

DO RACE AND NATIONALITY MATTER IN GETTING A JOB?

Field Experiment and Survey
of Employment Discrimination
in China

Oluwasola Emmanuel Omoju

Serie
**Estudios e
Investigaciones**



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Omoju, Oluwasola Emmanuel

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**FIELD EXPERIMENT AND SURVEY
OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN CHINA**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Oluwasola Emmanuel Omoju*

Employment discrimination has enjoyed distinguishable attention in the literature. Most of the previous researches on employment discrimination in China and other countries are at the domestic/national levels. These studies examine employment discrimination among citizens/nationals based on gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, marital status, disability status, physical appearance, religion, race, political affiliation, rural-urban dichotomy and other criteria. Other studies analyse and compare employment discrimination among nationals and foreigners in a country. In the international migration context, there are studies that examine employment discrimination among foreigners from different countries, but most of these studies focused on developed countries (especially Europe) and on South-North and North-North migration. The subject of employment discrimination has been largely ignored in the context of North-South and South-South migration. With its historic *Hukou system*, that have also helped to relax its migration laws, China presents herself as a perfect case study to examine the effect of race and nationality in employment discrimination.

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This study investigates the prospects of employment among nationals of developing countries in other developing countries in the context of South-South cooperation.

Data for the study was collected through various methods. Firstly, we collect and analyse information on job advertisement for foreigners in China by looking at the key requirements stipulated in the advertisement. Specifically, we note the requirements that are related to nationality or race, or that gives certain people undue advantages over others. Job advertisements for foreigners are tracked on job-related websites and through other information sources in China. Afterward, fictitious resumes are sent to the potential employers to ascertain whether employers' decisions are based on resume quality or race and nationality. To ensure that the decision of the employer to invite the applicants for interview is based on race and nationality, all the other information on the resumes is designed to be as similar and homogenous as possible. Eight (8) email addresses were opened to send the resumes. The email addresses are also used as a contact point for information from the employer and invitation for interview. In the understanding that some employers might prefer to contact applicants through phone numbers, the phone contacts of the members of the author's research group are included in the resume. The resumes are sent in response to any job openings for foreigners in any part of China. Obtaining data through the fictitious resume method commences in December 2014 and ends in April 2015. Descriptive methods involving frequency tables and charts were used for the analysis of primary data collected. Following the statistical discrimination hypothesis, the Duncan statistical regression model was adopted for estimating the impact of getting a job in China discriminating along the lines of race and nationality. Probit/Logit models were also used for further analysis.

The results showed that 19.34% are Blacks, 31.68% are Whites, 5.71% are Latinos, 9.39% are Caucasians, 30.39% are Asians, and 3.50% identified as other races. In terms of the continents of origin of the respondents, 16.97% are from Africa while 31.37%, 28.78%, 12.36%, 5.35% and 5.17% are from Asia, Europe, North America, South America, and Australia/Oceania respectively. 44.92% of the respondents have worked in China for less than 2 years, 32.35% have worked for 2-4 years, 16.64% for 5-7 years, 3.33% for 8-10 years and 2.77% for over 10 years. It appears therefore, that most migrants mostly make do with part-time jobs as about 44.92% of them have only worked for less than two years.

In terms of gender distribution, 61.21% of the respondents are male while 38.79% are female. This could confirm the assertion that

males are more mobile than female, partly due to social and cultural reasons. In terms of the age distribution of the respondents, 22.06% are within the age of 18 and 24 years, 50.18% within 25-34 years, 21.88% within 35-44 years, 4.96% within 45-54 years, and 0.92% above 55 years. Looking at the level of education, 0.95% had only primary education, 10.10% had secondary education, 53.90% had bachelor's degree while 35.05% had education attainment higher than bachelor degree. Regarding the city of residence, 21.42% resides in Beijing, 18.81% in Guangzhou, 18.62% in Hangzhou, 18.06% in Nanjing, 16.39% in Shanghai, and 6.70% in Xiamen.

Likewise, on how easy or difficult it is to get a job in China, 6.58% of the respondents ticks very easy, 18.46% easy, 37.84% neutral, 28.15% not easy, and 8.96% very difficult. Looking at the response of the participants based on their race in table 10b, 75.24% of Blacks claim that getting a job in China is not easy or very difficult, as against 22.10% of Whites, 48.38% of Latinos, 13.72% of Caucasians, 35.15% of Asians, and 26.32% of other races. By nationality, 68.82% of Africans claim that getting a job in China is not easy or very difficult, as against 34.30% of Asians, 28.85% of Europeans, 29.41% of North Americans, 34.48% of South Americans, and 14.29% of Australian/Oceaniaans. Also, 46.80% of respondents from developing countries (South) claim it is not easy or very difficult to get a job in China compared with only 25.30% of respondent from developed countries (North). This shows that majority of Blacks, Africans and respondents from the global South believe it is more difficult to get a job in China.

Results from the regression analysis showed that nationality does not have significant impact on the possibility of being discriminated against in China. The number of years a foreigner has worked in China, the level of education, and the city of residence are important determining factors of whether a person will be discriminated against or not. Age and gender do not have influence on whether a migrant will be discriminated against or not.

The result also shows that the continent of origin of a migrant worker does not impact on whether they are discriminated against or not, as the coefficient is not statistically significant at 10% level. The type of job, the years of work experience in China, level of education and the city of residence are important factors that determine whether a foreigner is discriminated against in employment in China. Age and gender, however, do not. On the flip side, the impact of race on employment discrimination in China was very significant implying that the race a person identifies with has strong influence on the level of employment discrimination they will be subjected to. The years of work experience, level of education and city of residence also have

significant impact on the possibility of employment discrimination. Likewise, the type of job, age and gender do not have impact on employment discrimination. From the result, the probability of being discriminated against is higher for Blacks (0.7904), followed by Whites (0.7396), Latinos (0.6815), Caucasians (0.6171), Asians (0.5483) and other races (0.4775). The predicted probability implies that Blacks have the highest probability of being discriminated against in employment in China.

Among other things, the study recommends that: (1) The Chinese government needs to initiate policies and measures to address employment discrimination based on race. Measures should be put in place that creates a level playing field for migrant workers from different countries; and (2) Labour and immigration cooperation between the Chinese government and the governments of immigrants' countries should be promoted to create a mutual understanding on immigration and employment. This could be incorporated into economic and political engagements between China and other countries.

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has brought people closer. The world, however, is divided into distinct categories that are marked through global racial and ethnic taxonomy (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2009). In the struggle to survive, discrimination along racial and nationality lines in the job market, have continued to influence who gets what, when and how. While a few studies (e.g. Wilson et al, 2006) have examined the determinants of racial disparities in developed countries such as the United States, the emergence of China in the global economic order and the influx of migrants to the country, whose demographic structure suggests an elastic supply of workforce, gives concern on the prospects of employment for migrants from developing and developed countries alike. Findings from earlier studies (e.g. Wilson, 1997; Royster, 2003) have shown that the difficulty of migrants to get jobs in developed countries, for instance African Americans relative to White Americans, is due to lack of relevant skills and experience needed for success. Such studies, however, do not say if experience and skills would still matter if the same level of skills and experience were to be found on the CV of a set of workers with different nationality and race. Who would get called for interview and who would not?

According to Loveman (1999), race, ethnicity, and nationality cannot be understood in isolation as they are overlapping symbolic

categories that influence how we see the world around us, how we view ourselves, and how we divide “us” from “them” (see Desmond and Emirbayer, 2009). The categories, Loveman (1999) further noted, are mutually reinforcing so long as each category educates, upholds, and is informed by the others. Desmond and Emirbayer (2009) defined race as a symbolic category, based on phenotype or ancestry and constructed according to specific social and historical contexts, that is misrecognised as a natural category. They noted that nationality (and ethnicity) are intrinsically bound with race and in the words of Weber (1946), are equated with citizenship and membership in a specific politically delineated territory controlled by a government.

Employment discrimination has enjoyed distinguishable attention in the literature. Most of the previous researches on employment discrimination in China and other countries are at the domestic/national levels (Cheng, Guo, Hugo, and Yuan, 2013; Chen and Hamori, 2014; Hwok-Aun and Abdul Khalid, 2012; Booth, Leigh and Varganova, 2012). These studies examine employment discrimination among the citizens/nationals based on gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, marital status, disability status, physical appearance, religion, race, political affiliation, rural-urban dichotomy and other criteria. Other studies analyse and compare employment discrimination among nationals and foreigners in a country (Sole' and So'nia, 2003; Muller, 2003). In the international migration context, there are studies that examine employment discrimination among foreigners from different countries (Goldberg, Mourinho and Kulke (1996) for Germany; Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2008) for Greece; Sole' and So'nia (2003) for Spain), but most of these studies focused on developed countries (especially Europe) and focused on South-North and North-North migration. The subject of employment discrimination has been largely ignored in the context of North-South and South-South migration. This is the major gap that this study seeks to fill.

