If not, immigrants in Austria might have been facing a less favorable situation in the labor market, since their only chance in formal economy depended on offers in private sectors that were much smaller in scale than in other countries.

Another reason of Austria's stagnant growth of jobs in the private sector might be that Austria did not give up its passive labor market policies till the 1990s. Before that, welfare was given priority over job-creation. Faced with oil crises in the 1970s, the government chose early-retirement and nationalized industries as antidotes to unemployment, which actually aggravated budget deficits.⁴⁵ In the 1990s, the government began to take more active labor policies, putting emphasis on job-creation in the private sector, such as deregulation of labor policy and subsidies for employers hiring the long-term unemployed and older people. Moreover, some self-employment friendly policies (e.g. unemployment insurance for workers who became self-employed and abolishment of tax on handicraft enterprises) were introduced as an alternative to solve unemployment.⁴⁶ In short, before the 1990s, the Austrian labor market molded by passive labor policies was not able to create new jobs and absorb immigrants living in Austria effectively. However, even after the 1990s, despite increasing importance of the private sector as a job creator, immigrants are still facing stringent restrictions in

⁴³ Brigitte Unger and Karin Heitzmann (2003): 376, 380. In 1998, there were still 29 percent of all employees working in public sectors.

⁴⁴ It can be inferred from the fact that in Austria, the public sector and protected segments of the labor market (where one third of Austria's wage and salary earners were engaged) are only reserved for Austrian citizens. See Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, "Ethnic Segmentation in School and Labor market - 40 Year Legacy of Austrian Guestworker Policy," *International Migration Review* 37, No. 4 (2003): 1140.

⁴⁵ Brigitte Unger and Karin Heitzmann (2003): 376.

⁴⁶ Brigitte Unger and Karin Heitzmann (2003): 378.

entering the job market and self-employment, which will be the main focus in the next section.

3.2. LEGAL RESTRICTIONS IN AUSTRIA

3.2.1. Strict Regulations on Acquisition of Residence and Work Permits

Except some special cases⁴⁷, most non-Austrian nationals are subject to strict restrictions on their stay and employment in Austria. The possibility for them to acquire either a residence permit or a work permit depends on many conditions, and the attainments of each are highly interwoven. Basically, only the following three cases are entitled to apply for a residence permit: those who are employed (or will be employed) in Austria, spouses of those who have a permit, and their underage children⁴⁸.

With the introduction of *Fremdenrechtspaket 2005*, which came into force on January 1st 2006, the following laws concerning foreigners' stay and right to work were amended: *Asylgesetz*, *Fremdenpolizeigesetz (FPG)*, *Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz (NAG)*, and *Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz (AusIBG)*. On the one hand, the reform was meant to harmonize related Austrian laws with the EU policies on free movement of its citizens in EU countries, but on the other hand, it set down considerable restrictions on the immigration of nationals from third countries, the goal of which is to hinder irregular immigration.⁴⁹

To regulate the number of third-country nationals moving in, a yearly quota and specific conditions were stipulated. First of all, being considered as *Schlüsselkraft* (key employee)⁵⁰ is one among a few possibilities for third-country nationals to stay and

⁴⁷ The nationals of European Economic Area member countries (EEA) and nationals of Bosnia-Herzegovina who came during the 1992-1995 conflict are exempted from the general restrictions on acquiring residence and work permits in Austria.

⁴⁸ Regina Haberfellner and others, *"Ethnic Business": Integration vs. Segregation*. (Vienna: Centre for Social Innovation (ZSI), 2000): 116.

⁴⁹ Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *MigrantInnen in Wien 2007*, Kemal Boztepe and Karin König, editors (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2007): 43-44.

⁵⁰ Translation of terminology in this article is based on Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien,

work legally in Austria. Once being conferred on a *Niederlassungsbewilligung* (indefinite leave to remain), these *Schlüsselkräfte* acquire their work permit simultaneously, which in the case of first-time applicants is valid for at least 18 months. The *Schlüsselkraft* category applies to those who have special contribution to the Austrian labor market and earn at least Euro 2,304 (gr.) per month. In addition, the self-employed who make capital investment in Austria and create jobs are also qualified as *Schlüsselkraft* applicants.⁵¹

Secondly, family members of the above-mentioned third-country critical manpower can also apply for an Austrian residence permit, however, *Beschäftigungsbewilligung* (BB; employment license) has to be applied for additionally.⁵² Moreover, third-country nationals can apply for residency based on personal reasons, but in this case they are not allowed to work at all. Lastly, third-country nationals who have already obtained a residence permit in other EU countries can also apply for residency in Austria. Their entitlement to work is regulated by *Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz* (*AusIBG*; Employment of Foreign Nationals Act).⁵³

If the above-mentioned third-country nationals wish to work in Austria, they have to apply for a work permit, which exists in several forms subject to various conditions. For a *Beschäftigungsbewilligung* (employment license), the application must be submitted by employer who has already secured a position for the applicant. The employer has to prove that the applicant is more qualified than any other Austrian resident who has priority in labor market.⁵⁴ An employment permit is valid for a maximum of one year.⁵⁵

Mehrsprachiges Glossar der Stadt Wien, Serdar Bilge and others, compilers (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien).

⁵¹ Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien (2007): 46-47.

⁵² Third-country nationals who are family members of Austrian, EEA, and Swiss citizens enjoy "privileged status" and have the right to settle and work in Austria, therefore are not discussed here.

⁵³ Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien (2007): 47.

⁵⁴ These people are Austrian citizens, EEA citizens and their family members, foreigners who enjoy Austrian unemployment insurance, and residents who are granted other forms of work permit. See Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien (2007): 27.

⁵⁵ Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien (2007): 27.

If third-country nationals have been working legally in Austria for more than 52 weeks in the past two years, they are qualified to apply for *Arbeitserlaubnis* (AE; restricted work permit), validity of which is only two years and which is limited to one *Bundesland* only. Third-country nationals who were employed at least 5 years within the past 8 years and have residency in Austria can make a request for a *Befreiungsschein* (BS; exemption certificate), which is valid for working in whole Austria for 5 years. There also used to be *Niederlassungsnachweis* (permanent residence card), a combination of a residence and work permits issued between January 2003 and December 2005, which granted foreign nationals unlimited residency and ten-year access to the labor market. Finally, since January 1, 2006, *Daueraufenthalt - EG* (permanent leave to remain) has been applicable to foreigners living for more than 5 years in Austria. With *Daueraufenthalt - EG*, foreign nationals have the right to unlimited stay and access to the labor market.⁵⁶

So far this section has shown Austria's strict regulations on foreigners' entrance into the labor market, which constitutes a "push power" enhancing third-country nationals' intention to pursue self-employment. However, under Austria's corporatist and vocational tradition, immigrants are still facing a lot of hurdles on their way to entrepreneurship. Next section will briefly discuss the legal aspects of setting up one's own business in Austria, and the focus will be restaurant and catering business.

3.2.2. Gewerbeordnung

In general, a *Gewerbeschein* (business license) is necessary for the establishment of one's own business in Austria. To acquire one, an applicant must be:

- 1) an Austrian national, EEA national, or has been granted a *Gleichstellungsbescheid* (equal qualification);
- 2) of legal age (reach the legal age of 19);
- 3) without previous convictions;
- 4) a *Befähigungsnachweis* (proof of qualification) holder.

Different documents are required for different kinds of businesses. Basically, there are

⁵⁶ Magistrat 17, Magistrat der Stadt Wien (2007): 27-28.

two kinds of businesses -- the *nicht-bewilligungspflichtige gebundene Gewerben* and the *bewilligungspflichtige gebundene Gewerben*. The former requires only a *Befähigungsnachweis*, while the latter additionally requires a *behördliche Bewilligung* (governmental approval), since it involves dangerous work and may pose a threat to its workers' health. On the other hand, the *nicht-bewilligungspflichtige gebundene Gewerbe* can be divided into two sub-types -- *freie Gewerben* and *Teilgewerben*. Founders of the former do not have to provide *Befähigungsnachweis*, but those of the latter have to finish an apprenticeship, pass a professional exam, or acquire a diploma.⁵⁷ Restaurant and catering business belongs to the category which does not require a governmental approval, but whether a *Befähigungsnachweis* is needed depends on the exact business activities. For example, owners of diners which provide simple meals and non-alcoholic drinks and have less than 8 tables do not have to hold a *Befähigungsnachweis*.⁵⁸ This can partly explain why many immigrants tend to operate small diners or takeaways, which, under the *Gewerbeordnung*, do not require proofs of qualification that is very difficult for third-country nationals to acquire.

Third-country nationals and refugees who want to establish their own business in Austria have to apply to the authorities for a *Gleichstellungbescheid* (equal positioning). In Vienna the authority in charge is the *Gewerbebehörde (Magistrat 63)*, and in other *Bundesländer* it is the *Landeshauptmann* (governor of the province). According to the *Gewerbeordnung 1997*, a *Gleichstellung* can be granted to foreigners only if their business will benefit the national economy without causing any damages to it.⁵⁹ To be precise, it means that the products or services provided by applicants have to be especially attractive and beneficial for the Austrian economy. Otherwise, business of the applicants should at least contribute to the diversity or alleviate the lack of certain products and services in the local economy.⁶⁰ Therefore, the proposed location of

⁵⁷ Hanna Esezobor, *Frauen, die etwas unternehmen! Chancen und Grenzen der Selbständigkeit von Migrantinnen im österreichischen Kleingewerbe*, unpublished *Diplomarbeit* (Vienna: Universität Wien, 2002): 23-24.

⁵⁸ See Fachverband Gastronomie, Wirtschaftskammer Wien, *Die Gastgewerbeberechtigung* (Vienna: Wirtschaftskammer Wien, 2006): 2-3.
http://portal.wko.at/wk/dok_detail_file.wk?angid=1&docid=445150&dstid=1486&stid=220037 (accessed May 18, 2008).

⁵⁹ § 14 Abs 2 GewO 1997, from Regina Haberfellner and others (2000): 108.

⁶⁰ Hanna Esezobor (2002): 27.

business plays an important role in whether the application will be accepted or not. Moreover, though professional qualifications of applicants are not required in the examination process, they have important influence on the outcome. Applicants who have special qualifications or have finished education or apprenticeship in Austria have a better chance in acquiring a *Gleichstellungsbescheid*.⁶¹

The requirement of *Gleichstellung* constitutes a major obstacle to immigrants' entrepreneurship. On the one hand, the authorities' judgment is in general subjective, since the benefit that is going to be realized by applicants can hardly be forecasted, and on the other hand, most immigrants do not have enough qualifications to put themselves in a better position in the application. Many choose to set up a business which belongs to "*freie Gewerbe*", but would on the contrary be refused due to market saturation and the authorities' doubt on their motives.⁶² Some room to maneuver is left by possibilities of co-establishment. By creating an *Erwerbsgesellschaft*, an *Offene Erwerbsgesellschaft (OEG)*, or a *Kommanditerwebs-gesellschaft (KEG)*, etc. together with a *Geschäftsführer* (manager) who satisfies all conditions of the *Gewerbeordnung*, immigrant entrepreneurs do not need to apply for a *Gleichstellung* anymore, let alone providing sufficient qualifications. Nevertheless, in this way their operating cost would be higher because a *Geschäftsführer* must work at least 20 hours per week and should be fully insured, which is a heavy burden for many personal businesses.⁶³

3.2.3. Interplay Between Legal Regulations and Immigrant Entrepreneurship

As Kloosterman and Rath point out, the political-institutional environment of the country of settlement mold possibilities of immigrants' business. This section has so far shown the general situation of immigrants' economic activities under Austria's tightening migration policies and strict regulations on self-employment. What influence do the legal restrictions have on Chinese restaurant owners and their business practice? How do they respond? These questions will be briefly discussed in this section.

⁶¹ Regina Haberfellner and others (2000): 109-110.

⁶² Regina Haberfellner and others (2000): 110.

⁶³ Hanna Esezobor (2002): 27-28; Regina Haberfellner and others (2000): 112.

With Austria's tightening migration policies, the number of Chinese who come to Austria to work drops continuously. Chinese people have always been the most important element in the Chinese restaurant business, providing cheap labor and culinary skills (though most of them did not have any culinary training before migrating). Therefore, the shrinking number of Chinese immigrants poses a threat to many Chinese restaurants. Numerous interviews and private contacts with informants have shown increasing concern about the shortage of good personnel.

Most important of all, there are not enough good cooks to be found. Unlike Germany, which has introduced special programs to recruit Chinese chefs since the 1960s⁶⁴, Austria never had any similar policies. Chinese restaurant owners can only recruit chefs in the present “chef pool”, which is static and lacks new members. Therefore, when the owners want to expand or renovate their business, the first problem they are faced with is how to find more qualified cooks or someone who not only knows rigid Austrian-Chinese menus but also has enough culinary skills to develop more varieties. As a result, some owners choose to stick to constant menus, while some turn to recruiting chefs of other Asian origins and re-style their restaurants as Asian-mixed.

Secondly, many Chinese restaurants prefer to employ Chinese attendants for the convenience of communication with chefs. Though communication with patrons is also important, attendants in traditional Chinese restaurants that have fixed menus do not have to master German. While local attendants have better communication skills with customers, they usually require higher salaries and cannot manage to bridge customers' wishes and the kitchen's work; therefore they are not considered as substitutes. Therefore, due to the decreasing supply of new Chinese migrants, it is quite common to see family members helping out, including members of the younger generations.

3.3. SUMMARY

Based on Kloosterman's idea of mixed-embeddedness, this chapter discusses the social-economical and political-institutional context in which immigrant business in

⁶⁴ Maggi Leung (2003).

Austria is situated. Austria's continental welfare state structure restricts the growth of low-skilled labor market and other working opportunities for immigrants, which constitutes a "push power" contributing to immigrants' self-employment. In terms of migration policies and labor market regulations, immigrants in Austria are also excluded from working in formal economy. However, when they try to establish their own businesses, related laws lay even more obstacles in their way. Chinese restaurant owners on the one hand try to maneuver within the restrictions; while on the other hand, they are also forced to change the style of operation.