While significant attention has been placed on the motivation and socioeconomic impacts of immigration, very few studies have researched the welfare, challenges and adaptation strategies of migrants in their host cities or countries. One of the grand attempts at investigating the wellbeing of foreign migrant workers is the 2013 World Migration Report, which looks at the issue of wellbeing from various perspectives (IOM, 2013). According to the report, one of the core issues faced by migrants both at the country and at the international level is employment discrimination, and this assertion has also been confirmed by previous studies (Vuori, 1996; Muller, 2003; Bendick, 1996). In China, the prevalence of employment discrimination has been well observed and documented. There are records of high

level of employment discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnicity, race, religion and nationality (ILO, 2010; Webster, 2011). Based on a survey conducted by China University of Political Science and Law between 2006 and 2007, 85.5% of respondents claimed they experienced employment discrimination or saw others face it (Dingjian, 2007). According to the survey, discrimination occurs at every stage of the employment chain—from application, hiring, work assignment, remuneration, promotion and termination. Based on the survey, employers review a number of factors such as gender, age, health status, physical appearance, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and political affiliation when considering job applications. The finding of this survey was also confirmed by the ILO Report “Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work – Discrimination at Work in Asia” which states that employment discrimination in China has assumed a dynamic proportion as a result of institutional constraints.

Currently, there is no empirical research on employment discrimination and welfare of foreign migrant workers in China. So far, recent trends are sparsely documented in international scientific publications, but mostly in online blogs and reports which are based on personal experiences of individual migrants. The closest attempt to examine the welfare of foreign migrant workers in China was made by Bork-Huffer et al (2014) and Bork-Huffer and Yuan-Ihle (2013), but the studies solely focus on African migrants. Employment discrimination manifests in the areas of entry to the labour market as well as working conditions and circumstances on the job. Cheng et al (2013) find evidence for employment and wage discrimination among locals and migrants in Chinese cities. The research of Chen and Hamori (2014) also shows high level of employment discrimination on gender basis in China.

At the international migration level, evidence of discrimination also exists. According to Bodomo (2012), there is evidence of immigration and employment discrimination against migrant workers from Africa. Bork-Huffer and Yuan-Ihle (2014) also point to discrimination of Africans in Guangzhou city of Guangdong Province. Previous researches by Brady (2000) and Farrer (2010) also posit that since the opening-up policy in 1978, in a bid to attract foreign direct investment and technologies, the Chinese government has deliberately promoted the entry of “desirable” foreigners, especially Western skilled workers from Europe and North America, while simultaneously restricting “undesirable” foreigners. Addressing employment discrimination on the basis of race, religion, nationality, sex, and disability has long been an important agenda in China. Therefore, there is need to conduct a comprehensive analysis of employment discrimination

among foreign migrant workers in this country. Furthermore, this study takes a step ahead of previous ones by investigating whether the development status of the country of origin (North or South) and/or race (black or white) is associated with the risk of being discriminated against in the workplace. This is the main contribution of this study.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The major question of this research is: Do race and nationality influence employment discrimination in China? The key specific questions in this study are: Does race (being Black, White, Latino, Asian, etc.) influence the prospect of getting a job and employment condition in China? Does being the national of a developed (North) or developing (South) country or continent affect the prospect of getting a job and employment condition in China? How do foreign migrant workers view and respond to employment discrimination in China? Answering these questions is the objective of this study. The study makes use of field experiments and survey data collected through monitoring of requirements for job advertisements, sending of fictitious resumes in response to job advertisements, and questionnaires. The method of analysis involves descriptive and econometric techniques. The descriptive technique presents the data and information collected in an easily comprehensible form. This entails tables, percentages, graphs/charts and basic measures of central tendencies. The econometric technique makes use of logistic regression models.

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study is broadly aimed at investigating the prospects of employment among nationals of developing countries in other developing countries in the context of South-South cooperation. While countries in the European Union (EU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and some other regional blocs currently have protocols and regulations on free movement of goods and persons, migration and employment in the context of South-South intercontinental cooperation is still not given enough attention in trade and economic cooperation agreements. Employment migration within the South is crucial for economic integration and knowledge sharing. Thus, this research will spur debates and contribute to the policy discussions on broadening international migration within the South for mutual socioeconomic development.

1.3 SCHEME OF CHAPTERS

The study is arranged into five sections. Section one presents the background of the study while the review of literature and presentation of

stylised facts are presented in section two. The research methodology and analytical framework are presented in section three. Results and discussion from the empirical work are presented in section four while the summary, conclusion and recommendation are presented in section five.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews efforts in the literature to define race, ethnicity, nationality and discrimination. It also reviews theoretical issues underlining these concepts, and provides a review on empirical works on discrimination based on race, nationality and other variables. Due to the central role of migration in the discrimination literature, stylised facts on international migration in China are also presented.

2.1 CONCEPTUALISATION OF RACISM, NATIONALITY AND DISCRIMINATION

The concept of race has changed across cultures and eras, eventually becoming less connected with ancestral and familial ties, and more concerned with superficial physical characteristics. According to Solomos and Back (1995) debates about race and ethnicity have been influenced in one way or another by Marxist and neo-Marxist scholarship and research. They argued that while the works of Marx and Engels contain a number of scattered references to the pertinence of racial and ethnic relations in particular societies, they contain little historical or theoretical reflection on the role of such processes in the development of capitalist social relations as a whole. One of the most ambitious attempts to provide a theoretical foundation for a Marxist framework can be found in the work of Robert Miles (Solomos and

Back, 1995). The starting point of Miles's critique was his opposition to the existence of a sociology of race and his view that the object of analysis should be racism, which he viewed as integral to the process of capital accumulation (Miles, 1982, 1986). According to Miles (1984), Race is an ideological effect, a mask that hides real economic relationships. For Miles therefore, the idea of race refers to a human construct, an ideology with regulatory power within society. Thus, Miles (1989) defined race as those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social activities. Miles (1989) also argued that the process of racialisation is more pronounced with the conditions of migrant laborers. Solomos and Back (1995) noted that the effects of racialisation among migrant workers are the result of the contradiction between two factors: On the one hand, the need of capitalist world economy for the mobility of human beings; and on the other, the drawing of territorial boundaries and the construction of citizenship as a legal category which sets boundaries for human mobility.

In the past, theorists have posited categories of race based on various geographic regions, ethnicities, skin colours, and more. Their labels for racial groups have connoted regions (Mongolia and the Caucasus Mountains, for instance) or denoted skin tones (black, white, yellow, and red, for example). However, this typology of race developed during early racial science has fallen into disuse, and the *social construction of race* or racialisation is a far more common way of understanding racial categories. According to this school of thought, race is not biologically identifiable. Rather, certain groups become *racialised* through a social process that marks them for unequal treatment based on perceived physiological differences. When considering skin colour, for example, the social construction of race perspective recognises that the relative darkness or fairness of skin is an evolutionary adaptation to the available sunlight in different regions of the world. The social construction of race is also reflected in the way that names for racial categories change with changing times. It's worth noting that race, in this sense, is also a system of labelling that provides a source of identity—specific labels fall in and out of favour during different social eras.

Sociologists argue that racial differentiations are always created in the context of class differentiation (Goldberg, 1992). This view has, however, been criticised by studies that sprang up during the 1970s and the development of new forms of racial ideology, which were influenced by the work of Stuart Hall (see Solomos and Back, 1995). Such criticism held that race as a concept is a social construction

whereby the political meaning of terms such as Black are fought over. Collective identities spoken through race, community, and locality are, for all their spontaneity, powerful means to coordinate action and create solidarity (Gilroy, 1987). Within this model of political action, a multiplicity of political identities can therefore be held. An inclusive notion of Black identity for instance, can hence prevail and, at the same time, allow heterogeneity of national and cultural origins within this constituency (Gilroy, 1987). Goldberg (1990), however, pointed out that presumption of a single monolithic racism is being displaced by a mapping of the multifarious historical formulations of racisms. In this context, therefore, recent studies have focused on exploring the interconnections between race and nationhood, patriotism, and nationalism rather than analysing ideas about biological inferiority.

The thin line between nationality, ethnicity and citizenship have led many to misconceptualise the meaning of each of these concepts (Oommen, 1997). Race refers to superficial physical differences that a particular society considers significant, while ethnicity is a term that describes shared culture. In the book review by Calhoun (1998), it was noted that Oommen's basic argument is that in some primordial beginning, peoplehood was based on the coincidence of territory and language. Peoples who sustain that connection constitute nations. Ethnicity arises when the link between culture and territory is broken—for example, by migration. Nationals are “insiders”; ethnics are “outsiders.” Neither ethnicity nor nationality has any conceptual connection to states, within which membership is purely a matter of citizenship. In the words of Calhoun (1998), Oommen does helpfully point to “ethnification” as a process of defining some collectivities as outsiders and thereby making their cultural differences salient for political and economic discrimination. The reverse is “nationalisation,” which happens when people express an elective affinity for those of ostensible common ancestry, relocate to be with them, and bind acceptance as members of the nation. “Homogenisation” programs try to make the people of a country fit a national pattern. All these phenomena, Calhoun (1998) points out, are produced by the rupture of primordial fit between territory and speech community.

Ethnicity is a term that describes shared culture—the practices, values, and beliefs of a group. This might include shared language, religion, and traditions, among other commonalities. Like race, the term “ethnicity” is difficult to describe and its meaning has changed over time. And like race, individuals may be identified or self-identified with ethnicities in complex, even contradictory, ways. For example, ethnic groups such as Irish, Italian American, Russian, Jewish, and Serbian might all be groups whose members are predominantly

included in the racial category “white.” Conversely, the ethnic group British includes citizens from a multiplicity of racial backgrounds: black, white, Asian, and more, plus a variety of race combinations. These examples illustrate the complexity and overlap of these identifying terms. Ethnicity, like race, continues to be an identification method that individuals and institutions use today—whether through the census, affirmative action initiatives, non-discrimination laws, or simply in personal day-to-day relations.

Discrimination consists of *actions* against a group of people based on age, religion, health, and other indicators. Discrimination based on race or ethnicity can take many forms, from unfair housing practices to biased hiring systems. Durkheim (1982) refers to racism as a social fact, meaning that it does not require the action of individuals to continue because it exists in educational, criminal, economic, and political systems. Institutional discrimination or institutional racism is when a societal system has developed with an embedded disenfranchisement of a group, such as Canadian immigration policies that imposed “head taxes” on Chinese immigrants in 1886 and 1904 (Little, 2014). Institutional racism refers to the way in which racial distinctions are used to organise the policy and practice of state, judicial, economic, and educational institutions. As a result they systematically reproduce inequalities along racial lines. They define what people can and cannot do based on racial characteristics. It is not necessarily the intention of these institutions to reproduce inequality, nor of the individuals who work in the institutions. Rather inequality is the outcome of patterns of differential treatment based on racial or ethnic categorisations of people.

Employment discrimination is a complicated phenomenon, involving conscious decisions and unconscious assumptions about a person due to qualities supposedly possessed by virtue of her sex, race, national origin, or other immutable characteristics (Webster, 2010). Employment discrimination laws forbid employers from considering certain attributes in making employment decisions (Lu, 2015). This formal command to disregard particular characteristics of job applicants or workers, according to Lu (2015), is based on the premise that bearers of these characteristics should be treated equally with members of some favoured comparison group who lack these traits. In the United States, federal courts distinguish direct discrimination, also known as disparate treatment, from indirect discrimination, or disparate impact. According to Webster (2010), direct discrimination is the most easily understood type of discrimination, which occurs when an employer treats a person less favourably than someone else due to a protected trait, such as gender, age or race. Indirect discrimi-

nation, on the other hand, is somewhat harder to grasp, as it involves a facially neutral practice or policy with “a disproportionately adverse effect on minorities.” Webster (2010) noted that Chinese scholars are fond of citing an 1870 ordinance from the San Francisco City Council banning the use of shoulder poles. Though facially neutral, as Webster (2010) puts it, the ordinance clearly targeted Chinese immigrants, who retained the use of the pole to transport objects in their adoptive homeland. Finally, systemic discrimination refers to policies or practices that have a disproportionately broad impact on a larger sub-population (racial, geographical, professional, or otherwise).

Webster (2010) noted that employment discrimination is often manifested in job advertisements, statistical surveys, and personal narratives. This study combines these three approaches in its field experiment on examining the role of race and nationality in employment discrimination. Webster (2010) noted that job advertisements, both in print and online, help depict the culture of job recruitment. And since these ads are often the first link in the chain of the hiring process, they are particularly valuable indicators of what is permissible, indeed expected, of applicants in hiring practices (Webster, 2010). Furthermore, statistical surveys about attitudes and experiences of discrimination provide an empirical basis to understand which forms of discrimination are most widespread. In the context of a study on global South-South cooperation, this study will therefore provide the experiences of applicants/employees in China.

Yaoxiong (2004) identified the following basis of discrimination in China to include: discrimination on the basis of age, disability, academic background, CV, and work experience region (e.g. antipathy for people from Henan province), household registry, and membership in the communist party. Others are on the basis of height and appearance, or concern over the spread of disease, such as health status, sex, religious belief, race, and ethnicity. In summary, as Solomos and Back (1995) noted, despite the contribution that Marxist scholarship on racism and ethnicity has made to existing knowledge on racial and ethnic relations during recent years, it did not provide an answer to all the theoretical and empirical conundrums that are experienced today. They therefore suggested that analysis of contemporary racism needs to be situated within particular discursive contexts as discrimination along racial, ethnic, and nationality lines cannot be reduced to class relations, neither can it be seen as completely autonomous from wider social relations such as gender and sexuality.

An ILO (2003) study pointed out the need for discrimination in the workplace and the benefit for overall society. The study noted that prohibiting workplace discrimination in China is important, because

the workplace, be it a factory, an office, a farm or the Street, has been a strategic entry point to free society from discrimination. Thus, regulating discriminatory employment practice means striking a balance between the employers and the job applicants or the employees trade-off. While the former want to have more autonomy so that they can decide more freely whom they want to hire, promote or dismiss, the latter demand that employers restrain such autonomy and certain factors must be excluded during the employment decision-making process. Fair employment laws, therefore, serve to strike that balance. These laws may vary between different nations because of their distinctive cultural and legal traditions. But central to all these laws is a common regulatory device—the prohibition against discrimination. Fair employment laws regulate by prohibiting employers from discriminating on the basis of certain individual traits, such as race, religion, national origin, or sex, and by authorizing or establishing procedures or remedies to induce or coerce employers to comply with that prohibition.

The Constitution of the PRC (the “PRC Constitution”), adopted on December 4, 1982 by the Fifth National People’s Congress of the PRC, contains certain provisions relating to equal employment opportunity (Mayer-Brown-JSM, 2009). Article 33 of the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China establishes that “All citizens of People’s Republic of China are equal before the law.” Every citizen is entitled to the rights and, at the same time, must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law. Zeng (2007) noted that the constitution specifically guarantees women equal rights with men in all spheres of life; political, economic, cultural, social, and family life. Since many employment discrimination victims cannot find direct legal support in statutory law, they have to base their cause of action solely on a right enumerated in the Constitution, namely the Constitution’s equal rights provision. However, the outcome of these cases suggests that the “equal rights” provision in the Constitution provides weak support to their case and, in effect, the Constitution is not directly actionable (Zeng, 2007). Chinese constitutional rights are “granted, modified, suspended, and withdrawn for the sole purpose of implementing particular policies.” Therefore, any right listed in the Constitution is only a theoretical possibility of a right, and one must look to individual laws for actual effective government policy (see Zeng, 2007).

China acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) on December 29, 1981. By so doing, China agreed to eliminate racial discrimination within its borders (Society for Threatened Peoples, 2009). In 2009, a report by the Society for Threatened Peoples was submitted to the United Nations

Committee on the elimination of racial discrimination in China. The report evaluated the Peoples Republic of China's compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) with respect to the Tibetan people in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and other Tibetan areas in PRC. A detailed review of China and the CERD was presented in that report. Extract from the report is presented in the Box 1. It highlights the existing legal framework against discrimination by Racial and Nationality in China.

Article 1(1) of the CERD defines "racial discrimination" as being:

Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

Furthermore, Article 2(1) (a) of the CERD prohibits each State Party from engaging "in any act or practice of racial discrimination against persons, groups of persons or institutions." In addition to discrimination by government actors, CERD also places affirmative obligations on the Chinese government to eliminate racial discrimination by private parties. For example, Article 2(1)(b) forbids the Chinese government from advocating or supporting racial discrimination by a private party, and Article 2(1)(d) requires it to "bring to an end, by all appropriate means, including legislation as required by circumstances, racial discrimination by any persons, group or organisation." Also, the General Recommendation XIV to Article 1 interprets the article to preclude policies or actions that have unjustifiable disparate impact upon a particular group (CERD 1993). Article 5 (d), 5(e) (i) of the CERD provides:

In compliance with the fundamental obligations laid down in article 2 of this Convention, States Parties undertake to prohibit and to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms and to guarantee the right of everyone, without distinction as to race, colour, or national or ethnic origin, to equality before the law, notably in the enjoyment of the following rights:

- (d) other civil rights, in particular:
 - (iii) The right to nationality;
- (e) economic, social and cultural rights, in particular:
 - (i) The rights to work, to free choice of employment, to just and conditions of work, to protection against unemployment, to equal pay for equal work, to just and favourable remuneration;

According to Fa (1990), until the 1990s, Chinese law did not guarantee equal rights in employment. For instance, the 1990 Law to Protect Disabled Persons mandated that “[n]o discrimination shall be practiced against disabled persons in recruitment, employment, obtaining permanent status, technical or professional titles, payment” and other areas. The 1992 Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women (“Women’s Law”) first extended protections to women in numerous areas of employment: hiring and firing; titles, promotions, and salaries; and marriage, pregnancy and nursing (Fa, 1992). Likewise, the 1994 Labour Law ensured that workers “shall not be discriminated against in employment due to their nationality, race, sex, or religious belief” (Fa, 1994).