4. CHINESE IN AUSTRIA

So far there is hardly any official report keeping track of the Chinese migrant history in Austria. Compared to other Western European countries, the Chinese migrant history in Austria is relatively short, and the Chinese community is also relatively small, which may explain the lack of relevant studies. According to the informants, the majority of Chinese immigrants residing nowadays in Austria, especially in Vienna, are from the Zhejiang province. Among the Zhejiang Chinese, most come from Qingtian and Wenzhou in the south of the province.⁶⁵

Chinese migration from Zhejiang to Europe can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Zhejiang province lies on the southeastern coast of Mainland China, and can be divided into two parts -- the north with fertile plains and the south without much arable land. In northern Zhejiang, an abundance of resources and a superior position of inland transportation through canals contributed to the development in light industry and commercialization. In contrast to the north, the south suffered poverty and insufficiency of food because of its mountainous landscape.⁶⁶ Under such circumstances, some inhabitants of Qingtian area began to sell curios made of carved stones in some port cities and the Putuo Mountain.⁶⁷ A curio vendor known as Chen Yuanfeng who sold carved stones in the Putuo Mountain was encouraged by his good business with Europeans to organize the first voyage of Qingtian emigrants to Europe. Later on, Qingtian carvers increasingly started appearing in Western European countries including France, Holland, and England. Europe became the main destination for Qingtian emigrants, which also resulted partly from the break of route to America due to its Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ One informant pointed out that up to 90 percent Chinese living in Vienna are originally from Qingtian in Zhejiang. (Interview, 13. May 2008). According to Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer's estimation, people from Zhejiang province make up 70 to 80 percent of the Chinese immigrants in Austria, see Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer, "'Wo es Platz für uns gibt, da gehen wir hin!': MigrantInnen chinesischer Herkunft im Industrieviertel," in *Vom Selben Schlag...: Migration und Integration im niederösterreichischen Industrieviertel*, ed. Thomas Schmidinger (Wiener Neustadt: Verein Alltag Verlag, 2008), 357.

⁶⁶ Mette Thunø, "Moving Stones from China to Europe: the Dynamics of Emigration from Zhejiang to Europe," in *Internal and International Migration: Chinese Perspectives*, ed. Frank N. Pieke and Hein Mallee (London: Routledge, 1999), 161-162.

⁶⁷ Mette Thunø (1999): 162.

⁶⁸ Mette Thunø (1999): 162-163.

After the First World War, the Qingtian Chinese started to settle down, supporting relatives and friends who wanted to emigrate to Europe, thus, the 1920s and 1930s became the major period of emigration from Qingtian. It is estimated that during this period of time, 10,000 Qingtian Chinese moved to Europe, among whom 1,000 chose Austria as their destination. In total there were approximately 25,000 Qingtian Chinese living in Europe after the 1930s.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, many of them fled back to China after 1938 to avoid the Nazi regime.⁷⁰

The Chinese community in Vienna came to its current form through the migration waves since the 1960s. In the 1960s and 1970s, ethnic Chinese migrants mainly came from Taiwan, and a lot of them were veterans who fled to Taiwan with KMT (the Nationalist party) after the civil war in 1949.⁷¹ These Migrants from Taiwan gave the initial contour to the Chinese restaurant business in Austria. Qingtian Chinese did not resume their migration habitus until the end of the 1970s when Deng Xiaoping introduced open-door policies in the People's Republic of China. Moreover, the liberalization of emigration regulations facilitated the moving-out of Chinese nationals even further, especially those from Qiaoxiang areas.⁷² According to Kwok and Parzer, during 1981 and 1991, the number of Chinese nationals living in Austria saw a four-fold growth in excess of 450% from 800 to 3,637.⁷³

Before Austria's reform on foreigner's law in 1993, immigration was relatively easy compared to the current situation. There were several ways for Chinese nationals to acquire residence and work permits in Austria. One of them was to enter Austria with a tourist visa, and then apply for a residence and a work permit, as long as the applicant could get a job (in most of the cases, in a restaurant). In addition, in case of immigrants who already had connections in Austria, the application could be done in China with an invitation from their future employer in Austria.⁷⁴ Most Chinese immigrants I encountered during the research process took advantage of either of the ways mentioned

⁶⁹ Mette Thunø (1999): 164-165.

⁷⁰ Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer (2008): 359.

⁷¹ Interview, 21. May 2008.

⁷² Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer (2008): 359-360.

⁷³ Kim Kwok and Michael parzer (2008): 360.

⁷⁴ Interview, 21. May 2008.

above to come to Austria. However, asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants also existed alongside.

The Zhejiang Chinese who came after the late 1970s worked at first in the Chinese catering business built by Taiwanese, and then gradually took over their Taiwanese employers' restaurants. Generally speaking, there is an entrepreneur pattern that can be observed in most Chinese immigrants in Austria: They came from China without any former knowledge and experience in catering business, and started working as waiters or roustabouts in kitchens. After acquiring culinary skills and the basic know-how of running a restaurant, they would buy a restaurant with their savings and financial help from relatives and friends.⁷⁵ It became already a common knowledge that "the Chinese [immigrants] all want to be their own boss"⁷⁶.

After several reforms on the foreigner's law since 1993 (already discussed in the second chapter of this thesis), the inflow of Chinese migrants was drastically reduced, and family reunion became the only possibility for unskilled Chinese laborers to acquire legal residency in Austria. It is worth to mention that in the last decade, the composition of the Chinese community in Austria has experienced some significant changes. Firstly, an increasing number of Chinese from provinces other than Zhejiang, especially from Fujian and North-East China (Dongbei), appeared. Since they did not have connections in Austria like other Chinese from Zhejiang did, and some of them were without legal documents, they worked illegally in kitchens of Chinese restaurants or help out in informal economies, enduring poor working conditions and underpayment.⁷⁷ Secondly, a new prominent group among Chinese migrants are students who pursue further studies in Austria. It is pointed out that students have become a substantial part of the increase in the number of Chinese immigrants in Europe.⁷⁸ Chinese students began to study abroad after 1978, resulting from China's open door policy. Before 1990s, Chinese overseas students were basically funded by the Chinese government, and the percentage of self-supporting students grew steadily afterwards, going hand in hand with China's

⁷⁵ Kim Kowk and Michael Parzer (2008): 356-357.

⁷⁶ Interview, 14. May 2008.

⁷⁷ Interview, 21. May 2008.

⁷⁸ Frank Laczko, "Understanding Migration between China and Europe," *International Migration* 41, No. 3 (2003): 9.

rapid economic development. Since 1978, there have been more than 460,000 Chinese students studying abroad, out of which 20 percent were received by Europe, with United Kingdom, Germany, and France as the most popular destinations.⁷⁹

Austria experienced a boom of Chinese students during the period between 2002 and 2006 due to the new German regulation concerning application for student visas. Since 2002, PRC citizens who intend to study in Germany are required to attend the APS examination, which includes a face-to-face interview for 20 minutes to test applicants' language skills and professional knowledge.⁸⁰ The new restriction set hurdles on Chinese students' application for German universities, and thus diverted a significant number of applicant students to another German-speaking country -- Austria.

In 2001, there were at least 10,000 people of Chinese descent (including people with Chinese or Taiwanese citizenship and those who were already naturalized) living in Austria, with half of them residing in Vienna. With students, asylum seekers, and later generation Chinese immigrants included, there would be approximately 20,000 to 25,000 people with Chinese migration background in Austria.⁸¹ Different from the Turkish and former Yugoslavian migrant workers who came to Austria through special recruitment projects, the Chinese immigrants' economic activities depend primarily on the restaurant business. As a result, a boom in Chinese restaurants that corresponds to the growth of Chinese immigrants can be seen during the period from 1986 to 1996. The number almost tripled from around 300 in 1986 to over 800 in 1996. Afterwards, the growth of Chinese restaurants fell into stagnation, due to both a tightening of migration policies and a market saturation. In 2008 there are in total around 850 Chinese restaurants around Austria.⁸²

⁷⁹ Guochu Zhang, "Migration of Highly Skilled Chinese to Europe: Trends and Perspective," *International Migration* 41, No. 3 (2003): 81.

⁸⁰ EuroChinacom, "Academic Examination - Apply Visa", (Munich: EuroChina Intercommunication GmbH, 2007), <http://www.eurochinacom.info/all-about-study/ino-for-chinese-students/enrollment-student-visa/> (accessed June, 22, 2008).

⁸¹ Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer (2008): 358.

⁸² Kim Kwok and Michael Parzer (2008): 360-362.

5. STEPPINGSTONES OR MOBILITY TRAP? SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY

This chapter discusses briefly the relation between self-employment and social mobility. First of all, it has to be pointed out that with a limited number of interviews it is difficult to answer the question whether the self-employment of first-generation immigrants provides their offspring with a better chance of social mobility. However, by thoroughly studying the cases, it may be possible to find out some structural factors that are most relevant to social mobility and are shaping the second generation's possibilities.

Secondly, this thesis does not intend to deal with the debate about what social mobility and integration are. Nevertheless, where on the scale of social mobility should we put the second generation's self-employment still needs some discussion. Is the second generation's self-employment a kind of downward, horizontal, or even upward mobility? In general, most quantitative studies tend to give a narrow definition of immigrants' social mobility (or integration): if members of an immigrant group leave their original low socio-economic positions and move into the main-stream upper middle-class generation by generation, there is social mobility for this group (or the group is successfully integrated). According to this definition, second generation's self-employment would be possibly considered as a result of horizontal or downward mobility, since in the society's consensus, self-employment (especially in small diners or restaurants) means chores and self-exploitation, and is always a secondary choice compared to white-collar jobs. However, huge discrepancy exists among different kinds of self-employment. With the upgrade of business style, self-employment could be very different from what the first generation immigrants are usually engaged in. Thus, it becomes not so clear if the second generation's self-employment means downward-mobility or failure of integration.

Thirdly, even when the second generation's self-employment is not a form of downward-mobility or failure of integration, it is still an interesting phenomenon. Research on immigrant business intends to answer why immigrants tend to enter self-employment. Recent research focuses mainly on structural aspects and finds out

that in many European countries, the continental welfare state context entangled with immigrants' disadvantages in terms of human capital contributes to immigrants' self-employment. What are the reasons for the second-generation immigrants, who are better off in terms of access to resources and rights? Are they also subject to the constraints put down by the socio-economic structure of their host countries? This section will try to find possible explanations by studying the second generation Chinese restaurateurs.

5.1. THE SECOND GENERATION - THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

5.1.1. American Discussions

To address the matter of second-generation immigrants' integration, American studies on the "new second generation" provide inspiring arguments and research frameworks, and can be taken as a starting point. Since the 1990s, discussions about the new second generation had been drawing attention from the American sociologists. Thirty years after the 1965 Hart-Celler Act which brought renewed immigration to the United States, the offspring of immigrants had become an important element of the society, making up 15 percent of the population.⁸³ Though the United States has been a migrant society for most part of its history, the new second generation causes concern that they will face more difficulties in the integration process compared to the European immigrants in the beginning of the 20th century. First of all, the majority of the new second generation are children of immigrants from Latin America and Asia opposed to the white immigrants.⁸⁴ Racial discrimination in the American society along with greater differences in culture cast doubt on the possibility of integration. Secondly, the European migrants moving in the first three decades of last century to the United States concentrated in North-American industrial cities, while the new immigrants are trapped

⁸³ Min Zhou, "Growing Up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants," *Annual Reviews of Sociology* 23 (1997): 64.

⁸⁴ Richard Alba and Reynolds Farley, "The New Second Generation in the United States," *International Migration Review* 36, No. 3 (2002): 675.

in inner cities with their children exposed to crime and low-quality education.⁸⁵ "Downward assimilation" is thus supposed to happen to the new second generation.

Some further explanations for the precarious position of the new second generation in terms of structural change and institutional deficits were proposed in the 1990s and raised debates.⁸⁶ Both Min Zhou and Alejandro Portes et al. point out that, the economic restructuring in America since the 1960s has had the most significant impact on immigrants' prospect of a better future.⁸⁷ Immigrants of the old generation benefited from the industrial development in the first three decades of the last century, obtaining well-paid blue-collar positions that do not require previous knowledge but also provide financial better-off for their offspring's upward mobility. However, immigrants of the new are facing an "hour-glass" structured labor market -- "many good jobs at the top, many bad jobs at the bottom, and few decent jobs between". The second generation thus have relatively little chance to move up through middle-level jobs.⁸⁸

The urban structure is another reason thought to have negative effects on the new second generation's mobility and achievements. New immigrants concentrate mostly in American inner cities because they cannot afford high living cost in suburban areas. Widespread poverty, crimes, and deviant lifestyles are prominent characteristics of the American inner cities.⁸⁹ Most important of all, American public schools are funded by city government, whose budget for education depends upon local tax payment. As a result, inner cities where there is usually an overrepresentation of immigrant residents have meager financial resources for their public education, which hinders immigrant children's education and occupational achievement.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Alejandro Portes, Patricia Fernández-Kelly and William Haller, "Segmented Assimilation on the Ground: The New Second Generation in Early Adulthood," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, No. 6 (2005): 1006-1009.

⁸⁶ Some authors take the viewpoint that the problems facing the new second generation are actually not different from those confronting the immigrant children in the early 20th century. See Roger Waldinger and Joel Perlmann, "Second Generation Decline? Children of Immigrants, Past and present - A Reconsideration," *International Migration Review* 31, No. 4 (1997).

⁸⁷ Min Zhou (1997) and Alejandro Portes et al. (2005).

⁸⁸ Roger Waldinger and Joel Perlmann (1997): 910.

⁸⁹ Alejandro Portes, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and William Haller (2005): 1008-1009.

⁹⁰ Richard Alba and Reynolds Farley (2002): 675.

In the United States, the second-generation Chinese are reported to have the highest education attainment among immigrant children.⁹¹ This can partly be accounted for by their parents' advantageous social positions because parents with higher levels of education are better informed about opportunities for their children, and higher incomes give their children access to strategic goods.⁹² On the other hand, even the Chinese children from less well-off families win a good chance to move up in the social hierarchy of occupations, which is shown by a study by Steven J. Gold et al. saying that levels of self-employment among Chinese immigrants in New York and Los Angeles decreased with generations.⁹³ A possible explanation might be the emphasis on education rooted in the Confucianism.

5.1.2. Austrian Discussions

In the 1960s and 1970s, parallel to the migration waves in the United States, Western European countries also received their new immigrants, the origin of whom varies from country to country. In Austria and Germany, as a response to their rapid economic and industrial development, guest-workers from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia were recruited, the process of which ended in the early 1970s due to the first oil crisis.⁹⁴ After the 1990s, the children of these immigrants reached adulthood and entered the labor market, which means enough empirical data about the integration process became available, contributing to the inception of studies on the second generation immigrants in Europe.

The second generation migrants in Austria share some similarities with their counterparts in the United States. Firstly, the main migrant groups which came after the 1960s are ethnically and culturally distinct from the natives. Discrimination based on their differences might impinge on the integration process both in everyday life and

⁹¹ Richard Alba and Reynolds Farley (2002): 687.