The Constitution of China contains regulations about people’s livelihood. According to the second paragraph of Article 33 of the Constitution, all citizens of People’s Republic of China are equal before the law. And Article 42 provides that citizens have the right and obligation to work. According to Fan and Sun (2014), these articles establish sound constitutional basis to relieve women migrant workers who may confront employment discrimination. The third article of the Labour Law in China provides that all workers have equal rights in employment and career choice. Article 12 points out that workers can obtain jobs without suffering ethnic, racial, gender, and religious belief discrimination. Article 62 of the Employment Promotion Law also provides discriminated workers with legal remedies. China’s antidiscrimination rules are laid out at multiple levels, enacted by different legal authorities, from the highest in legal effect—the Constitution—, to the lower basic laws—the State Council Administrative Regulations, the local regulations—, to the lowest government policy documents.

The Constitution: Article 33 of the Constitution, which is also known as the Chinese Equal Protection Clause, provides that “all citizens of People’s Republic of China are equal before the law.” In addition, Articles 4, 36, 48 and 89 of the Constitution explicitly prohibit discrimination based on ethnic minority status, gender, and religion.

Basic laws: there are four basic laws providing protection in equal employment. They are: the Employment Promotion Law of the People’s Republic of China enacted in 2007, which prohibits discrimination based on ethnicity, race, gender, religious belief, migrant worker status, carrier of an infectious disease status; the Labour Law of the People’s Republic of China enacted in 1994, which prohibits discrimination based on nationality, race, sex, or religious belief; the Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women the of People’s Republic of China in 1992, which prohibits discrimination against

female workers; and the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Disabled Persons in 1990, which prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities;

The administrative regulations: as the top executive agency, the State Council has issued a large number of regulations that affect labour and employment in China. Among them, those having provisions dealing with employment discrimination include: the Regulation on the Employment of the Disabled People in 2007, which prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities; and the Regulations Concerning the Labour Protection of Female Staff and Workers in 1988, which prohibits discrimination against women;

Local regulations (Provincial People's Congress and its Standing Committee, or the People's Congress and its Standing Committee of the municipalities directly under the Central Government, i.e. Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Chongqing have the authority to enact local regulations effective in respective provinces or municipalities): the Guangdong Province Regulation on Protecting Employment Opportunity for People with Disabilities; the Interim Regulation of Beijing City on Social Insurance for Migrant Workers; and the Shanghai City Regulation on Protection of Women and Children.

Lastly, the central government as well as local government has the authority to issue governmental policy documents as long as they do not contradict with the Constitution and other superior laws and regulations. There is a large number of governmental policy documents issued by various levels of governments in forms of guideline, governmental opinion, notice, instruction, etc. Typical governmental policy documents concerning employment issues include: Notice on Improving Employment Administration and Service for Migrant Workers in the Cities by the State Council General Office in 2003; Notice of Some Questions Concerning the Participation in Working Injury Insurance for Migrant Workers by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in 2004; Guidelines on Promoting Employment for Women in Community Work by the All China Women's Federation in 2002, among others.

2.2 THEORETICAL LITERATURE

Beginning with the seminal work of Robert Park (1950) (see Hirschman, 1980), there have been numerous efforts to develop sociological theories to classify and explain the variations in racial inequality over time and space. Yet it is apparent that there is no single paradigm that explains all of them (Hirschman, 1980). While there are several theories explaining employment discrimination based on ethnicity, race, and nationality, three theories, however, seem to dominate

empirical work in this area: the unconscious bias theory (rooted in social psychology), Duncan Statistical Regression Model and the statistical discrimination hypothesis.

2.2.1 UNCONSCIOUS BIAS THEORY

The natural human process of categorising things like objects and related cognitive biases can result and perpetuate individual's implicit reliance on stereotypes (Lee, 2005). According to social cognition theory, stereotypes are person prototypes that act as implicit expectancies that influence how incoming information is interpreted and remembered. In other words, stereotypes cause discrimination by influencing how individuals process and recall information about other people (see Lee, 2005). In the employment context, stereotyping is likely to occur when a member of a previously omitted group (or protected class) assumes a job considered nontraditional for his/her group.

Using the Implicit Association Tests (IAT), researchers have documented a general preference for Whites over Blacks in studies with multiracial participants. The finding, which contradicted their self-avowed indifference between the two races, showed that racial preferences appear to be attributed, at least in part, to unconscious biases. Despite criticisms around the IAT method, the conclusion is that unconscious bias is quite prevalent, often in sharp contrast to individuals' self-professed identity (Arkes and Tetlock, 2004).

Lee (2005) documented empirical findings that showed that prevalence of unconscious bias has manifested itself in hiring practices. Citing a study (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004) conducted by economists from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Chicago, for which 5,000 resumes were sent out in response to job adverts in Boston and Chicago, the economists randomly assigned stereotypically white-sounding names, such as Emily, or stereotypically African American names, such as Lakisha, to otherwise identical resumes. It was found that applicants with white-sounding names received 50 percent more callback interviews than those with African American-sounding names.

2.2.2 DUNCAN STATISTICAL REGRESSION MODEL

This model shows the relationships between socioeconomic background and socioeconomic attainment among black and white men. It seeks to explain how social background characteristics affect differential in socioeconomic attainment of ethnic groups along racial lines. Using statistical "experiments" by controlling the racial inequality in various social background variables, such as father's occupation, while observing the effects on racial inequality in attainment,

Duncan (1969) concludes that the major source of racial inequality is not the poorer social background or education of Blacks, but the poorer rewards that society provides Blacks with equivalent backgrounds and qualifications as Whites. Thus it is not the “inheritance of poverty” that most limits the socioeconomic success of Blacks, but the recurrent discrimination that each successive generation encounters. Duncan’s clear exposition of how to “model” and interpret racial/ethnic differences in stratification has greatly influenced contemporary studies on the subject. But some observers have pointed out that the statistical decomposition of racial/ethnic inequality using regression techniques actually leads to more complexity than Duncan’s neat interpretation suggests (see Althausser and Wigler, 1972). A statistically equivalent method of the basic model of ethnic inequality is to run ethnic/race categories as separate variables (as dummy variables in binary coding) in a single equation (Duncan and Duncan, 1968; Duncan and Featherman, 1972; Hirschman, 1975). To test the hypothesis of different slopes of occupation on education among the different ethnic communities, it is necessary to expand the basic model with additional interaction terms. The conclusion in Hirschman (1980) review is that, although theories of racial and ethnic relations have been plentiful, empirical testing of hypothesis has not led to a cumulative growth of knowledge.

According to Brunner and Meltzer (1978), few economists ever denied that output and employment fluctuate, and few would deny that in the presence of rigid wages and fluctuating prices and output, there are periods of excess demand and excess supply for labour. Their focus, however, was to explain why wages do not adjust rapidly, why the excess demand or supply of labour persists for months or years, and what governs the eventual adjustment of wages and employment. Classical economic theories of employment and unemployment therefore assumed a state where the market clears (see Brunner and Meltzer, 1978); hence discrimination can only be due to price/wage discrimination often associated with Keynesian reasoning where there is the presence of labour union. Discrimination along any other lines (ethnic, race, or nationality) was not considered even though it could provide some insight into why excess demand and supply of labour persists. In Keynesian economics, the rise in joblessness is linked to monetary policy; hence, maintaining a deficiency of aggregate effective demand is important to achieve reduction in unemployment. Thus to neo-Keynesians, if aggregate demand is kept deficient, it would cause inflation rate to fall steadily ahead of the expectations on which firms based their money wages and prices, hence causing unemployment to rise above the natural rate. The neoclassical approach to employment

determination, also known as real-business cycle theory, likewise failed to properly explain increased joblessness. It assumes that involuntary unemployment does not exist and the demand for labour and supply of labour are always in equilibrium; thus, ensuring that the market clears (Phelps, 1995). The deduction from both theories is that if there are two markets with the same supply of labour, the market where labour is willing to accept the lowest wage would clear while the other, requesting higher wage, would not (Brunner and Meltzer, 1978). Thus, if Blacks in China are willing to accept the least wage, they would get more jobs than other races. But such reasoning, which neglects the social reality of the effect of race and nationality in the work place, could lead to xenophobic retaliations against the race/nationality that is willing to accept low wage. What this reveals is that the inherent pattern of reasoning in economics could fail in resolving or finding solutions on how best to resolve issues of discrimination along racial divide in a society.