⁹² Alejandro Portes, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and William Haller (2005): 1012.

⁹³ Steven J. Gold, Ivan Light, and M. Francis Johnston, "The Second Generation and Self-Employment," *Migration Information Source*. Washington, D. C.: Migration Policy Institute, Oct 2006, (revised 2007), <http://migrationinformation.net/Feature/display.cfm?id=447> (accessed Jan, 20, 2008).

⁹⁴ Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen, "The Second Generation in Europe," *International Migration Review* 37, No. 4 (2003): 970.

public spheres.⁹⁵ Secondly, the Austrian economic structure is also unfavorable to its immigrants. As discussed in the second chapter, the continental welfare state structure limits the growth of low-skilled jobs that might serve as steppingstones for migrants' upward mobility. Nevertheless, there are some important divergences as well, among which the most influential one is that in Austria ethnic segregation does not exist.⁹⁶ Immigrant children are not constantly exposed to crimes and inferior public education like their American counterparts.

Apart from the factors mentioned above, the Austrian education system is considered as the most important institution that bears upon immigrant children's integration. Obligatory education not only equips children with necessary knowledge for everyday life, but also prepares them for further studies or vocational training. Thus, obligatory education and the design of the education system as a whole greatly determines children's future possibilities. When intertwined with other social and cultural factors, the existing education system might be especially unfavorable to the immigrant children. In the case of Austria, the most prominent feature is its early bifurcated school system - the academic route and the vocational route. Children at the age of ten already face the selection of their future direction. Coupled with relatively late beginning of schooling, less contact with teacher, and insufficient support in- and outside school compared to other Western European countries, immigrant children in Austria usually have below-average performance in school and are assigned to the vocational system.⁹⁷ Once in the vocational system, it is very difficult to change to the academic system. Therefore, in Austria, immigrant children are underrepresented in higher education, and the gaps in education status between immigrant children and natives are among the widest in Western Europe.⁹⁸

Though the apprenticeship system is said to contribute to the low unemployment rate of children with immigrant background in Austria⁹⁹, the obtainment of an apprenticeship itself is actually not easy for immigrants, who in general do not have

⁹⁵ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger (2003): 1137.

⁹⁶ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger (2003): 1125.

⁹⁷ Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen (2003): 978-979.

⁹⁸ Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen (2003): 982.

⁹⁹ Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen (2003): 982.

satisfactory grades. Even if immigrant children succeed in getting an apprenticeship, they usually have higher drop-out rates.¹⁰⁰ In the labor market, foreigners are still primarily in economically unstable sectors due to the closure of public sector and protected segments to foreign citizens.¹⁰¹

5.2. EMPIRICAL STUDIES - THE SECOND GENERATION CHINESE RESTAURATEURS

5.2.1. Factors Concerning Social Mobility and Integration

Integration is a multi-dimensional process, the accomplishment of which cannot be judged by one single indicator. Structural dimension (education attainment and access to secondary or primary labor market), social dimension (social network and milieu), normative dimension (values and ethnic orientation), and identities (sense of belonging and social identity) are four of the basic dimensions that are usually discussed.¹⁰² Among them, the structural dimension is considered as pivotally important because it is decisive to individual's position in the host society. One's working status is closely connected to their access to resources and chances that are critical in social life. A better chance to get a good position in labor market is heavily decided by one's education attainment and professional qualifications.¹⁰³ Thus, this section will only focus on the structural dimension of the integration, including the factors affecting their chances of educational attainment.

In the discussions about the second generation immigrant's education and economic achievement, several factors are considered as most influential: family human capital, family composition, and modes of incorporation proposed by Portes et al.¹⁰⁴; the context

¹⁰⁰ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger (2003): 1138.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger (2003): 1140.

¹⁰² Hilde Weiss, "Wege zur Integration? Theoretischer Rahmen und Konzepte der empirischen Untersuchung," in *Leben in zwei Welten: Zur sozialen Integration ausländischer Jugendlicher der zweiten Generation*, ed. Hilde Weiss (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2007): 15.

¹⁰³ Hilde Weiss, "Sozialstrukturelle Integration der zweiten Generation," in *Leben in zwei Welten: Zur sozialen Integration ausländischer Jugendlicher der zweiten Generation*, ed. Hilde Weiss (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2007): 33.

¹⁰⁴ Alejandro Portes, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and William Haller (2005): 1032.

of exit (referring to parents' pre-migration resources such as money, knowledge, skills, and social class status in homelands) and the context of reception (positions in the system of racial stratification, government policies, labor market conditions, public attitudes and strength of ethnic communities) proposed by Zhou and Xiong¹⁰⁵. In short, the authors agree that the factors mentioned above can best be summarized by parents' socio-economic status. Aspiration for education, opinions about the school system, parents' support of learning, cultural consumption, etc. are also linked to this concept.¹⁰⁶

5.2.1.1. Parents' Socio-Economic Status

Most first generation Chinese came to Austria for their economic betterment. Chinese immigrants from Zhejiang province (especially from Wenzhou and Qingtian, who make up at least 70 percent of the Chinese immigrants in Austria) were mostly manual workers or farmers who did not receive much education, let alone professional training. Because of the reasons that were discussed in the second chapter compounded with their lack of skills, when they came to Austria, the immigrants could not find jobs in the formal economy, not even in the secondary labor market. The enclave economy, especially the restaurant business, thus was one of the few chances they had available. The first generation Chinese immigrants hired themselves out only to make a living, wishing either to save money and then start their own business or go back to China. Despite of long working hours, they only had meager wages, and had to endure poor working conditions. That is why many of them had several part-time jobs at the same time. The parents of Lo, a second-generation Chinese restaurateur, had worked in restaurants as dishwashers, roustabouts, waiters, and chefs. Besides, they had also been vendors selling souvenirs imported from China and workers helping people to shift at the same time.

The parents' socio-economic status is important for immigrant children's education achievement for at least two reasons. Firstly, higher socio-economic status means higher and stable incomes, which on the one hand ensures children a carefree environment for

¹⁰⁵ Min Zhou and Yang Sao Xiong, "The Multifaceted American Experience of the Children of Asian Immigrants: Lessons for Segmented Assimilation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, No. 6 (2005).

¹⁰⁶ Hilde Weiss, "Sozialstrukturelle Integration der zweiten Generation" (2007): 53.

schooling, and on the other hand makes it possible for children to access additional educational resources such as learning materials, private tutors, and extracurricular activities. Secondly, higher socio-economic status is usually connected with the possession of cultural capital, which is about parents' knowledge, education style, and opinions about education. Better educated parents could be more helpful for their immigrant children in getting used to a new school, new culture, and a new language. Their emphasis on education would also be a kind of motivation for their children to pursue educational achievement.

Looking at the experiences of my informants, it seems that their parents' low socio-economic status may have had negative influence on their performance at school. First of all, at the beginning of their immigration, which usually coincided with the begin of their school age, the informants' parents were in a bad financial situation, and could not provide them with economic security. The unstable economic situation of the immigrant children's families is detrimental to the schooling of the immigrant children, which was shown by the fact that the school years of some were sacrificed. Lo mentioned that in his childhood he experienced moving between Vienna and other small towns around it several times. His parents followed business opportunities, usually based on social networks, to decide the places they lived. Therefore, he changed school several times, very often could not get accustomed to a new environment, let alone concentrate on schoolwork. Faced with financial difficulties, the parents were not able to put priority on their children's education.

Secondly, the first generation immigrants were exhausted from hiring themselves out, and could not afford to take care of their children's education. In this way, poor economic stances also played a negative role in immigrant children's education achievement. Tan said that in his childhood the financial situation of his family was difficult, and therefore his parents hardly had time for him and his brothers. "My two brothers and I were always home by ourselves. We grew up without being taken care of."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Interview, 13 May 2008.

Thirdly, due to the parents' precarious financial status, immigrant children start to work at an early age, and some of them even had to drop out of school for this reason. Tan, the youngest child in the family, said that his second and third brothers did not even finish secondary school (*Hauptschule*) because both of them started to help out in a family business at 13 and 11, respectively. His oldest brother was "lucky" that he finished the secondary school, but still spent a lot of time in their parents' restaurant when he was at school. Lo did not continue education after lower secondary school. On the one hand, his grades were not good, and he was not interested in school. On the other hand, his parents were not well-off, and thus hoped that he could make some contribution to the family's economic condition. The fact that Chinese immigrant children were asked to sacrifice school for parents' business was very much connected to the nature of family business and the market opportunities of the host country. In Austria, a continental welfare state, legal minimum wages and social welfare are a heavy burden for employers. In order to save cost, immigrant small business owners prefer to hire illegal workers. During 1980s and 1990s, the number of Chinese restaurants grew almost two times. (See the second chapter) Given limited market growth, the Chinese restaurant owners entered a fierce price-war, which was supported by cost-down strategies. Under this circumstance, family members were obliged to help out, so that more labor-cost could be saved. After the introduction of foreigner's law in 1993, sources of cheap labor power, new immigrants from China, were limited to a greater extent. Facing the shortage of labor, family members became indispensable resources. Song, an informant who made it to university, was affected by this structural change. She felt obliged to drop her university studies and supported the family business by her participation.

Lastly, the parents' cultural capital is also related to their socio-economic status. The first-generation Chinese immigrants are not well-educated and have a deficiency in the German language. In this sense, they were neither able to assist their children in getting immersed in local culture, nor to help them overcome learning difficulties in school. According to Weiss's research on the second generation immigrants in Austria, the immigrants parents tend to have higher demand on their children's performance in school, but due to limited language skills, the Austrian parents instead have much more contact with school and teachers, which plays an important role in the learning of school

age children.¹⁰⁸ Hua, the only informant who is not a restaurant owner, said that his parents do not have good command of German, and always had to communicate with school teachers through his sister's translation. Moreover, he also thinks that his parents' meager knowledge about Austrian culture and German language is highly relevant to his disadvantage in school compared to other Austrian children.¹⁰⁹

5.2.1.2. Traditional Ways of Thinking

At least two traditional Chinese ways of thinking may play an important role in the education achievement of the second-generation Chinese. It should be mentioned that their influence in real situations is very much conditioned by their parents' socio-economic status.

In Confucianism, education has high prestige. Scholars are considered as having the highest status in the society. In practice, parents exposed to Confucian tradition put great emphasis on children's education, and would do a great effort to improve children's performance in school. In the United States, the fact that Chinese immigrant children have better education achievement, therefore also better chances in the labor market, could not be explained without taking traditional thinking into consideration. However, in the case of Chinese immigrant restaurateurs' children, this traditional way of thinking does not seem to exert much influence. The immigrant parents do not pay attention to their children's performance in school. Rather, they ask their children to help out after school. Song's father was a school teacher back in China. He said that he came to Austria not only for his own financial betterment, but also for his children's better education opportunities. However, when his business faced a crisis of labor shortage, he still required his daughter's help, the cost of which was her dropping out of university. Confronted with a difficult economic situation, the traditional thinking which exalts education loses its priority.

On the other hand, in the traditional Chinese way of thinking a lot of stress is put

¹⁰⁸ Hilde Weiss, "Sozialstrukturelle Integration der zweiten Generation" (2007): 54.

¹⁰⁹ Interview, 05 July 2008.

on family values. The welfare of a family is given priority over individual achievement.¹¹⁰ Again, in Song's example, the influence of this traditional thinking was clearly shown. She was facing the dilemma between her own studies (or even future career) and the family's business. At last, she gave up her possibility for a mainstream middle-class future and chose to support her family. In some literature, it is pointed out that Chinese women are especially subject to this thinking: they work as unpaid labor in family businesses, doing jobs that are incommensurate with their educational level and professional qualifications,¹¹¹ which could be connected to the sexism in the Chinese culture. In this way, a traditional way of thinking could have a negative effect on immigrant children's education achievement, however, it is still mediated by parents' socio-economic status. When the family is facing a difficult financial situation, children are more likely obliged to sacrifice their individual opportunities for the good of the family.

5.2.1.3. Other Important Factors

In the literature about the second-generation immigrants' social mobility, there are two factors claimed to be highly important, which in my research do not seem to have much influence. They are language skills and strength of ethnic networks.

Regarding language skills, it is pointed out that if immigrant children at home use a language other than the host country's official language, they will have a disadvantage in learning, even though they start school in the host country.¹¹² However, in my informants' statements, they do not think that they had any difficulties in school in terms of language. They claimed that usually within one or two years, they could already speak the language as well as other Austrian children. Many even claimed that German has become their first language, overtaking their mother tongue (usually a Chinese dialect). Only one informant, Hua, said that in school he felt that his German skills were not comparable with other Austrian children. He said that the Austrians know more

¹¹⁰ Min Zhou and John R. Logan, "Returns on Human Capital in Ethnic Enclaves: New York City's Chinatown," *American Sociological Review* 54, No. 5 (1989): 818.

¹¹¹ Min Zhou and John R. Logan (1989): 818.

¹¹² Min Zhou and Yang Sao Xiong (2005): 1148.

sophisticated expressions and have a bigger vocabulary, which is impossible for him to catch up on. Therefore, he had to make more effort to feel even with his peers.

The strength of ethnic community is believed to have a positive effect on immigrant children's education achievement. In the American case, Vietnamese second generation showed prominent upward-mobility, without having parents of advantageous socio-economic status. Family ties and a close connection to ethnic community could be a source of discipline and motivation, encouraging immigrant children to perform better in school.¹¹³ However, this research did not find a similar phenomenon. My informants mostly had close contact with other co-ethnics, especially family members and relatives, they spent time mostly with cousins and co-ethnics of the same age. However, it did not turn out that their close relations served as a source of discipline and motivation. Rather, in latter days, the co-ethnic social capital became one element of their business.

5.2.2. Self-Employment: Downward Social-Mobility?

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, in most quantitative research, second generation's self-employment is seen as a sign of horizontal or even downward social-mobility. Immigrants' self-employment bears an image of low skill, low income, and self-exploitation. In some empirical studies, it is found that second-generation immigrants tend to avoid taking over their parents' business.¹¹⁴ Indeed, if many first generation immigrants endure the chores and bad working conditions in restaurants only because they wish to give their offspring a better future, then the second generation's self-employment could be taken as a failure of integration. However, if we look into the nature of the second generation's restaurants, it is not so easy to make judgments.

Generally speaking, the second-generation Chinese restaurateurs tend to choose another business style instead of inheriting their parents'. A noticeable phenomena in Vienna is the emergence of trendy Chinese (or Asian) restaurants. They have got rid of the corny outlooks of old-style restaurants. Clear and modern design, various styles of

¹¹³ Min Zhou and Yang Sao Xiong (2005): 1148.

¹¹⁴ Maggi W. H. Leung (2003): 116.

ambience, and a novel combination of cuisine characterize these new restaurants. In addition to their appearance, the management style has also experienced a great change. The restaurateurs now gain more leisure for themselves by sharing work load with their personnel, thus they no more work themselves to exhaustion like their parents did. In terms of service, they also advance it to another level where the communication and contact with patrons are highly emphasized.¹¹⁵ With these changes, the second-generation restaurateurs have created a new image of Chinese restaurants, which from the perspective of Austrians no more mean cheap food, low quality, and terrible atmosphere. The image of Chinese restaurateur as a job could be winning positive appraisals. From the perspective of the second-generation restaurateurs themselves, their improved working conditions make their jobs more acceptable. By creating a new style, no matter if it is embodied in the appearance or in the food, a sense of self-fulfillment is nurtured. To conclude, to run a new-style Chinese restaurant, like many second-generation Chinese do, should not be one-sidedly seen as a sign of horizontal or downward social mobility. On the contrary, it could be taken as an alternative way through which the second generation reach a higher social position.

5.2.3. Career Path

Studies of ethnic business revolve around the question why immigrants and some ethnic groups are overrepresented in self-employment. Most of them focus on the first-generation immigrants, and attribute the entrepreneur tendency to cultural characteristics, market opportunities, or structural constraints.¹¹⁶ This research on the second-generation entrepreneurs has found that in addition, "path dependency", which is embedded in the structural conditions, additionally plays an important role in the second generation's decision of self-employment.

First of all, about the question if the second generation's choice of self-employment is determined by some structural factors as in the case of their parents, I did not get any

¹¹⁵ Detailed comparison will be talked about in the section on the second generation's boundary-work.

¹¹⁶ See the discussion in the first chapter, theoretical discussions.

confirmative answers from my informants. According to them, there are basically no difficulties for them to get a job in the labor market (However, in most cases it would be a job in the secondary labor market because of their limited education achievement and lack of apprenticeship). Nevertheless, most of them have not even tried to find a job outside of the restaurant business. Many started restaurant-related work in adolescence and never left. To understand this, two things have to be discussed: limited opportunities in the labor market and comparative advantages in the restaurant business gained by long-term experience.

Among the informants, none have finished tertiary education, and many only finished lower secondary school without even going for an apprenticeship. In the Austrian society where title and profession are highly valued, people with only lower secondary school graduation have a limited number of opportunities in the secondary labor market only, in which no complicated skills are required, and jobs are poorly paid. As Tan mentioned:

*What can I do in Austria? Unless I work for 'foreign companies'. I would rather work for myself instead of working for them. 'Foreign companies' such as Billa or others don't pay well. You only get a meager amount of money. If I work for myself, I will earn much more...*¹¹⁷

He chose to work for himself because other jobs he is qualified for are neither easy nor well paid. His parents' restaurant became a blessing for him, warding him off other poorly paid jobs.

On the other hand, the second generation whose parents own restaurants usually started helping out at a young age: either in their parents' restaurants or in restaurants owned by friends, relatives, or other Chinese in their social networks. Long-term work experience prepared them to continue their career in the same business. They are familiar with every process of the business, and have a comparative advantage over people who are outside of the field and want to join. For example, Lo began at 13 hiring

¹¹⁷ Interview, 13. May 2008.

himself out, but all of his working experience was related to catering business - he was a waiter in Chinese restaurants, a *sushi*-chef, and a barbeque-chef.¹¹⁸ As a result, the operation of catering business was something very familiar to him. He is able not only to "do it", but he can "do it well" at the same time. When asked about why they did not choose other jobs, most of the interviewees gave me similar answers, of which Yeng's statement is an example:

*To run a restaurant is a piece of cake for me, because I grew up in this environment. When my parents arrived, they opened their first restaurant, and later on one after another each two years. I saw how to operate since I was little, therefore for me it's not a bit deal...*¹¹⁹

Evidently, working experience in restaurants is critical in the second generation's decision about future. The option to own their restaurant to some extent ward off jobs with meager salaries and bad working conditions. By being their own bosses, the second generation also win more formal freedom. In this sense, the experience in catering business since childhood can be seen as a form of capital, helping the second generation to live a "better" life in comparison to natives from the same social class. However, that catering-related experience become a capital should also be understood in the context of their inferior position in the society. They come from families without much human and cultural capital, which contributed to their limited education. It is when compared to other alternatives that they are qualified for, self-employment might seem to be the best option. To run a restaurant in itself, no matter from the second generation's perspective or from the perspective of the whole society, is not the cream of the cream.

¹¹⁸ Interview, 28. April 2008.

¹¹⁹ Interview, 14. May 2008.

6. BOUNDARY WORK - IDENTITIES AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

This chapter will explore the second generation Chinese entrepreneurs' "boundary work" through their differentiated styles of doing business. Social differences between generations resulting from various migration experiences lead inevitably to the formation of sub-groups within immigrant communities. Boundaries between groups on the one hand reflect objective social distinctions based on the uneven distribution of resources and opportunities. On the other hand, the existence of boundaries also requires social actors' corresponding acts of connecting with and distancing from other social actors.¹²⁰ Economic activities, among other social acts, constitute one important aspect of an individual's social life, where intensive boundary-negotiation activities take place. Many studies have already shown that economic relations are closely connected to the emergence and salience of group boundaries.¹²¹ However, in the literature about the practice of boundary-drawing and negotiation, economic activities are usually left behind. This chapter will draw upon empirical data to show how the second-generation immigrants maintain boundaries between themselves and other immigrants of the same ethnicity in terms of economic activities.

6.1. SOCIAL BOUNDARIES AND BOUNDARY-WORK

6.1.1. Ethnicity and Social Boundaries

When it comes to discussions of immigrant business, ethnic groups are usually assumed to be the basic unit of analysis, which implies that groups of the same ethnicity are homogeneous. However, apart from ethnicity, there are other social factors contributing to the forming of sub-groups defined by class, gender, life experience etc. Now that it is clear that differences among sub-groups bear on important aspects of their social life, including economic activities, which are actually the focus of studies on immigrant business, it would be naïve to neglect the diversity within ethnic groups.

¹²⁰ Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 113, No. 4 (2008): 975.

¹²¹ Andreas Wimmer (2008): 977-979.

Since Max Weber, several approaches have been proposed to study ethnicity. In Weber's opinion, the prominence of ethnicity in society consists in its affinity with the forming and persistence of political groups.¹²² This position is opposed to the primordialism, which considers ethnicity as based on some "given" characteristics. Weber's stance led to Barth's argument that ethnicity is the product of social processes that generate and maintain boundaries between ethnic groups.¹²³ Later on, scholars as Pierre Bourdieu saw ethnicity as "the outcome of a political and symbolic struggle over the categorical divisions of society",¹²⁴ connecting the formation of ethnic groups to dynamics of power in the social sphere. The institutionalist school believes that institutions from macro to micro levels determine which ethnic distinctions are socially important and emphasized.¹²⁵

Though these theories deal mainly with boundaries between them and do not intend to explore the formation of boundaries within given ethnic groups, they agree on a very important point that ethnic boundaries are not fixed and are always under formation and maintenance. Boundaries vary with time, under different social and political contexts. Boundaries may expand, contract, invert, be trespassed or blurred. It has already been found by empirical studies that the second-generation Chinese and Korean immigrants claim to be Chinese-American and Korean-American rather than just Asian.¹²⁶ Boundary contraction happens in immigrant groups due to different living experiences and an improvement in the social status. This chapter will show that this phenomenon also happens among the Chinese immigrants of different generations in Vienna.

¹²² Max Weber, "Ethnic Groups," in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*, ed. Werner Sollors, Henry B. Cabot, and Anne M. Cabot (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1996), 56.

¹²³ Fredrik Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*, ed. Werner Sollors, Henry B. Cabot, and Anne M. Cabot (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1996).

¹²⁴ Andreas Wimmer (2008): 985.

¹²⁵ Andreas Wimmer (2008): 986.

¹²⁶ Nazli Kibria, "Race, Ethnic Options, and Ethnic Bonds: Identity Negotiations of Second-Generation Chinese and Korean Americans," *Sociological Perspectives* 43, No. 1 (2000).

6.1.2. Boundary Work

Social boundaries are usually understood as categorical. They are the distinctions between social groups whose differences are based on either unequal access to resources and opportunities or to collective representation. Considering the fluid nature of boundaries, scholars propose compensatory concepts for a better understanding of the forming, maintenance, and possibilities of change in social boundaries. Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár differentiate symbolic and social boundaries. In their definition, symbolic boundaries are the conceptual distinctions according to which social actors perform categorization and define the reality. Therefore, they are the basis by which social actors differentiate "us" from "them", and justify their acquirement of status and resources. Only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon, can they overlap with social boundaries.¹²⁷ Andreas Wimmer makes a distinction between social boundaries' categorical and social or behavioral dimensions. The former refers to social classification and collective representation, and the latter to social actors' practices of connecting and distancing vis-à-vis other social groups and actors.¹²⁸

Lamont and Molnár's "symbolic boundaries" and Wimmer's "social or behavioral dimension of social boundaries" are actually dealing with the same critical characteristic of social boundaries at two different levels. On the one hand, Lamont and Molnár talk about the concepts that are appealed to by social actors on a larger scale in the producing and reproducing of social groups. These concepts are shared by the whole society, existing independently from each social group: the values and morals are two good examples. On the other hand, Wimmer talks about an individual's actions in everyday life which represent and reproduce the differences between "us" and "them" on a micro scale. Although they are different in terms of terminology and level of analysis, both concepts revolve around the core characteristic of social boundaries -- the fact that boundaries are the result of a continuous boundary-drawing process, which is brought about by boundary work.

¹²⁷ Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 168-169.

¹²⁸ Andreas Wimmer (2008): 975.

On a micro level, boundary work consists of "the strategies, principles, and practices we use to create, maintain, and modify cultural categories", and at the same time, it is an "intrinsic part of the process of constituting the self".¹²⁹ Michèle Lamont et al. discovered that cultural activities and moral beliefs are usually deployed by individuals to negotiate group boundaries, which is very much related to group- and self-identities.¹³⁰ In her study on Filipina migrant domestic workers and their employers in Taiwan, Pei-Chia Lan depicts the boundary work of both parties in negotiating their ethno-national and class boundaries: preparation of food, arrangement of home space, and protection of privacy are where intensive boundary work takes place.¹³¹ Borrowing the concept of boundary work, this thesis will explore the economic activities of the second-generation Chinese entrepreneurs in Vienna vis-à-vis their first generation counterparts, to show how the distinction within immigrant groups is represented and maintained. Since boundary work is inter-subjective and directs toward the dichotomy of self and other, identities of the actors play an important role and will be discussed in first order.

6.2. IDENTITIES IN-BETWEEN

Being asked about their identities, all second-generation Chinese informants gave me one very certain answer - Chinese. However, during the interviews, it was found that their identities have many more nuances that cannot be described by one single word - Chinese. In general, their identities are between the so-called Chinese and Austrian. In their opinion, being Chinese is determined by racial characteristics and the traditional moral education passed down by the family. Being Austrian, on the other hand, is determined by their living experiences and education in Austria. Nevertheless, a simple concept between Chinese and Austrian may not be able to capture all the important

¹²⁹ Christena Nippert-Eng, *Home and Work: Negotiating Boundaries through Everyday Life* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1995), 7 and Michèle Lamont, *Money, Morals and Manners: The Culture and the French and the American Upper-Middle Class* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992), 11. Cited from Pei-Chia Lan, "Negotiating Social Boundaries and Private Zones: The Micropolitics of Employing Migrant Domestic Workers," *Social Problems* 50, No. 4 (2003): 526.

¹³⁰ Michèle Lamont, John Schmalzbauer, Maureen Waller, and Daniel Weber, "Cultural and Moral Boundaries in the United States: Structural Position, Geographic Location, and Lifestyle Explanations," *Poetics* 24 (1996).

¹³¹ Pei-Chia Lan (2003).

aspects of their identities. The identities have very often a "situated" character, which varies with inter-subjective encounters. Moreover, identities are fluid and are always in re-formation. In different phases of life, impacted by people, culture, and various social institutions around, individuals may develop various identities.

6.2.1. Definitely Chinese?

Most of the informants claimed to be Chinese, because they "look different". In the Austrian society, Asian faces are still the minority and are very often noticeable in most social settings except tourism. Different phenotypes draw attention to immigrants and their offspring, causing a "foreign" perception from perspectives of both the society's majority and the immigrants. In the interview, Ju said:

*I am Chinese, and will always be. It is in my genes, and people can recognize it immediately from my appearance. No matter how long you live in the West, you will never become a Westerner.*¹³²

Richard Alba argues that race creates a bright and uncrossable boundary for people with certain phenotypes, which interferes with the integration of immigrants into the local society.¹³³ The boundary is shown in the reactions of the majority when they meet people with different phenotypical attributes. At the same time, the boundary and reactions rendered by it contribute to an alien identity of immigrants. When I asked Song, one of the interviewees, why she identifies herself as Chinese, she answered:

*Because of my appearance and my culture. There is no problem for me to get along with people here, but my look is so different that people know I am Chinese at the first sight. When I walk in the first district [where most tourism takes place], some people would even talk to me in English.*¹³⁴

¹³² Interview, 30 April 2008.

¹³³ Richard Alba, "Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries: Second-generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, No. 1 (2005): 37-39.

¹³⁴ Interview, 24 May 2008.

The second generation Chinese therefore feel more Chinese (which implies being alien) than Austrian, even though they spent most of their life in Austria. Nazli Kibria suggests that race is "an involuntary sign over which the individual has little or no control, giving off information to others about various aspects of her ethnic identity".¹³⁵ Most of the time, the second-generation Chinese have no influence on the way the society's majority look on them and it facilitates the development of a "Chinese" identity.

The fact that the race is a critical factor in the forming of immigrants' identities has to be understood by looking at the dominant discourse of Nation. In their study on the forming of immigrant identities and collective actions in a receiving society, Ruud Koopmans et al. suggest that "discursive opportunity structures" play an important role.¹³⁶ The term "discursive opportunity structures" refers to dominant discourses regarding Nation. Dominant discourses provide a framework under which immigrants of different races and cultural background are constructed as alien. The development of national discourses cannot be separated from the building of nation states in the modern time. During the process of nation building, the concept of "a common folk" was promulgated, and a common heritage and race was considered as the indispensable element of the nation. Thus, discourses of Nation are exclusive in terms of race.¹³⁷ In contemporary times, despite of the increasing intensity of people's movement across national borders, national discourses still have their overwhelming influence, intimidating the acceptance of aliens and the integration of immigrants. Under these circumstances, immigrants refrain from building identities consistent with the majority of the receiving society.