Early attempts to explain race and gender differences that relied on theories drawn from economics attributed it to differences in human capital and status attainment (Smith 2002). According to this view, women and minorities may have less authority than white men because they have lower investments in factors such as training, education, and experience, or because they have lower seniority status or intermittent labour force attachment. Thus, even though race and gender differences in human capital attributes do not fully explain race and gender gaps, studies (see Ross and Reskin, 1992; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2002) show that investments in human capital significantly increase the odds of gaining employment or being called for a job interview.

In an empirical study on Canada and Sweden, Bevelander and Pendakur (2011) explored the link between citizenship and employment probabilities for migrants controlling for a range of demographic, human capital and municipal characteristics such as city and ethnicity. Using instrumental variable regressions to control the impact of citizenship acquisition, they found that age, marital status, and educational level are important determinants of obtaining employment by foreign-born men and women. For immigrants from outside the EU and North America, it was found that the size of the co-immigrant population in a city often has a significant positive effect on the probability of being employed. Likewise, it was found that the acquisition of citizenship increases the probability of finding work and obtaining employment. Foreign-born men and women who acquired citizenship are far more likely to be employed than those who have not. Furthermore, as the size of the co-ethnic population increases, so does their

probability of being employed. In the US, however, a study by Campbell (2011) showed that gender, race, or ethnicity do not determine the degree of satisfaction with any specific element of a job.

2.2.3 STATISTICAL DISCRIMINATION HYPOTHESIS

Statistical discrimination refers to cases where employers tend to make discriminatory choices based on their perceived beliefs of characteristics. This theory is well documented in Kim (2012). The explanation offered below, therefore, relies on Kim (2012). Consider a labour market where employers announce job vacancies and potential workers apply for vacant positions. Applicants are allowed to apply for more than one position. When employers receive applications, they screen the applicants using all information available at the time of hiring. Each employer has his or her own pre-set productivity criteria, and applicants may receive job offers from the employer if their perceived productivity signals to the employer meet the criteria. When there are more qualified applicants than open positions, employers choose applicants based on their own hiring strategies.

According to Kim (2012), a potential worker is characterised by productivity, P_{ij} , when he or she is matched with an employer j . The productivity depends on two sets of measures, X_{ij} and n_i . Vector X_{ij} consists of variables that are directly observed by employers and researchers, such as labour market experience and possibly job tenure. While it is an implicit assumption that race, gender, and education can be observed by employers and researchers, they are excluded in the vector X_{ij} .

When an employer receives applications, he or she makes predictions about the productivity of the applicants. The information the employer has about the applicant includes easily observable variables such as race, gender, and education. The information available to the employer about the applicant could, however, be perceived differently by different employers. A worker employer-specific information set implies that different employers may rank the same applicant differently. Thus, employers categorise potential workers into groups on the basis of race, gender, and/or education and their information sets for members of some groups are systematically richer than those of other groups. Such categorisation, say into two groups, would lead the employer to have more information on a group than the other, hence creating an information gap. The information gap has an important implication for the variances of employers' expectations. It means that the *ex ante* variance of employer j 's perceived productivity of members of group A is strictly larger than the *ex ante* variance of employer j 's perceived productivity of members of group B. A further implication

is that group B members are more likely to be middle-ranked, while group A members will tend to be evaluated as top- or bottom-ranked workers. Since employers prefer more productive applicants, it is more likely for a group A worker to receive the initial offer than for a group B worker. This leads to the first proposition of the model according to Kim (2012). When employers statistically discriminate against group B workers in comparison to group A workers, the group B unemployment rate will be larger than the group A unemployment rate at the time of labour market entry.

However, the fact that group A members are more likely to get initial offers does not necessarily imply a lower unemployment rate for group A than group B. Those who have multiple offers will decline some of their offers, and the employers may move to other qualified candidates. The second proposition to be deduced from this is that when employers statistically discriminate against group B workers in comparison to group A workers, and employers learn about the productivity of workers as they accumulate more experience, the group B unemployment rate will decrease at a faster rate than the group A unemployment rate.

Empirical results in Kim (2012) on statistical discrimination showed that when employers statistically discriminate against some workers in comparison to other workers, the discriminated group's unemployment rate will be larger than the non-discriminated group's unemployment rate at the time of labour market entry. The results were, however, valid for race and education and not valid for gender. This means that when groups are discriminated using race and education, the hypothesis will be valid, unlike when discriminated against using gender. This study therefore adopts the statistical discrimination hypothesis while the Duncan statistical regression model is adopted for estimating the impact of getting a job in China discriminating along the lines of race and nationality.

2.2.4 THEORETICAL ISSUES ON RACE AND ETHNICITY

Issues of race and ethnicity can be observed through three major sociological perspectives: functionalism, critical sociology, and symbolic interactionism. In the view of functionalism, racial and ethnic inequalities must have served an important function in order to exist as long as they have. Sociologists who adhere to the functionalist view argue that racism and discrimination *do* contribute positively, but only to the dominant group. Historically, it has indeed served dominant groups well to discriminate against subordinate groups. Slavery, of course, was beneficial to slaveholders. Holding racist views can benefit those who want to deny rights and privileges to people

they view as inferior to them, but over time, racism harms society. Outcomes of race-based disenfranchisement—such as poverty levels, crime rates, and discrepancies in employment and education opportunities—illustrate the long-term (and clearly negative) results of slavery and racism in Canadian society. Apart from the issues of race, ethnicity, and social inequality, the close ties of ethnic and racial membership can be seen to serve some positive functions even if they lead to the formation of ethnic and racial enclaves or ghettos. The close ties promote group cohesion, which can have economic benefits, especially for immigrants who can use community contacts to pursue employment.

For critical sociology, addressing the issues that arise when race and ethnicity become the basis of social inequality is a central focus of any emancipatory project. They are often complex problems, however. According to Little (2014), feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) developed the intersection theory, which suggests that the effects of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other attributes cannot be examined separately. Lastly, symbolic interactionists, race and ethnicity provide strong symbols as sources of identity. In fact, some interactionists propose that the symbols of race, not race itself, are what lead to racism. Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) suggested that racial prejudice is formed through interactions between members of the dominant group: without these interactions, individuals in the dominant group would not hold racist views. These interactions contribute to an abstract picture of the subordinate group that allows the dominant group to support its view of the subordinate group, thus maintaining the status quo.

According to Shore et al (2009), a number of theories have been used for studying race/nationality as a central variable of interest. Most of these theories come from a micro-theoretical perspective and attempt to explain behaviour from an individual, or within work group perspective. According to Shore et al (2009), a majority of these theories come from the fields of social psychology or cognitive psychology and stem from our cognitive and social need to categorise ourselves and others based on surface-level or readily perceivable characteristics such as race. These theories have also often been used to introduce or justify hypotheses that have focused on negative outcomes or predictions as a result of race/ethnicity differences (Shore et al, 2009). Some of the basic assumptions made about people and human nature contained in many of these theories, as Shore et al (2009) put it, are:

- humans judge each other on surface-level characteristics, such as race or gender, in the absence of additional information,

- group membership based on these characteristics implies true similarities or differences between people which then create the formation of in-group and out-group distinctions, and
- these judgments ultimately result in outcomes that may have negative effects for minority or out-group members (e.g., lack of mentors, stalled careers, lower performance evaluations) or group productivity.

According to Shore et al (2009), the general assumption that underlies these theories is that:

- an increase in racial/ethnic diversity means that a work group will experience possible positive outcomes such as: increased information, enhanced problem solving ability, constructive conflict and debate, increased creativity, higher quality decisions, and increased understanding of different ethnicities/cultures, and
- that surface-level diversity such as race is indicative of deeper-level differences, such as cognitive processes/schemas, differential knowledge base, different sets of experiences, and different views of the world.

While a large number of studies have examined the role of race and nationality in workforce diversity in developed countries of Europe and North America, Caucasian's are often used as control group, thus building-in stereotype error in their findings. In a period of emerging global south economies like China, examining how employers discriminate along racial and nationality lines would provide a new perspective to the phenomenon. It would also provide empirical evidence on how the gains from job creation in China are distributed among migrants in an economy with high influx and, until recently reviewed to two, that have restricted number of child birth per couple to one. Shore et al (2009) summarised the observations made on the body of work on race and ethnicity in organisations into the following points:

- first, in contrast to a popular belief on ethnic diversity, the positive effect of ethnic diversity on work group performance has not been supported conclusively. Instead, null and negative results have been more common. Therefore, more research is certainly needed to specify different contingencies such as length of time together as a group, task characteristics, and

various combinations of ethnicity in which ethnic diversity may have differential effects on performance, and

- second, that there seem to be a neglect of the White or Caucasian category as a race (Ragins & Gonzalez, 2003). Most often, the Caucasian category serves as merely the control or reference group. In other words, other than research findings that report lower work attitudes for Whites in diverse settings (e.g., Riordan, 2000), there is little research that provides empirical evidence explaining the reasons for these findings or that sheds light on the characteristics associated with being White or the White experience of diversity. This may reflect the primarily negative theoretical focus on discrimination, stereotyping, and the harmful consequences of being in the minority group.