Though in Austria, especially in Vienna, a large percentage of the population was born "abroad", immigrants were not recognized as major components of the society. Instead, immigrants had been forced to assimilate and take up a "German" identity.¹³⁸ It

¹³⁵ Nazli Kibria (2000): 78-79.

¹³⁶ Ruud Koopmans et al. *Contested Citizenship. Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe* (Minneapolis and London: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2005).

¹³⁷ William A. Barbieri, *Ethics of Citizenship: Immigration and Group Rights in Germany* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1998): 13-18.

¹³⁸ Rüdiger Wischenbart, "National Identity and Immigration in Austria - Historical Framework and

was after the first World War as the old empire collapsed and a new republic was created, nationalism became a founding principle and ethnic homogeneity was included as an indispensable element. An "Austrian" nation was not winning consensus until the establishment of the Second Republic. Again, ethnic homogeneity which did not comply with reality was promulgated.¹³⁹ In the early 1990s, nationalist sentiment was catalyzed by the fall of the Iron Curtain and fear of influx of people from the former Eastern Block. In 1993, new legislations regarding asylum seekers and foreigners came into force, reinforcing a strict distinction between the alien and the native.¹⁴⁰ Study of the development of the discourse of Nation in Austria reveals that immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds are hardly considered as real members of the Austrian society. Thus, the second-generation Chinese refrain from identifying themselves with Austrians due to their obvious "foreign" appearance.

6.2.2. More Austrian?

Though the second generation claim to be Chinese, on many occasions, they point out the "typical" Chinese characteristics in a negative way, trying to distance themselves from them. According to the informants, the Chinese characters are reflected in respects such as ways of thinking, culture, language, lifestyle etc. Sometimes they do not resist interpreting their own behavior by appealing to "typically Chinese" stereotypes. However, they often try to draw a clear boundary between themselves and the "Chinese" who embody the typical stereotypes. In this case, Western or Austrian characters are often taken as points of reference, and the second generation claim to be more Austrian than Chinese to a certain extent. The strategies of identifying vs. differentiating depend very much on the context in which their identities become an important issue. Whether the Chinese characteristics fit in the Western society also has an impact on the second generation's acceptance or refusal of characteristics.

Political Dispute," in *The Politics of Immigration in Western Europe*, ed. Martin Baldwin-Edwards et al. (Essex: Frank Cass, 1994): 78-80.

¹³⁹ Rüdiger Wischenbart (1994): 82.

¹⁴⁰ Rüdiger Wischenbart (1994): 86-87.

Generally speaking, the Chinese are considered to be hard-working, saving, and filial. Most second generation would like to admit that they bear these characteristics. In the interview, Song mentioned:

In terms of lifestyle, I am still very traditional. Those foreigners try to earn their own living after they turn 18, and don't care about their parents at all. But for me it's impossible. My family is very important to me.

(...)

W: What is the most important influence that your father has had on you?

S: I think it's being diligent and saving.¹⁴¹

In Song's eyes Westerners "do not care about their parents at all", but the Chinese do. And in this respect, she is very Chinese. Traditionally, Chinese people have big families composed of several generations, which conforms to the idea that young people should always take care of their lineal elder family members as a form of reciprocity. Though in the present Chinese society the family structure has experienced a great change from extended to nuclear families, linear family members still maintain close relations and the filial concept remains intact. The filial virtue is very often drawn on by the Chinese to confirm their ethnic identities. However, despite of different practices, filial duty is also a cherished value in Western societies, which does contravene Song's interpretation.¹⁴² Actually, it is because filial duty has a position in the moral system in Western societies, second-generation Chinese immigrants do not face a struggle to accept this value. On the contrary, it belongs to the conceptual tool kit that the immigrants invoke to give credit for their ethnic identities.

Regarding their business style, the second-generation Chinese represent different degrees of adherence to the traditional Chinese spirit. Lo owns a restaurant which he has taken over after his parents. Presently he appears to be the owner of the restaurant, but his parents, siblings, and other family members are still working in the restaurant. Therefore, the restaurant still has a strong touch of a family business, which is

¹⁴¹ Interview, 24 May 2008.

¹⁴² Simon Keller, "Four Theories of Filial Duty," *Philosophical Quarterly* 56 (2006).

intertwined with its ambience and work ethic. When asked about his perception of Chinese characteristics, Lo mentioned:

For example, the Austrians work according to a schedule: they usually begin at 9 or 10 and end at 19 or 20. This is life. To take myself as an example: in my working experience, I used to work from 10 in the morning till 10 or 11 at night. That can only be called hiring yourself out rather than having a life. Thus I could only have fun after work. So I was almost every day all night up. Otherwise I wouldn't have got any chance to hang out with friends. Now I am the boss, but still don't have my own life. My employers can have a rest, but I can't. Therefore I still club all night and only sleep one or two hours a day.¹⁴³

Though working in a Chinese restaurant or as a Chinese restaurant owner implies a heavy work load and sacrifice of personal life, it seems that Lo does not despise it. On the contrary, he seems to take it for granted that it is a Chinese style of working, which complies with his ethnic identity, while contradicting it to the Austrian style. Lo accepted the demanding job and at the same time attributed it to his Chinese part of mentality. In his restaurant due to the ambience created by work colleagues (parents and other senior family members), the traditional Chinese work ethic, being extremely diligent and sacrificing pleasure and indulgence, is emphasized. Besides, according to Lo, his restaurant is not yet systematically organized, therefore he has to be present during opening hours to take care of everything. Moreover, in order to save personnel costs, the owner and family members of small businesses are obliged to carry more workloads. Work ethic compounded with realistic business considerations makes up the context in which some second generation Chinese re-confirm some traditional Chinese ways of thinking as an intrinsic part of their identities.

Nevertheless, for those second-generation Chinese restaurant owners whose business is moving away from family-style operation, they have very different opinions about the traditional Chinese working attitudes. Being hard-working and saving has lost its role in their business operation, therefore they get a chance to move away from their Chinese ethnic identities. Tan owns a traditional Chinese restaurant in a residential

¹⁴³ Interview, 28 April 2008.

neighborhood in Vienna that he has been in charge of for 16 years already. While in terms of interior design and food the restaurant has not changed much, Tan had introduced deployment of personnel different from most old-style Chinese restaurants and is preparing to hand it over to the younger generation in his family. He hired a manager to oversee the daily operation of the restaurant, and thus wins more free time for himself. When talking about the reasons, he mentioned:

*In the beginning I wanted to expand my restaurant, or to open a new one. However, in those years life was not bad, so I thought I don't have to be that hard working. The business has always been quite good in this restaurant. Besides, I like traveling and vacationing, roaming around the world. I don't think I would have time and energy to open another restaurant.(...) To run a restaurant is much more work than doing other jobs, especially when you are the boss. But now I don't care very much about how much money I make. It's ok to earn less but to have an easier life.*¹⁴⁴

When Tan made such statements, he had a very clear point of reference -- the stereotype of hard-working and fortune-oriented Chinese immigrants. Based on his financial betterment and a Westernized management style, Tan can afford to subscribe to a different work ethic -- a more Westernized, leisure-oriented one. By doing so, he removes a very important element of the "Chinese identity" and differentiates himself from other Chinese. Another informant -- Yeng, an owner of two trendy Chinese restaurants and an exotic club, said:

*Many of my relatives were farmers in China before they came to Austria. They came, doing several jobs, and then opened their own restaurants in the suburbs. They may have had their first vacation after working everyday for ten years. Their goal was to buy land, to build their own houses, and to invest. (...) As far as I am concerned, I am more relaxed. I don't compel myself to make a certain amount of money everyday. In my opinion, life is much more important. Even if I have to stay ten hours a day in the restaurant, I hope I can enjoy every minute of these ten hours.*¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Interview 13 May 2008.

¹⁴⁵ Interview, 14 May 2008.

In Yeng's own interpretation, he is very different from his relatives who moved from China to Austria, for whom the only goal of life is to make money. For him, the quality of life has priority over work. Even during work, he hopes that every minute can be enjoyable. By asserting this hedonist way of thinking, Yeng, like Tan, claimed an identity different from the first-generation Chinese immigrants who are much more traditional and usually embody those stereotypical traits. The context in which certain cultural traits, in this case, hard-working and saving, draw attention has important influence on the forming and re-forming of second-generation Chinese' ethnic identities. The examples showed that when the restaurants are less family-business oriented and are managed in a Western way, the second generation immigrant owners have more room to maneuver their ethnic identities by underplaying some stereotypical cultural traits in their business styles.

In addition to traditional virtues and work ethic, some stereotypically negative Chinese characteristics are very often mentioned by the second-generation Chinese: cunning, lawless, complicated, interest-oriented, superficial, selfish, to name just a few. These characters are stated in contrast to their Western or Austrian counterparts. When the second generation talk about their opinions about the Chinese in Austria or the Chinese in general, the Chinese and Austrian characters usually appear in pair: the cunning Chinese/the moral Austrian, complicated/simple, fake/sincere, etc. The stereotypes are usually reinforced along with the second generation's increasing China experience. Because of the rapid economic growth in China, some second generation Chinese started to do business in China or with China. During the encounters with the mainland Chinese, the second-generation further developed their stereotypes of Chinese which at the same time could be deployed to des-identify their Chineseness.

Chen owns presently 4 restaurants in Vienna. Since 1998 he has been to China for business several times. In 1998 he started ice cream parlors in his hometown Qingtian. Later on, he established chain diners in Chengdu. In the meantime he also imported apparels from China to Austria. Recalling his China experience, he said that doing business in China is far more complicated than Austria. In Austria everything is regulated by the government, therefore businessmen only have to follow the rules. Prices are transparent and fraud does not take place often. However, in China

legalization and institutionalization of business activities are still to be desired, which leaves chances for people involved to benefit. Chen said that Chinese are not honest and will take advantage of you if they have a chance. In his opinion, he is someone who grew up in Austria and is far more too simple-minded to play mind games with the Chinese.¹⁴⁶

Yeng lived in Beijing for four years after he finished *Gymnasium*. He started a bar with several friends in the present "bar district" in Beijing. When asked about if he likes China, he said:

*In comparison with Austria, China is the heaven for capitalism, and there are more chances for business. (...) However, to get along with the people there is a problem. I was in China for many years, but did not make many real friends. It seems that people only care about building connections. They only care if you are rich and will be helpful to them. They take advantage of each other. Among my good friends, only one is Chinese.*¹⁴⁷

In Chen and Yeng's examples, negative stereotypes of the Chinese are rediscovered and reiterated. Chinese are unlawful, cunning, and could take advantage of others anytime. Moreover, Chinese are fake and superficial because they cherish interest more than friendship. Encountering these negative Chinese characters, the second-generation Chinese growing up in Austria tend to emphasize the Austrian marks that they carry. Negative Chinese characteristics serve as disidentifiers for the second-generation Chinese to downplay their Chinese identities, and at the same time to highlight their similarities to the Austrians.

In addition, language skills, lifestyles, dress and demeanor are other important (dis)identifiers deployed by the second generation in their identity-confirming processes.¹⁴⁸ Language skills are among the most easily detectable ones. Which languages one can manage and which ones not provide very clear anchor points for the second generation's identities. The first-generation Chinese either do not speak much

¹⁴⁶ Interview, 21 May 2008.

¹⁴⁷ Interview, 14 May 2008.

¹⁴⁸ Nazli Kibira (2000): 87.

German or have a very strong accent. The second generation, on the contrary, not only claim to have no accent but also consider German as their first language. Mandarin Chinese, a very important mark of ethnic Chinese identities, is seen as a foreign language that needs to be acquired by making effort by most interviewees. Being able to speak German perfectly while having limited knowledge in Mandarin Chinese helps the second generation Chinese to move towards the Austrian end in their identity spectrum.

As for dress and demeanor, Tan's statement provides us a good example. He began to have more contacts with China after he started his construction business in China. He sees himself as rather different from the Chinese:

Of course I am different. At the first sight people can tell that I am different, that I didn't grow up in China. I look like someone who's grown up abroad, because people who grow up here [Austria] have a different quality from the Chinese. Even if you don't talk, people can tell as well. In many aspects we are different, such as dress.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand, Lo mentioned how he is different from the first generation Chinese immigrants in terms of demeanor. He said:

I don't have much contact with the older generation, because I don't like them. The younger new comers are the same. My friends are mostly people with a similar background as mine, because their temperaments and ways of thinking are similar to mine. I don't like the old generation. If you go out with them, they would be shouting and yelling. That's really embarrassing.¹⁵⁰

Based on detectable differences, the second-generation Chinese re-confirm their different identities visualized by dress and demeanor. It is again worth a mention that their claim of being more Austrian than Chinese is situated and should be contextualized. Tan was especially conscious of his visible differences while he was among Mainland Chinese. The fact that his talk implies a sense of superiority of being like an Austrian

¹⁴⁹ Interview, 13 May 2008.

¹⁵⁰ Interview, 28 April 2008.

could be understood by looking into the appreciation of Western modernity in China. As for Lo, he knows that some Chinese demeanor is improper in many social settings in Austria and thus avoids contacts with both the first generation and the newcomers.

6.2.3. Summary

The picture of the second generation's identities is getting clear in this section. On the one hand, they claim to be Chinese, which I try to understand in the context of race, a powerful categorizing social system, and Austria's discourse of Nation, which is mono-ethnic and exclusive. On the other hand, the second generation's identities are moving between Chinese and Austrian these two extremes. Sometimes they subscribe to Chinese identities based on their believing in certain values and their embodying of certain ethnic characteristics. However, more often they abandon their Chinese identities completely and submit to Austrian identities. This thesis argues that identities are situated and are always in a process of "becoming". The fact that the second generation feel sometimes more "Chinese" or more "Austrian" should be understood in the context where the identities become an important issue. The examples have shown that the value system of the host country, social activities, and encounters with co-ethnics with a different social background are all important factors that influence the actors' identities at the moment. Nevertheless, it also has to be pointed out that the second generation definitely do not identify themselves with other Chinese immigrants.