Following the perspective of positive effect of ethnic diversity on work group performance, therefore, this study examines the role of race and nationality in getting a job in China. As an emerging economy with heterogeneous migrant, such a study will therefore contribute to the literature on race and nationality that, according to Shore et al (2009), have Caucasian as control group for most empirical studies, hence focusing on the negative aspects on the discourse on race and nationality. This will also contribute to the literature on ethnic diversity and work group performance.

2.3 REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL LITERATURE ON EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

Employment discrimination has been widely studied in the literature. These studies examine employment discrimination from the view point of gender, age, marital status, religion, sexual orientation, and other criteria (Igbaria and Shayo, 1997; Bielby and Baron, 1986; Faley and Kleiman, 1985; Lu, 2009; Burnett, 2010; Owoyemi and Olu-sanya, 2014). Lau and Stotzer (2010) study employment discrimination based on sexual orientation in Hong Kong, and find high level of discrimination which varies based on age, education and disclosure. Onwuegbuchunam (2011) examines gender discrimination in employment in Nigeria's maritime industry. Wang (2008) investigates employment discrimination based on physical appearance (weight), and argues that fat people face discrimination in employment. Barrier (2004) examines the effects of employee's looks on employment-related decisions in the United States. AARP (2014) studies the age factor in employment in the United States. According to the study, older employees experience more discrimination than their younger counterparts. Similarly, Riach and Rich (2007) study age discrimination

in employment in Spain, and find very high levels of discrimination against older people. Kalula (2010) also shows evidence of employment discrimination based on religion in different African countries. Dodson and Crush (2004) examine gender discrimination in South Africa's 2002 Immigration Act. They argue that the Act discriminates against women in immigration and employment issues.

Employment discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity among nationals of a country has also been researched. Hwok-Aun and Abdul Khalid (2012) investigate discrimination in hiring fresh graduates in Malaysia on the basis of ethnicity. They find that race, much more than resume quality, affect the prospects of getting called for an interview, with Chinese more favored than Malay. Booth et al (2012) conducted several large-scale field experiments to measure labour market discrimination across minority groups in Australia. They found economically and statistically significant differences in interview invitation rates. Specifically, they found that Chinese Australians and Middle Easterners Australians suffer more employment discrimination. In the case of Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), they examine the impact of race on hiring in Chicago and Boston in the United States. The major limitation of this study is that names of the applicants are used to depict race. Though names are race-specific, they do not perfectly indicate race because of people with non-racially distinct names. Arcand and D'Hombres (2004) study racial discrimination in employment in Brazil, and find ethnic-wage differentials. Szelwicki and Tyrowicz (2009) investigate wage discrimination among Black and White South Africans, and find that there is an enormous wage gap which favours White South Africans. Bovernkerc, Kilborne, Raveau and Smith (1979) examine racial discrimination in employment in Great Britain, France and The Netherlands. These researches only explore employment discrimination among the nationals of a country within the country.

In the context of international migration, research on migration both at the national and international levels has focused substantially on the impacts of immigration to both the countries of origin and the host countries. A number of studies have researched the economic impacts of immigration, mostly focusing on economic growth, remittance, human capital, wages and brain gain/drain (Anyanwu and Erhijakpor, 2010; World Bank, 2006; Gagnon, 2011; Docquier, Marchiori and Shen, 2010; Singh, Haacker and Lee, 2009; Kerr and Kerr, 2011). Further studies have also investigated the social impacts of immigration (Muller, 2003; D'Emilio, Cordero, Bainvel, Skoog, Comini, Gough et al, 2007; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2006; Gallego and Mendola, 2010). Due to sweeping local and international immigration

reforms across the world in recent years, Taylor and Filipiski (2011) examine the impact of migration policies on rural household welfare in Mexico and Nicaragua. Similarly, Wouterse (2011) investigates the impact of continental and intercontinental immigration reforms on Burkina Faso. Some studies have also discussed the motivation for migration (Haapanen and Ritsila, 2007; Lilleor and Van den Broeck, 2011; Bakewell, 2009).

A number of studies have investigated employment discrimination within international migration (among nationals of different countries based on nationality and race). Thornton and Luker (2010) examine employment discrimination based on race and nationality using Australia as a case study. The study was based on legal frameworks and analysis, and there was no empirical analysis and support. Sole' and So'nia (2003) investigate employment discrimination in Spain. They find that non-EU foreign migrants experience discrimination relative to native workers in terms of both access to jobs and working conditions. Golberg et al (1996) examine the existence of employment discrimination against foreigners and ethnic minorities in Germany, but concentrate the study solely on Turkish migrant workers. Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2008) study employment discrimination among foreign migrant workers in Greece. However, the analysis is limited to the largest immigrant groups in the country—Albanians, Romanians, nationals of former USSR and Arab countries. Ioe, de Prada, Actis, Pereda, and Molina (1996) examine labor market discrimination against migrant workers in Spain. They find that the severity of employment discrimination among foreign migrant workers occurs in the following ascending order—EU nationals, Latin Americans, Asians and Africans. Kaas and Manger (2010) conduct a field experiment on employment discrimination in Germany based on ethnicity. They find that ethnic German are favoured over their Turkish counterparts, and discrimination is high in smaller firms.

Employment discrimination in China has been extensively studied but these studies focus on Chinese citizens and issues such as gender, physical appearance, rural/urban migrant status, disability, religious affiliation, and political orientation. Cheng et al (2013) investigate employment and wage discrimination in Chinese cities. The study analyses and compares employment attainment and wage differentials among rural migrants, urban migrants and urban locals using survey data from four mega cities. The findings of the study show that relative to urban locals, rural migrants suffer employment and wage discrimination, while urban migrants suffer only employment discrimination. Chen and Hamori (2014) examine employment discrimination in China based on gender in 1996 and 2005. Based on the

1996 sample, they find that male workers enjoy lower employment probability than female workers while the 2005 sample shows the opposite. Dingjian (2007) finds a high level of employment discrimination in China. According to the study, 48.8% of respondents and 65% of managers believe people living with HIV should not have equal access to employment. In the study of employment discrimination in China, Zeng (2007) finds that poor people are more vulnerable to employment discrimination than rich people. Studies that have investigated this problem among Chinese citizens from various perspectives are numerous.

Studies that analyse the management of foreigners in China only imply some form of discrimination and they focus on African migrants in Guangzhou city (Bodomo, 2012; Bork-Huffer and Yuan-Ihle, 2014). Other available information on the subject of employment discrimination among foreigners in China is based on personal experiences of those who noted or experienced it, which are insufficient to make a general conclusion. As at now, there is no known comparative empirical research that has been conducted on employment discrimination among foreigners in China. The existing studies on employment discrimination in international migration are limited in a number of ways. First, they focus extensively on the experiences of developed countries given that the majority of migrant workers are from developing or other developed countries (South-North and North-North). Second, they mostly focus on only one type of job, and ignore the possibility of varying degree of discrimination in different sectors, low and high-cadre jobs and across different cities. Third, they neglect the interactive effects between race and nationality. In other words, they do not consider whether employers could favour nationality ahead of race or vice versa in an international migration context. Their researches fail to take cognizance of the fact that an employer may be willing to employ a Black American rather than a White Zimbabwean. Thus, examining employment discrimination on the basis of race or nationality alone may not adequately present the actual picture of employment discrimination in international migration. Fourth, they do not consider the response and adaptation strategies of foreign migrant workers to employment discrimination. These are the gaps this present study fills.

The current research contributes to the literature on employment discrimination in three ways. First, it investigates employment discrimination among foreign migrant workers in China (North-South and South-South migration); considering gender, the type of jobs, and cities. Before now, no known study has been conducted on the subject despite the large-scale nature of employment discrimination in China.

Secondly, unlike previous researches, it examines the relative impacts of race and nationality on employment discrimination from the context of international migrant workers in China. However, nationality here focuses on whether the migrant worker is from a developed (North) or developing (South) country or from a particular continent. It categorises nationality into developed (North) and developing countries (South), and race into Black, White, Latino, Asian, Caucasian, and others. The study pioneers a new terrain in employment discrimination in international migration by investigating the impact of the development status (developed/North and developing/South) of the country of origin on the possibility of being discriminated against. Thirdly, the research investigates how foreign migrant workers respond to employment discrimination in China. No known study has investigated the response mechanisms of migrant workers to discrimination.