6.3. IDENTITIES AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES - DRAWING BOUNDARIES BY BUSINESS

Asked about the first association that comes to their mind in connection with Chinese immigrants, the first thing most Westerners would probably think of would be traditional Chinese restaurants. Various ethnic elements are usually indispensable for stereotypical Chinese restaurants: a façade with Chinese calligraphy showing the name of the restaurant, stone-carved statues at the entrance, giant porcelain vases with artificial flowers, wooden ceiling with rough carvings of dragons and phoenixes, colorful lanterns hanging over tables, just to name a few. The visual design shows the mutual stereotyping process between the Westerners and Chinese immigrants: On the

one hand, Chinese owners choose to present an oriental ambience at a low cost according to their imagined Chinese image in the Western mind. On the other hand, the Westerners gradually get accustomed to the Chinese style (or at least, the Chinese style in the Western setting) that is over colorful, lacking order and other fine qualities.

Nevertheless, with the emerging variation within the Chinese immigrant community (especially across generation), Chinese restaurants are also experiencing diversification. Take Austria for example, its second generation Chinese immigrants spend their most malleable years receiving Austrian education and learning Austrian culture, and thus develop widely different business styles that are reflected not only in visual design and culinary styles but also in abstract concepts and management skills. They still position their restaurants as Chinese or Asian, but at the same time try to create a new image of Chinese food, be it "more traditional" or fusion. Ethnic elements still exist in their restaurants, but are deployed in a more sophisticated and subtle way. Starting off from this phenomenon, this section will elaborate on the second-generation Chinese restaurant owners and their businesses. How are their businesses different from the first generation's? What are the important factors that contribute to the differences? What is the relation between their identities and business styles? These questions will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

6.3.1. Same Business but Different Styles

Observing the Chinese restaurants in Vienna and dividing them roughly into two groups -- those owned by the first generation immigrants and those owned by the second generation, several pairs of contrasts can be found. In addition to the perceivable ones such as interior design and food, there are differences concerning management, social interaction, social capital, and cultural concepts. All of them can be connected to the social actors' immigrant background and socio-economic positions.

6.3.1.1. Work/Life

The first generation Chinese immigrants devote themselves fully to their work, because their main goal is to save money and start their own business or to purchase

real estate back in China. They endure overtime and sacrifice both weekends and holidays, in order to realize their dreams sooner. The second generation on the other hand put much more emphasis on their own life. Work is only a part of life, and besides work one needs to have his own time for entertainment and self-fulfillment. Many of the second generation say that they would rather make less money and have more free time than sell their souls for money. Moreover, their ways of thinking are also reflected in how they treat their employees. Many second-generation owners not only arrange relatively generous rest time during work days but also introduce regular holidays, which is unthinkable of for their first generation counterparts.

6.3.1.2. Front- and Back-stage Differentiation

Erving Goffman differentiates occasions where individuals make "performances" into "front-stage" and "back-stage".¹⁵¹ For restaurant owners, restaurants during mealtime are their front-stage where they perform in front of their audience, the patrons. Back-stage would be kitchens and restaurants during rest-time where only team members, their employees and helping-out family members, are present. During the interviews and informal contacts with informants, I noticed that the second-generation owners maintain a conscious separation between the two.

The interviews with second-generation owners were usually, on their request, arranged either in their free time, or otherwise in their offices separate from restaurants, or somewhere outside. While I tried to contact Song, I told her that I can also go to her restaurant during the mealtime, but she refused immediately, implying that it would be improper or even impolite to her patrons. Another interviewee, Tan, also insisted that we meet in a café in the city center, since our presence in the restaurant during business hours could disturb the patrons. Interestingly, the first-generation informants did not have the same concern. Mong, a Chinese buffet restaurant owner, asked me to come over anytime during his business hours, and said that he would find some time in-between for my interview. Fu, asked me to go to his restaurant as well, but at a time when the restaurant is "not that busy". While waiting for Fu in his restaurant, I

¹⁵¹ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Doubleday: Anchor Books, 1959).

experienced a "performance" in a setting without the separation between front- and back-stage.

Fu's restaurant is located in the first district with white-collar workers and affluent tourists as its target group. He took over the restaurant from his former boss who invested in the interior design in order to differentiate the restaurant from other Chinese diners. When I arrived, Fu's wife was serving food and asked me to wait at a table among other customers. At the same time, her 5-year-old child and her father went through the restaurant several times, talking to her about something not concerning the business. After some patrons left, Fu's wife took her lunch to one of the tables close to me and started talking to me while enjoying her food. She talked to me in mandarin Chinese loudly, complaining about her long working hours and never-ending chores. It seems that Fu's wife did not worry about her patrons' reaction to her demeanor. The back-stage performance which the second-generation owners try to keep away from the front-stage was shown bluntly in front of the audience. Though different with other Chinese dinners in terms of design and ambience, Fu's restaurant keeps an authentic touch of traditional Chinese dinners -- showing family interactions and uncovered private life in front of patrons.

6.3.1.3. Manual Work/Management

The ways how the first- and the second- generation owners define their work are also different. Fu, a first-generation Chinese immigrant who came to Austria 20 years ago, runs his restaurant mainly with the help of his wife. When he cannot find qualified workers, he usually plays several roles at the same time -- he is the cook, the waiter, and even the dishwasher. Even though he is a boss now, he still keeps the ways of thinking he used to have back when he hired himself out. He does everything by himself, primarily, out of financial reasons, and on the other hand this way is abiding by his Chinese work ethic.

Unlike the first generation, the second generation tend to see their main task as "managing" their restaurants. Yeng owns two trendy restaurants and one club. It is impossible for him to take care of a business of this scale by himself only. He hired four

managers to supervise the daily operation of his business so that he himself not only have more freedom but also can concentrate on the managerial level. He does not cook by himself, like Fu does, but discusses the menus with the chefs, trying to catalyze new ideas. He does not serve patrons by himself, but does socialize with them in order to forge customers' loyalty. Another restaurant owner, Tan, has been employing a manager for several years and presently prepares to hand over his business to his nephews. He only comes to the restaurant several times a week, but the interior design, repositioning of the restaurant, and pricing were developed under his close supervision. For the second-generation owners, their work is no more all-inclusive, but rather focused on the "managerial" level.

6.3.1.4. Definition of Business: Food/Service

The first generation consider their restaurants merely as places providing Chinese food, therefore they focus mainly on food and its price. Mong, a first-generation owner of a Chinese buffet compared Chinese and Western food during the interview. In his opinion, for Western food dining atmosphere is pivotal, however, for Chinese food, taste is the most important. Therefore, he did not believe that revamping his restaurant would bring him more revenue; he believed that the adjustment of prices would be more effective.¹⁵² The first-generation owners do not have much interaction with their patrons: what they provide is merely: greetings and serving food. Consumption in the first generation's restaurants are simple and clear: ordering, eating, and paying the bills. The whole process is finished within a short time in an uncomplicated manner. In Mong's restaurant, he cooks immediately after the customers have brought their self-chosen foodstuffs to him. During the cooking process the customers usually wait in front of him, however, "*guten Appetit*" is usually the only sentence he says to them.

On the contrary, the second generation see their culinary business as much more than food only. For them, dining also means enjoying and taking rest. As a result, they pay attention to many other aspects such as ambience, service, and communication. Yeng criticized the "lousy" atmosphere in Chinese diners in general and emphasized the

¹⁵² Interview, 08 June 2008.

importance of having an enjoyable dining ambience. Lo wants to give his hot-pot restaurant a pub-like touch, so that his patrons can feel more relaxed. Furthermore, the second generation consider good service as the key aspect of food business. Yeng is of the opinion that patrons have to be "taken care of". He greets his guests and spends time to talk with them in order to get contacts with them. Lo mentioned that most of Western customers are not familiar with Chinese hot pot, so it is very important to give them advice and teach them basic cooking skills. On the day Ju's interview took place, an owner of three trendy Chinese restaurants, a family was celebrating one member's birthday in Ju's restaurant. After the birthday tune, Ju took out a bottle of Champaign as a present and joined the family in celebration. Obviously, the frequency and intensity of interactions between clients and restaurant owners in second generation's case far exceed the first generation. The second generation tend to make restaurants become places where feelings are created, enjoyed, and consumed.

Some other apparent differences between the first and the second generation can also be understood based on their different concepts of restaurant business. Firstly, the second generation point out the importance of developing business concepts according to locality and demands of target groups. The first generation usually run neighborhood diners that provide standardized cheap food, and do not take into account differences between customers and their demands. On the contrary, the second generation decide the positioning of their restaurants by considering the locality and corresponding target groups. Chen owns several restaurants of various styles scattered in different Viennese districts. He justified his business judgment by saying that location is always the first consideration. For example, he chose to open a sushi bar in a shopping mall because his main clients would be families who demand on fast-serving more than delicacy. Another restaurant he opened recently is located in an office building, therefore he offers exquisite Chinese dishes and an indolent aura for stylish white-collar workers after work.

Secondly, drinks play different roles in the first generation's and the second generation's restaurants. In most diners or buffets run by the first generation, meals are cheap and crass. Most customers finish their meals rapidly, with at most one drink, and do not stay long. In opposition to them, restaurants run by the second generation have

more patrons willing to stay longer for a rest or to spend time with their friends. In this case, drinks are indispensable in fermenting a pleasant ambience. Tan introduced cocktails and various kinds of alcoholic drinks in his restaurant. Combined with proper music and better interior design, his restaurant attracts quite a few younger customers. Lo also stressed the importance of alcoholic drinks in his business. He said that dining in his hot-pot restaurant is a new experience for many Western patrons, therefore, "having fun" is a unique selling point. And only with the help of alcohol can the "fun" element be accomplished. It is worth to mention that to provide a wide selection of alcoholic drinks, especially wine, takes a certain degree of knowledge in the Western alcohol culture, which cannot be easily acquired by most first generation immigrants.

6.3.1.5. Factors to Explain the differences

The paragraphs above sketch some apparent differences between restaurants owned by the first- and the second-generation Chinese immigrants. In addition to the visible parts such as interior design and selection of food, there is divergence in other aspects deeply concerning the ideas of business and life style. This paragraph will try to explain these differences by connecting them to uneven distribution of resources among generations.

By resources I refer to all the necessary material or immaterial means that people need for their betterment in terms of economic and social status. In the case of differences between the first- and the second-generation immigrants, the most influential resources are language skills, knowledge of the local culture, and social networks. Uneven possession of or access to these resources contributes to different understanding of business and the corresponding everyday practices.

Firstly, language skills and knowledge of the local culture play a critical role in determining business possibilities. As mentioned, the first generation define their business simply as providing "cheap food". And this can partly be explained by their deficiency in German language and lack of knowledge about the Austrian culture. Fu, a first generation owner, expressed his sense of inferiority as opposed to the second generation in business operation. He understands very well that if he wants to upgrade

the restaurant to get rid of the price-war among Chinese diners, there will be a lot of obstacles due to his unfavorable class position. His restaurant is a refurbished and westernized one, mainly serving white-collar workers and tourists. Even though it already has a better taste and enjoys a better image, Fu worries about its future. He said that he can only maintain the restaurant as it was when he took it over. Any further improvement requires fine taste and knowledge of key customers which he does not have. Taste and knowledge of culture belong to the "cultural capital" category, which is passed down by family or institutions, being deployed to consolidate certain social actors' superior positions.¹⁵³ He is also conscious of the importance of good service and getting contacts with patrons, but he is at the same time very well aware of the limits put on him by his restricted German skills. Moreover, he knows that for a high-end restaurant a good selection of wine is necessary, but he cannot do anything about it except anticipating that his daughter who is growing up in Austria will one day be able to bring some changes.

On the other hand, the second generation spent their most malleable years in Austria. In addition to the German language, to a certain extent they also share the Austrian culture with the locals. Their idea of a restaurant as a mixture of food, service, and ambience is actually realized with the help of their relatively advantageous cultural capital. First of all, creating a pleasant ambience and interior design depends very much on the understanding of the lifestyle and taste of target groups. Yeng compared himself with the first generation and came to the conclusion that he has a lot of advantages because he knows locals of his age very well. He calls himself a "dink" (double income no kids) and has a middle-class lifestyle. He hangs out with Austrian friends and knows their likes and dislikes. Therefore, he has a very clear picture of his target group, including what they want and what they need. Without long-term immersion in the Austrian society, the acquirement of knowledge of taste, culture, and locals' lifestyle would be hardly possible. The knowledge of the wine culture is another clear example.

¹⁵³ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986): 47-51.

Secondly, "service", which is very much emphasized by many second-generation owners, cannot be brought about without the owners' and the personnel's good command of German. In many restaurants run by the second-generation owners, interaction with patrons exceeds far beyond greetings and taking orders. Lo told me that everyday when he comes to work he firstly informs himself about what foodstuffs there are in the restaurant. Then he can come up with new combinations of foodstuffs to fulfill the clients' special needs, which is considered by him as a very efficient way to please clients and build connections with them. Therefore, the communication in his restaurant is intensive, and it requires much more than basic German. Ju, another second-generation owner even sits down with his regular patrons, has a drink with them together and talks about everything possible. In this respect, the German education the second generation received is an important source of their cultural capital, helping them develop business on a higher level.

Finally, career path and migration experience also influence some main differences between the first- and the second-generation. The first generation come to Austria for a very clear purpose: to pursue economic betterment. They might expect to save enough money and then return to China or to stay in Austria which can provide their offspring with better education and higher living standards. Self-employment is the easiest way for them to accumulate fortune and reach their goals. Therefore, they devote themselves to their work and do not put any emphasis on leisure or other aspects of life that are contradictory to their goals. We only see the first-generation Chinese working everyday; overtime and self-exploitation are ubiquitous. In opposition to them, for the second generation, "entrepreneurship" means not only a choice among bad choices, but also a possibility leading to self-fulfillment. It is undeniable that self-employment is not a highly-regarded option in the Austrian society, and many members of the second generation enter self-employment due to their limited education and professional skills. However, it is a way for them to stay away from poorly-paid jobs that form a mobility trap for the working class. By pursuing self-employment, the second generation win more freedom and also accumulate financial capital for their future career. For example, Ju has extended his business to fruit import from some Asian countries, and Tan has started his construction company in China. Thus, in their business, work is usually not everything, and the balance between work and life is emphasized as well. They do not

do all the work by themselves, but are willing to hire people overseeing the daily operation, so that they not only have more free time, but can also concentrate on the conceptual level of their businesses or on their future development. This confirms with the meaning of "entrepreneurship" for them as well.