Gao (2008) surveyed 955 white-collar job advertisements on ChinaHR.com, a leading employment website. The result showed that the most frequently cited discriminatory basis was age, which appeared in 24.2% of the ads, followed by gender (12.3%), and physical appearance (10.5%). Further break down of the categories showed that many ads for women contained other restrictions, such as age (typically under 30), and appearance (“good looking and fine-tempered”). This multiplicity of restrictions suggests “a more demeaning dimension to gender discrimination” in China (Webster, 2010). Aisheng et al (2007) surveyed 568 firms across eight different job sectors, including goods/manufacturing, research/development, commerce/logistics, finance/public finance, and administrative/personnel. To ensure a broad snapshot of the picture of discrimination, the authors surveyed state-owned enterprises, collective enterprises, privately owned companies, foreign invested companies, and shareholding companies. They found that age was the preeminent factor, appearing in 54.4% of the advertisements examined. Among the more discriminatory sectors were finance, administration/personnel, and commerce and logistics; in these sectors, over half of the advertisements contained age restrictions, targeting candidates who were either 18 to 25, or somewhat more commonly, 25 to 35. By contrast, few employers specifically targeted persons aged 35 to 45, or 45 and over. Gender was less prominent than age, but showed considerable variation across sectors. Certain sectors preferred men. 22% of the advertisements in the production required men, while only 4% required women. Though somewhat less prevalent than age or gender, *hukou* status also matters to many employers.

The PRC's *Hukou* system was first set up in cities in 1951 and extended to rural areas in 1955 (Chan and Zang, 1999). In the early years

of the system, it served largely as a monitoring—not a control—mechanism of population migration and movements. Chan and Zang (1999) noted that the early 1950s was a period of relatively free movement into and out of the cities and throughout the countryside in China. The constitution promulgated in 1954 even guaranteed citizens' rights of free residential choice and migration. However, as influxes of peasants into cities escalated and began to be a serious burden, the central government tried various measures to stop what it called "blind flows" of rural labour. This culminated in the promulgation of China's first set of hukou legislation by the National People's Congress in 1958. This new legislation established a fully-fledged hukou institution and granted state agencies much greater powers in controlling citizens' geographical mobility through a system of migration permits and recruitment and enrolment certificates. Ironically, as this set of regulations was put into effect, the whole country was swept by the radical campaign of the Great Leap Forward. As the top priority of the state shifted to accelerating industrial growth, this new legislation was simply brushed aside as urban enterprises stepped up recruitment of labour, prompting some super-high rates of rural-urban migration in 1958-59. The disastrous Great Leap Forward and the famine helped the government set the full hukou system—as it is now understood—back in place in 1960. Despite significant modifications, especially since the early 1980s, the system remains to this day (Chan and Zang, 1999).

The household registration, or hukou, system helps maintain the physical separation of urban resident from their rural brethren. Instituted in 1958, the system initially permitted the government to distribute resources and benefits more effectively, to control migration from rural areas to urban settings, and to keep closer tabs on criminal activity (Webster, 2010). Citizens were categorised according to their place of residence, and then whether they were rural ("agricultural") or urban ("non-agricultural") (see Webster, 2010). If one had a Beijing hukou, for instance, you benefited from the panoply of benefits (insurance, education, social welfare, and even food rations during the PRC's more tumultuous periods) that Beijing provided its residents. If, on the other hand, one lives in Beijing without a Beijing hukou, he/she would not have access to these services (Webster, 2010). In this context, therefore, the *hukou system* was argued to constitute the most pernicious form of systemic discrimination in contemporary China. In recent years, the system has relaxed somewhat. Wealthy or educated rural residents can apply to become local residents of various cities, depending upon criteria set out by the city.

Reinforcing one's hukou status is a raft of regulations that further disadvantage migrant workers (Mallee, 2000). National regulations,

for instance, instruct local employers—private, public and state organs alike—on how to hire workers who come from outside their locality. One regulation from the Ministry of Labour provided that outside workers can be hired only if a) no local person is qualified to fill the position, and b) the local labour and employment agencies have approved the employer’s request for an outside hire. That is, local people should receive priority in job recruitment, and outsiders can fill positions only when a local agency has approved of the placement (Mallee, 2000). While this regulation has since been withdrawn, it set a precedent to which many cities have clung, even in the present. According to Mallee (2000), Nanjing, for instance, encouraged employers to hire local labourers, guided by the principle of hiring “first urban, then rural; first this city, then other cities; first this province, then other provinces.” This privileges not only Nanjing residents, but also any other urban residents by mandating “first this city, then other cities” (see Mallee, 2000). This represents discrimination against rural people in its purest form, Webster (2010) argued.

Weiqin et al (2008) found that 7% of advertisements contained *hukou* restrictions, but that over 20% of employing units restricted labour in this way. The author then conducted phone interviews with twenty of the employers that included the restrictions. Among the reasons for the restrictions were:

1. “We don’t know what to make of outside labourers; we do not know if they are thieves or hooligans;”
2. “We have never hired outsiders, nor thought to hire them;”
3. outsiders require a certain period of time to acclimate to Chongqing; and
4. “Outsiders’ habits are different from ours. We hired one before, but he was stubborn as a mule.” Whether based in ignorance or limited experience, prevailing attitudes in at least one of China’s metropolitan areas suggests that deep prejudice towards outside labour.

Statistical surveys provide another glimpse at the problem of employment discrimination (Webster, 2010). In May, 2006, scholars at China University of Political Science and Law interviewed 3,500 people and their attitudes and experiences with discrimination in ten large cities: Beijing, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Wuhan, Shenyang, Xi’an, Chengdu, Zhengzhou, Yinchuan, and Qingdao (Constitution Research Center of the China University of Politics and Law, 2007). The results provide a

relatively comprehensive picture of the circumstances of discrimination in today's China. One important indicator surfaced in responses to the question, "Is there discrimination in the field of employment today?" 85.5% responded affirmatively, while 50.8% of respondents—over one half—believed it was "extremely severe." A mere 6.6% replied that there was no discrimination. Likewise, a majority of respondents (54.9%) believed they had personally experienced some kind of discrimination in the hiring process. 15.7% of respondents' said they had experienced "very severe" or "relatively severe" discrimination. Discrimination by academic qualification was also prominent as 62.6% of the respondents said employers overemphasise candidates' academic background or that the educational requirement exceeds the actual necessities of the job. Health discrimination came in second at 47.7%, followed by appearance (36.7%), age (32.9%), household registration status (28.7%), and finally sex (21%).

Zhang and Li (2011) examined the discrimination in labour employment along gender lines in Shandong China. In answering the question "Have you experienced sex discrimination pre-employment and on-job?" 67% of respondents responded with the option of "yes." In answering the question "Do you think your working unit practices the policy of 'same work, equal payment,' regardless of sex?" 83% responded with the option of "no" and reported that the difference in payment for same work is not based on capacity but on sex. The second sampling survey on the social status of Chinese women revealed that by the end of 2000, the percentage of urban and rural on-job women reached 87.0% of the total aged 18-64, lower than men by 6.6 percentile points. Compared with the year of 1990, employment rates of urban men and women have both declined, down from 90% to 81.5% for men, and down from 76.3% to 63.7% for women, respectively; the decline is deeper for women than for men, i.e. 12.6 percentage points against 8.5 percentage points. From the survey of enterprises of all types as well as the channels of employment, the phenomenon of same work but unequal wages between men and women was widespread. The study concluded that addressing discrimination in the work place along gender or migrant lines would require legislative and legal amendments to existing laws in China. International organisations lay down a series of international conventions to eliminate sex discrimination against female employment, among which the most influential are International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women made by the UN and Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Employment and Occupation in 1958 (No. 111) enacted by the

International Labour Organisation. All three conventions have defined employment discrimination, including acts, types, and consequences of discrimination. China has ratified the three conventions, thus having a great importance for the legislation of its anti-discrimination (Zhang and Li, 2011).

2.4 HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN CHINA—THE HUKOU SYSTEM

An account of the history of employment discrimination in China is well documented in Zeng (2007). During the transition from a planned to a market economy, the iron rice bowl system was proved inefficient because it was unable to provide sufficient incentives to workers. In this period, in order to ensure the future profitability of state owned enterprises (SOEs) and promote greater economic efficiency, China permitted the small and medium-sized SOE's to go bankrupt, or to merge with other businesses. As a result, state centralisation of jobs, as well as the guarantees of benefit provision, became less prevalent. In addition, under the new law, new employees must be "hired on fixed-term contracts with a maximum duration of four years." Further, for the first time, "workers could be dismissed under certain circumstances." Employers were thus left in a position of greater power, as they were given discretion over tangible employment decisions, which created conditions for the occurrence of later widespread employment discrimination.