6.3.1.6. Summary

This section describes some noticeable and important differences of operation styles between the first- and the second-generation Chinese restaurant owners. It also tries to explain the differences by looking at related social factors, especially cultural capital, career path, and migration experience. In short, the section deals with the "objective" differences and looks for "objective" reasons. It is pointed out that different business styles embody immigrants' unequal access to resources and opportunities, which makes them belong to different social groups. However, as Andreas Wimmer argues, social boundaries have two dimensions, one categorical and the other social or behavioral. "Only when the two schemes coincide, when ways of seeing the world correspond to ways of acting in the world, shall I speak of a social boundary."¹⁵⁴ The next section will thus talk about the other dimension of social boundaries -- the subjective activities, by looking at the second generation's boundary-work.

6.3.2. "We Do It Differently Because We Are Different"

As discussed in the section on the second generation Chinese restaurant owners' identities, the second generation identify themselves as Chinese and non-Chinese simultaneously. But they by no means consider the first generation as equals, and quite often stress the differences between them. In addition to subjective interpretations, how are these identity differences translated into concrete social activities, in this case, business activities? How are they connected? And how are the conceptual/ideological differences embodied in the material world? This section will deal with these questions. Based on different types of boundary-work deployed by informants, three types of boundaries will be proposed: cultural boundaries, professional boundaries, and moral

¹⁵⁴ Andreas Wimmer (2008): 975.

boundaries. It should be mentioned that actors do not choose the type of boundaries they draw deliberately. Rather, their boundary-work is conditioned by their socio-economic positions (which are decisive to their access to economic and cultural capital), working experience, and the constraints of their businesses. By looking at cases of Yeng, Ju, Lo, and Song, the interwoven relationship between types of boundaries and the factors mentioned above will be shown.

Several second-generation restaurant owners agree upon one critical understanding of the Chinese restaurant market in Vienna: the market is saturated and the business has to find a way out. In the period after China's opening in the late 1970s and before the introduction of the first complete package of foreigner laws in Austria, the number of Chinese immigrants in Austria tripled. The immigrating Chinese were usually farmers or low-skilled laborers who could not find jobs in formal economy, therefore most of them entered the restaurant business. With the influx of Chinese immigrants, the number of Chinese restaurants soared from around 300 to more than 800 all around Austria. (see the discussion in the section on Chinese in Austria.) Due to their limited German skills and knowledge of restaurant operation, most immigrant entrepreneurs followed the easiest mode to start their business: they started up family diners in residential neighborhoods, serving standardized and cheap food. These restaurants usually looked more or less the same, decorated with brummagem ethnic items. Since there were no prominent differences among the Chinese diners, the fierce competition that came along with the growth of restaurants turned into a cruel price war. When everything revolved around low-price, other aspects of the food business were neglected. Thus, a "Chinese" restaurant achieved notoriety for its bad quality, unhealthy food, poor hygiene, and improper ambience, which forged a strong working class image.¹⁵⁵ The bad image of traditional Chinese restaurants was despised by many second-generation restaurateurs, which can be shown in their talks:

Those Chinese people sank their own business. If in the beginning they had risen the price gradually, then Chinese food would have been gaining a better image. However, the fact is

¹⁵⁵ Ching Lin Pang, "Business Opportunity or Food Pornography? Chinese restaurant Ventures In Antwerp," *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 8, No. 1 (2002): 153.

*that all the Chinese who came later took part in the price-war. The price became lower and lower, and a meal with a drink in a Chinese restaurant became even cheaper than McDonald's. What can I say? With 3.90 Eur you can get a meal with a coke. Do they make any money out of it? Can these **psychos** run restaurants? It's really stunning...(Lo)¹⁵⁶*

*Maybe 20 years ago, when there were not so many Chinese restaurants, having Chinese food was in. Now there are Chinese diners everywhere. It's like having a burger in McDonald's. In my eyes, Chinese food is very low-class. It's the last choice compared to other dining options. The whole situation has been screwed by **Chinese immigrants** in Austria. (Tan)¹⁵⁷*

*When I developed the concept of this restaurant with my brother 6 or 7 years ago, I did want to distinguish my restaurant from those run by the **Chinese**. There were really too many of them. For some time, as long as you named your restaurant "China Restaurant", it would be seen as a low-class restaurant. There were more and more Chinese in Austria, and they all did restaurants which looked exactly the same. All of their restaurants had dragons, phoenixes, and lanterns as decorations. **Foreigners** [Austrians] might prefer cheap meals, but these restaurants were really low-class places. (Yeng)¹⁵⁸*

The second generation's resentment towards the "low-class" image of Chinese dinners is closely interwoven with their perception of the owners, the first generation Chinese immigrants. The second-generation Chinese lamented that the "Chinese" in Austria not only spoiled their chance, but also damaged the image of Chinese restaurant as a whole. For the second generation, "Chinese" are those who came from China without much education, near-sighted, and do not know the right way to realize their interest. They are even called "psychos" or are blamed for "screwing the whole business". Therefore, when considering starting their own business, the second generation first think about how to get rid of the negative connotation of China or Chinese, with which they do not identify themselves. Based on a different social position and unequal access to resources, the second generation have developed different strategies.

¹⁵⁶ Interview, 28 April 2008.

¹⁵⁷ Interview, 13 May 2008.

¹⁵⁸ Interview, 14 May 2008.

6.3.2.1. Cultural Boundaries

Yeng came to Austria with his parents when he was 6. Compared to other Chinese immigrants, his parents were relatively well off and had a wide social network in Europe. They had relatives and friends in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Yeng's parents opened their restaurants immediately after arrival. Unlike other Chinese, they did not experience the whole process of hiring themselves out and saving. The business was rather good, and they opened several restaurants in Vienna during their stay in Austria. Because of their comfortable economic status, Yeng and his brother had an untroubled childhood and adolescence, without being required to spend much time in their parents' restaurants. Hence, Yeng and his brother had good grades at school, and unlike other children of restaurant owners, Yeng went to *Gymnasium*, while his brother went to an international school after their primary education. Yeng did not go for university afterwards, rather, he spent one year traveling in Europe and four years afterwards studying Chinese in Beijing, running a pub with friends, while at the same time his brother went to university for art studies and became an artist commuting between Tokyo and Austria.

When he decided to open his first restaurant, he discussed the matter with his brother, and the last thing they wanted to do was to have an ordinary Chinese diner. In his talks, he usually took Chinese diners in general as a point of reference, which he tried hard to move away from and to distinct his effort from. Firstly, he was very clear about the selection of a location. He chose the 6th district in Vienna, one street away from the shopping boulevard, *Mariahilferstrasse*, and the museum compound, *Museumsquartier*. He said that most Chinese have family restaurants in residential neighborhoods, whose main patrons are close-by families. He knew that if he wanted to do something different, first of all, the restaurant would have to be in city center, where there is a bigger variety of possible clienteles, whose existence gives restaurants with different styles the possibility to exist. At the same time, he commented on many Chinese restaurateurs' ignorance of the importance of locality. "Many people underestimate difficulties," he said, because they do not think about the relation between target groups and locality.

Secondly, he wanted a restaurant that neither looks nor feels like a regular Chinese restaurant. In his opinion, a "Chinese restaurant" has a negative connotation. If your restaurant reminds customers of a "Chinese restaurant", it means it is categorized into a lower class. Now Yeng owns two restaurants standing side by side, and both have a simple and modern design. One, according to magazine reports, is a bright building composed of two colors, gray and white, and has a touch of a student's canteen. There are a red-painted cocktail bar and an open kitchen, where customers can see how hand-made noodles are produced by chefs. His other restaurant has more Chinese ethnic symbols, but brummagem decorations used by ordinary Chinese diners are definitely not to be seen. He commented on the ordinary Chinese restaurants and their owners: "They started from washing dishes (...) They only know *that kind* of restaurant. The atmosphere in Chinese restaurants is really terrible, but none of them think about it."¹⁵⁹ By having a different design, he opposes himself to the "Chinese" in general. The Chinese "only know *that kind* of restaurant" because their background in China and work experience in Austria did not allow them to come up with other ideas of restaurant business. On the contrary, Yeng and his brother have a very different life from the Chinese: the education they received and the knowledge they gained during their stay in foreign countries make them different people, which can be seen in their basic idea of business.

Thirdly, Yeng also talked about how he intended to make a difference in terms of food. According to him, most Chinese restaurateurs did not acquire any culinary skills until they came to Austria. They learned how to cook when they hired themselves out in restaurants. Most restaurants provide the same food, therefore, the Chinese who learned by doing have very limited culinary skills. Yeng said, "there are no real Chinese chefs in Austria. The so-called chefs only learned their skills after they came here. (...) They don't have their own ideas and are not willing to develop new varieties. They just memorized what they saw in restaurants."¹⁶⁰ Yeng himself did not choose to start a restaurant that only provides Chinese food, because "there are no real Chinese chefs". Instead, he offers several styles of cuisine from different Asian regions. He tried to put

¹⁵⁹ Interview, 14 May 2008.

¹⁶⁰ Interview, 14 May 2008.

Chinese, Thai, and Japanese cuisine together. "Asian cuisine does not only mean Chinese food and sushi after all. (...) Everyday I sat down with four of my chefs for two months and discussed the menus until we came up with good ideas." He stressed his taste of exotic cuisine and his emphasis on creativity, which makes him entirely different from the Chinese owners who do not give any thought to food taste and variety. Concerning culinary skills, he hires professional chefs most of whom are not Chinese, but Thai and Pilipino. For example, his main Chef comes from Thailand and had been working in a star-rated hotel.

Lastly, Yeng emphasizes the importance of service and interaction with patrons. He is of the opinion that patrons have to be "taken care of". When he goes to the restaurants, he usually spends time to greet customers and make small talks. According to his observation, Vienna is not a big city and only has a limited number of people who go to Chinese restaurants. Therefore, it is extremely important to gain contacts with them to forge loyalty. He said, "there used to be many Chinese restaurants that made good business in the first half year but could not sustain under competition", because the Chinese owners were not able to take care of their customers. Besides, his hospitality is not only out of consideration for business interest. One of the important reasons is that he wants to enjoy his work, of which a good relation with customers is an element. However, in his eyes many Chinese only focus on business and neglect this aspect.

Similar to Yeng, Ju comes from a well-off family. His father was a diplomat who was assigned to Austria when Ju was 15. He went to the British school in Vienna, and upon completion went to the United States for one year. He went back to Austria afterwards and started his University studies, which, however, he never finished. Regarding the strategies he deploys to differentiate his business from the first generation's, there are a lot of similarities to Yeng's.

First of all, his three restaurants are also in the central districts in Vienna, which attract diverse groups of possible customers from students, hippies, white-collar workers to tourists. One of them is located in the 1st district, where most tourism takes place and where the upper middle-class dine out. Another one is situated beside the *Naschmarkt*, a newly gentrified area where market vendors and bourgeois restaurants

stand side by side. The last one is located in the third district, where a mixture of immigrant and local residents can be found. The cultural diversity in these areas provides possibilities for the development of new-style Chinese restaurants.

Secondly, Ju is very proud of his taste in architecture and interior design. He claimed that his restaurants are taking lead in the restaurant business, no matter whether it is when compared with Chinese restaurants or with the Austrian ones. He said that the restaurants had won several architecture and interior-design prizes. All of his three restaurants have the same style -- they are simple and clear. Basically, the outside of the restaurants is composed of glass walls of three colors: blue, red, and white. The inside is equipped with wooden or metal furniture. Apart from chopsticks on tables, it is impossible to tell that these are Chinese restaurants. Decorations symbolizing China or Asia were absolutely avoided.

Thirdly, Ju also introduces a fusion of Asian cuisine in his restaurants. He claimed to be the first one who brought in Thai food in Vienna. In the restaurant where I conducted the interview with him, there is Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Thai food on the menu. In addition to the abundance of choices, he insisted to provide "authentic" Chinese home-made dishes. After the interview, I went to the same restaurant once with friends, and tasted the restaurant's specialty, noodles with meat-sauce from north China. Surprisingly, I found that the noodles taste quite the same as what my grand mother, who is of north Chinese descent, made back home. He neither adjusts foodstuffs nor taste for the locals as other Chinese restaurants do. On the contrary, he keeps and stresses the authentic Chinese taste. As he mentioned, the food in most Chinese restaurants is not Chinese, but low-cost "foreigner-cheating"¹⁶¹ food that does not require any culinary skills.

Moreover, Ju also considers contacts with patrons as the key to success. In his opinion, restaurant owners should be like "friends" of their patrons, showing hospitality and talking with them. During the interview, a family was celebrating a family member's birthday. After the birthday tune, Ju brought them a bottle of Champaign and

¹⁶¹ See Maggi W. H. Leung (2003): 113.

joined them in sending wishes. He proudly said that what he does cannot be done by most Chinese restaurateurs, simply because their limited German skills. I challenged him by saying that language would not be a problem for most of the second-generation owners, and he answered:

*These second generation owners only hang out with other Chinese, so they are neither able to grasp the Austrian mindset, nor to immerse themselves in the local society and culture. Besides, they spend their entire lives in Austria, and know nothing about the world. I've been to many different countries since my childhood, and have seen everything. That's why I can run my restaurants differently.*¹⁶²

His active interaction with customers and his ability to socialize with locals are closely connected to his self-image, an experienced cosmopolite, which is not able to be achieved by most Chinese, be it the first or the second generation. By daily practices of communication with clients, Ju reconfirms his identity, which is partly constructed by contrasting himself to other ethnic Chinese, and brings out conceptual boundaries to the real world.

From Yeng's and Ju's examples, it is very clear that the differences they intend to create as distinguishing marks of their second-generation identities have very much to do with their social positions. Both Yeng and Ju are from relatively well-off families and enjoyed more resources in childhood and adolescence. Unlike many immigrant restaurateurs' children, they did not go to lower secondary school. Rather, they managed to enter university and accumulated quite a few foreign experiences. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is transmitted and accumulated mainly through family and educational institutions. Even if parents themselves do not possess much cultural capital, their economic capital could be converted to a more favorable environment for their offspring to acquire cultural capital.¹⁶³ Yeng's wealthy family, Ju's well-educated parents, their school education, and foreign living or studying experiences put them in a better position to acquire cultural capital. Their knowledge of local lifestyles, their

¹⁶² Interview, 30 April 2008.

¹⁶³ Pierre Bourdieu (1986).

communication skills, and their aesthetic and culinary taste are all important components of the cultural capital with which they can create visible distinctions between them and other Chinese in the same business, maintaining their superior social positions. Therefore, we can see Yeng and Ju put special emphasis on architecture, interior-design, culinary skills, and socializing in their boundary work. In their research on the determinants of moral and cultural boundaries in the American population, Michèle Lamont et al. pointed out that people in higher structural positions (high education attainment and high income) and people involved in high culture lifestyle tend to draw cultural boundaries.¹⁶⁴ Yeng's and Ju's boundary work which objectifies the differences in identities between them and the first generation also falls on the cultural side, and it conforms with their superior social positions.

6.3.2.2. Professional Boundaries

The second generation who are from well-off families and receive better education tend to draw cultural boundaries thanks to their possession of abundant cultural capital. But there are also other second-generation immigrants who do not have equal access to cultural capital due to their family background and a hard youth. How do they perform the boundary-work? What kind of strategies do they take? What kind of boundaries are brought about? These questions will be discussed by looking at Lo's example.

The experience of Lo's parents in Austria is very typical for many first-generation Chinese immigrants, who came from a small town -- Qingtian. Upon arrival, his parents started to work in restaurants. After accumulating some capital, they moved to a small town in Styria and opened their first restaurant. However, it did not make good business, and after one year they moved back to Vienna in debt. His parents started again to hire themselves out and had several part-time jobs at the same time until they finally had enough capital and took over a restaurant from relatives. Due to frequent moving and lack of his parents' attention to his school work, Lo did not have good grades at school and was assigned to lower secondary school after primary education. When he was 13, he already started to work in restaurants where he found jobs through his family's social

¹⁶⁴ Michèle Lamont et al. (1996).

network. Even though he spent his youth in Chinese restaurants and got along with the first-generation Chinese everyday, he still underlines his differences through boundary-work when he finally has his own restaurant.

Lo did not entrust the interior design to professionals. Rather, he finished it by himself with a few friends. Most Chinese restaurateurs, in his words, are "farmers" and do not care about the ambience in their restaurants. Lo did not want a fine restaurant, but he knew that at least it should be "different". His ideal restaurant would be pub-like: a place where customers can stay longer and order more drinks, which are actually much more profitable than food. Though Lo was not able to afford professional design deployed by Yeng and Ju, he still managed to differentiate his business from other Chinese by giving the restaurant a pub touch.

Secondly, he is especially proud of his service. In addition to small talk and gaining connections, like what Yeng and Ju do, he emphasizes the special care of customers' needs that he can provide. On the one hand, the specialty of his restaurant is Chinese hot pot, with which many Western customers are not familiar. So it is necessary to teach customers some basic cooking skills such as timing and combination of ingredients. On the other hand, he usually recommends regular customers special dishes of the day which are not shown on the menu. Lo mentioned that everyday when he comes to the restaurant, the first thing he does is to inform himself about the fresh or special foodstuffs they have that day. Then he bases on his grasp of customers' taste to comes up with unique dishes for them. According to him, it is a very effective way to win customers' trust and loyalty to the restaurant. The service he provides requires not only a good command of German, which most first generation Chinese do not have, but also his knowledge of culinary skills and the Austrian taste in general, which was accumulated in his quasi-apprentice experience for more than ten years. He commented on the first generation's operation style, saying that the first generation think that they can run a restaurant by knowing a few sentences in German, but actually it is much more important to "take care of" the patrons.

Furthermore, he accentuates the impression that his restaurant might have on the patrons. In the interview, he mentioned three of the important aspects of restaurants:

rules, quality of food, and hygiene. Regarding rules, he criticized the way the first generation do business. They allow customers to bargain, which in Lo's opinion is a waste of time. He sees rules of a restaurant as pivotally important: fixed prices and reasonable service. Allowing clients to bargain not only takes the owners' time, but also causes chaos and unpleasant atmosphere. Secondly, since many Chinese restaurants are stuck in a price-war, they sacrifice the food quality to save costs. In Lo's restaurant there is a foodstuff buffet, and he insists to offer fresh and fine-quality food. Rest foodstuffs and anything overnight should be dumped, otherwise "you will only sink your own business". Lastly, he talked about hygiene. In his restaurant, hygiene in the kitchen is the most important thing. Everyone who works in the kitchen should wear a working suit, a mask, and a cap. He said: "This gives the patrons an impression of the restaurant. If they accidentally pass by the kitchen and find that it's a mess, with people who work looking untidy, the patrons will find it very unpleasant. On the contrary, they will feel much better if they see people who cook look tidy."¹⁶⁵ And in his opinion, the first generation do not notice it at all.

In addition to his intention to pursue a trendy style for his restaurant, Lo has very different strategies to map out the discernable differences as opposed to the first generation Chinese. Because of his parents' socio-economic status, Lo did not have privileged access to cultural capital. Compared to Yeng and Ju, it is obvious that Lo has his limitations in pursuing exquisiteness. However, in his working experience he acquired knowledge of culinary skills on the shop floor, to which Yeng and Ju do not have easy access. Unlike the cultural capital passed down by the family and educational institutions, I name what Lo learned in his daily practices of restaurant-related work "professional capital". By holding advanced knowledge in cuisine and details of restaurant management, he focuses on giving patrons special services and delivering positive impressions. The boundaries he draws revolve around the professional aspects of restaurant operation. Therefore, I call them "professional boundaries".

¹⁶⁵ Interview, 28 April 2008.

6.3.2.3. Moral Boundaries

Among the second-generation restaurateurs, some that stick to old-style family restaurants are still to be found. In their case, boundaries between their business and the first generation's are not so easy to be detected as in the case of trendy restaurants. From the appearance and interior design, their restaurants can hardly be distinguished from the Chinese diners in general. Abundant brummagem decorations still constitute the outlook of them, and they do not innovate the menus, either. The fact that they do not follow other second-generation restaurants in pursuing a new-style of business can be explained by the nature of their business, including shareholder structure and opportunity costs. However, given the unchangeable constraints, these second generation old-style restaurant owners still developed their boundary-work, drawing boundaries that correspond to their identity differences. Song's example will be discussed in this section.

Song with her brother and sister are in charge of an old-style family restaurant. They took over the restaurant after their parents several years ago. Though their father, the original owner of the restaurant, does not intervene in the daily operation anymore, his opinions are still influential on the future development of the restaurant. Song has three siblings, and is the last child of her family. She is the only child in the family who made it to *Gymnasium* and university. However, in her third year of university, she dropped her studies because of a shortage of labor in the restaurant.

Being asked about her opinions on the restaurant, she said that a lot of things have to be amended. She would like to adopt the style of many new Chinese restaurants, and thus would like to refurbish the restaurant's look. However, a big scale innovation cannot be brought about because her father has some opposite opinions. During the interview with her, her father was also there, and reacted immediately to defend his position. He said that many things in the restaurant have a history of more than 20 years and cannot be found elsewhere anymore. He pointed at the wooden ceiling with carvings of animals and flowers, saying that it would be a pity to remove things like that. For him, a restaurant should keep its "Chinese" style. From this interaction we can see that Song's restaurant keeps a very typical shareholder structure -- family business. The

patriarch, though no more in charge, still holds the power to make important decisions and is highly respected. In this situation, the new generation successors cannot always realize their ideas.

Nevertheless, Song still tries to make her business different from other Chinese restaurants. The most important change, she managed to realize after she took over, concerns the employees' working conditions. She mentioned that most Chinese, especially her father's generation, used to hire themselves out and did not mind harsh working conditions. They work overtime for meager pays. When they become self-employed, they treat workers as how they were treated. Song is of the opinion that this way of thinking does not fit in today's world. Differences between generations were embodied in her conflict of opinions with her father, when she tried to introduce a new way of managing the workers in the restaurant. She said, "We are actually partners with our employees. Without them we would not be able to run this restaurant."¹⁶⁶ Her reform touches on several aspects. Firstly, she emphasizes the mutual respect between the employer and employees. "When we talk, we should show our mutual respect, no matter it's the boss to workers or workers to the boss." Secondly, her workers enjoy better working conditions now, which is reflected in the wages and working hours (she extended afternoon-break time, reduced evening hours and gave the workers one day off per week). In this respect, many traditional restaurants cannot compare with hers. As she talked, her father interrupted saying that his generation used to work overtime and had to endure low wages. "The new generation is no more as tough as we were." he added.

In Song's case, under the current structure of family business, not much can be done to innovate the restaurant. Therefore, her boundary-work is directed to another aspect, the working conditions of the employees. Her basic ideas come out of a generally accepted virtue: to treat people in the way you want to be treated. Workers need respect, reasonable pay, and sufficient rest. In comparison to other Chinese restaurant owners, she does not play the role of an exploitative boss, but rather an entrepreneur with conscience. Her ways of drawing boundaries are rather moral-oriented, which, unlike Yeng's and Ju's, are not based on possession of cultural

¹⁶⁶ Interview, 24 May 2008.

capital, which is a result of superior socio-economic position. Even the most disadvantaged people have access to the repertoire of moral values for their self-confirmation of identities. In the research of Michèle Lamont et al., it is pointed out that people of lower structural positions (low education and low income) and people involved in religious life styles intend to draw moral boundaries.¹⁶⁷ Though Song, compared to other second-generation Chinese, is definitely not disadvantaged in terms of educational level, the stress from her father that she is facing makes moral boundaries the most possible result of her boundary-work.

6.3.3. Summary

This section discussed different kinds of boundary-work deployed by the second-generation restaurateurs. Based on their differentiated socio-economic status, working experience, and constraints of doing business, the informants present three kinds of boundaries that comply with their boundary-drawing activities. Those who have a better socio-economic position and thus have a better access to cultural capital tend to draw cultural boundaries that are formed by aesthetic and culinary fine taste. Those without superior status in terms of cultural capital can still depend on their knowledge in the field to emphasize professional boundaries, which are shown by pursuit of service and quality. Lastly, for the individuals who are facing restrictions in innovating their businesses and do not possess much cultural capital, moral boundaries are their options. They distinguish their businesses from other Chinese's businesses by stressing moral values embodied in their management style. This section also shows that the business activities of the second-generation restaurateurs in Vienna comply with their identities -- different ones from those of the first generation. The fact that they try to make difference in business has an affinity with their perception of themselves vis-à-vis others. For the second-generation immigrants in a western society, where an Asian look implies "foreigners", the "immigrant shadow" is an important issue that they have to deal with everyday. Therefore, they feel obliged to distinguish themselves actively and constantly from the first generation and the new arrivals.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Michèle Lamont et al. (1996).

¹⁶⁸ Min Zhou and Yang Sao Xiong (2005): 1149.

7. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Existing literature on immigrant business tends to view immigrant business owners of same ethnic descent as a homogeneous group, and uses group characteristics or structural factors to explain immigrants' economic activities. This thesis tried to challenge this methodological homogenization by showing different business styles between two generations of Chinese restaurateurs. Based on the assumption that the business of the second-generation Chinese immigrants not only reflect their social differences but also their identities distinct from the first generation, this thesis discussed identities of the second generation Chinese in Vienna and their relations with business activities. This thesis does not claim that identities are the cause of the second generation's pursuit of different business styles. Instead, its goal is to show an affinity, in Max Weber's words, between identities and economic activities. Through the theoretical lens of "boundary-work", the second-generation Chinese restaurateurs' business activities were described as one critical way to maintain and embody social boundaries.

Drawing on qualitative studies of the second-generation Chinese immigrant restaurateurs and a comparison of their restaurants with the first generation's, this thesis put the second generation Chinese' boundary-drawing activities into three categories: cultural, professional, and moral. By cultural boundaries, I refer to differences concerning aesthetic and culinary aspects of restaurants - trendy looks, cozy aura, and exquisite taste. Professional boundaries are created by emphasizing culinary skills and special services that restaurants provide for their patrons. Moral boundaries have more to do with work ethic and working conditions in restaurants. In its analysis, this thesis showed that choices of different types of boundary-work, which leads to forming of different kinds of boundaries, could be explained by either structural factors or each restaurant's specific business structures. Generally speaking, owners from a higher social position tend to focus on the architecture, interior design, and the fine taste of their restaurants thanks to their superior possession of cultural capital. Owners from a different social class could still depend on their good command of the local language

and long-term experiences in the field to build a professional image that distinguishes them from Chinese restaurants in general. Moreover, some owners whose innovative ideas are discouraged by market situation or business structures choose another way to make difference -- moral claims are emphasized and deployed as sources of distinction. In a word, the analysis also tried to present a connection between actors' structural positions with their subjective dispositions concerning business operation.

This research is based on interviews with Chinese restaurateurs in Vienna only. Therefore, it does not exclude that other types of boundary-drawing activities could exist in other cities or countries. General structural conditions concerning migration policies and business operation could have great impact on the styles and strategies of immigrants' businesses. Moreover, due to the limited number of interviews conducted, this research did not try to and can hardly claim a general pattern of boundary-work that applies to most immigrant businesses. However, links between identities and business activities were revealed in this research by looking carefully at the restaurateurs' subjective interpretation, objective deeds, and structural positions.

Boundary-work is an inter-subjective activity, and in this research, it is performed by the second generation Chinese restaurateurs vis-à-vis the first generation. Due to limited time, information used in this research was mainly collected by conducting interviews with restaurant owners, which depends very much on their own perception and interpretation. A very important aspect of boundary-work, the interaction between actors, was thus not shown in the thesis. To get a more complete picture of boundary-drawing activities between generations, a long-term participant observation would be preferred. In addition to the interviewees' subjective narratives, their daily practices would provide more detailed information about how boundaries are maintained and negotiated, either consciously or unconsciously. Besides, this research focused more on the second-generation's business strategies, while only passively presenting their first-generation counterparts. Therefore some of the following questions should be dealt with in future studies: what are the first generation's identities? How do they find the second-generation's businesses? How do they cope with competition? And what are their boundary-drawing activities?

Lastly, this thesis touched on the question why second-generation immigrants choose to enter self-employment rather than following an integration path that leads to the mainstream upper middle-class. This question on the one hand bears upon structural factors that might have negative impact on immigrant children's integration, while on the other hand, it also challenges Kloosterman's mixed embeddedness approach which emphasizes the limitations on immigrants' economic activities put down by the continental welfare state structure. The third chapter of this thesis tried to address these two aspects of the question. However, due to the limited number of informants and restricted access to statistics and information about government policies, no comprehensive picture could be provided. To understand the integration barriers of the second-generation immigrants, more interviews focusing on immigrant children whose parents are restaurant owners are to be desired. Besides, further understanding of the general situation of second-generation entrepreneurship would be helpful to develop theories beyond Kloosterman's framework. Asking the following questions might be a starting point of further research: what roles are the second generation playing in current immigrant business? How many second-generation restaurateurs are there? How do they change the field of Chinese restaurant business? How do they enter self-employment? And what structural difficulties are they facing?

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