After 1949, the Chinese government adopted a bureaucratic system of administering wages and allocating labour. Since 1957, the state exercised a virtual monopoly over the allocation of urban labour. It was the plan, and not labour market, that governed labour supply and demand. The labour "requirements" of each enterprise were based on the plan, which was adjusted to avoid urban unemployment. Reform of the urban labour system began in 1980, when the state monopoly of labour allocation was replaced by a fairly more decentralised one. Labour exchanges were set up for the registration of job vacancies, most job placements, and training. In the 1990s, the planning quota for recruitment by state enterprises was abolished, and enterprises were allowed to choose their own employees. The state no longer took responsibility for matching the supply of and demand for labour. During the economic transition period, several other factors such as the competitive labour market, lack of social awareness and insufficient legal remedies have contributed to the severity and pervasiveness of employment discrimination in China (Zeng, 2007). First, the economic reforms occurring throughout the 1980s, which were based upon the premise of privatisation, left China with notably

high unemployment rates. Under this historical circumstance, employment discrimination became more and more widespread as the labour market became increasingly competitive. Zeng (2007) also noted that China's cutthroat labour market, in which demand for jobs far outstrips supply, places the employer in a position of power when compared to prospective employees. Hence, as unemployment increased, the use of unfair hiring practices grew along. The sheer size of the labour force, along with the high unemployment rate and employers' nearly unlimited discretion in employment decisions, left job applicants and employees, especially former State owned enterprises (SOE) workers, in an extremely unfavorable position with almost no bargaining power. As a result, higher unemployment rates were accompanied with increasingly unfair hiring practices.

Migrant peasant workers are who, in China, are called *Nong-min Gong*, meaning a very special group in urban China (Solinger, 1999). This term generally refers to people who are from the rural areas with agricultural household registrations seeking employment in urban cities. During China's economic transition and urbanisation, hundreds of millions of migrant peasant workers swarmed into urban areas and have now become a major part of the force in the modernizing cities. Official statistics reveal that migrant peasant workers compose 68% of the manufacturing industry workforce and 80% of the construction industry workforce (Research Office of the State Council – RSC, 2008). Migrant peasant workers, who make up a large percentage of the working population, constantly face discrimination during employment. The discrimination is engendered by the government's historical practice of initially prohibiting, and then restricting, migrant peasant workers from entering and working in urban cities as embedded in the *Hukou* system. It is then exacerbated by employers' practice of subjecting migrant peasant workers to substandard or even abusive employment conditions.

According to a recent survey by Dingjian (2007) from China University of Political Science and Law, 85.5% of people surveyed responded that they experienced discrimination or observed it happening to others, and 50.5% of them see the discrimination as serious; only 6.6% reported seeing no discrimination (Dingjian, 2007). A broad range of factors are considered when employers review job applicants and assess employees, according to the survey. These factors include gender, age, health condition, physical appearance, height, disabilities, ethnicity, religious belief, political affiliation, registered permanent residency, sexual orientation, amongst others. The study also found that discrimination occurs during all stages of employment from application, hiring, work assignment, compensation, and benefits, to promotion and termination

of employment. Of those surveyed, 30.8% reported experiencing discrimination in compensation and employment benefits, 22.7% in job assignment, 21.3% in promotion and 17.6% in the application process. As a whole, 54.9% of the surveyed people responded as having been discriminated against in their employment and 15.6% of surveyed people described the discrimination they experienced as severe.

Maurer-Fazio (2012), however, found clear evidence of discrimination against ethnic minority women. Job seekers with Mongolian names would need to submit 36% more applications than equally qualified women with Han names to get the same number of callbacks. The situation is even worse for women with Uighur and Tibetan names, who must submit 83 and 121% more applications, respectively, to get as many callbacks as women with Han names. Maurer-Fazio (2012) investigated how Chinese firms respond to job applications from ethnic minority and Han applicants for jobs posted on a large Chinese internet job board. Ethnicity was denoted by means of names that are typically Han Chinese and distinctively Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur. Using a large-scale field experiment, the paper found significant differences in the callback rates by ethnicity and that these differences vary systematically across ethnic groups. It also found that not all firms discriminate and that approximately half of them treat all candidates equally. However, State-owned firms are significantly less likely than privately-owned firms to discriminate against minorities by calling only candidates with Han names and much more likely to treat candidates equally.

In the same vein, Kuhn and Shen (2012) examined the link between gender discrimination and Chinese internet job market. One of the strongest and most robust relationships found is that of a negative 'skill-targeting' relationship. This means that as a job's skill requirements rise, the share of ads stipulating a preferred gender declines. This relationship holds whether we measure skill by the job's education requirements, experience requirements, or its advertised wage, and is present in simple comparisons of means as well as regressions that control for detailed job attributes. Though they did not find a robust relationship between skill levels and the direction of firms' gender preferences, they found that these preferences are highly correlated with firms' requests for other ascriptive worker characteristics, specifically age and physical attributes. The a priori to deduce from Kuhn and Shen (2012) for this study is that we expect that employment discrimination will decline as migrant workers improve in skill regardless of race and nationality.

Yang (2000) examined the determinants of migration intentions in Hubei province in central China. The results indicate that males

are more likely to migrate as individuals than females are. Although age has a great deterrent impact on family migration, being married shows a much greater negative effect on planning an individual migration. Also, family network played a more important role in determining individual migration than family migration. The results lend support to the notion that temporary migrants in cities do consider themselves as temporary residents and are therefore more likely to migrate again in the near future. They also confirm the argument that different factors play significant roles in individual versus family migration, and highlight the importance in distinguishing the two in empirical studies in developing countries.

2.5 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE SOUTH—FOCUS ON CHINA

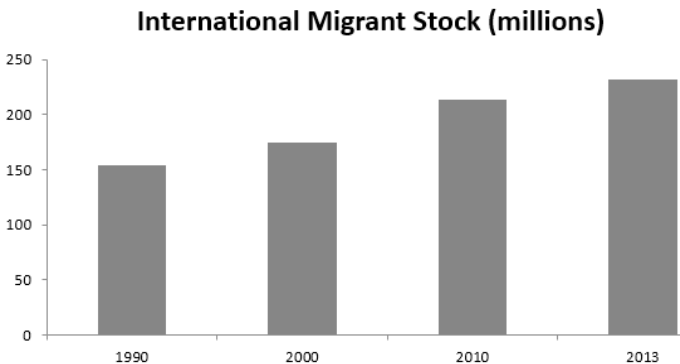
International migration is one of the core development issues attracting the attention of policy makers worldwide today. Even though migration is not a recent trend, it is attracting attention in the light of current economic and social developments. This is as a result of the growing debate on the role of migration in economic development of both the origin and destination countries. According to Kerr and Kerr (2011), migration contributes to economic development in destination countries through human capital development and labour supply, and in origin countries through remittances. In contrast, it could also undermine development in countries of origin through promotion of brain drain. Thus, balancing the positive and negative impacts of migration in both sending and receiving countries is an important development policy agenda.

Since the 1990s, the level of international movements has increased substantially. This could be attributed to a number of factors which include increasing globalisation and trade among countries, and the disparity in economic opportunities between developed and developing regions and countries.

While there are many different ways of conceptualising the principle and processes of globalisation, Köhler (2002) conceptualised it as a process through which an increasingly free flow of ideas, people, goods, services and capital leads to the integration of economies and societies is being enhanced. These processes of social and economic change have contributed to increasing global North-South divides in health and mortality, living standards, working conditions, human security, access to justice and human rights protection. Wills et al (2010) argue that a part of globalisation has been the worldwide implementation of the neoliberal economic model, which has supported labour deregulation, which in turn has led to complex processes of contracting

and subcontracting. As a result, there now exist complex multinational chains of production (global commodity chains or global production networks) involving suppliers in different parts of the world, driving down earnings and increasing labour uncertainty as different parts of the chain seek ever-cheaper labour markets (see Kagan et al, 2011). According to UN DESA (2013), as shown in Figure 1 below, the number of international migrants increased from 154 million in 1990 to 175 million in 2000, 214 million in 2010, and 232 million in 2013. This indicates that international migrant stock increased annually by an average of 1.2%, 2.3% and 1.6% between 1990 and 2000, 2000 and 2010, and 2010 and 2013 respectively. There is also an increase in the proportion of international migrants in global population from 2.9% in 1990 to 3.1% in 2010. The statistics clearly show the growth in the trend and pace of international migration.

Fig 1: International Migrant Stock, 1990-2013

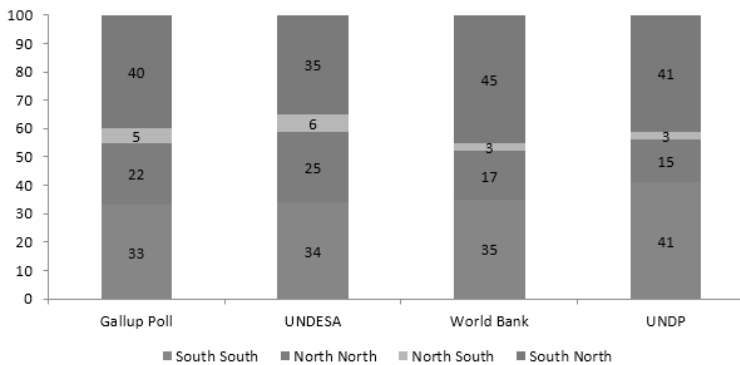


Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2013

The current statistics on international migration show that the most international migrants originates in developing countries and are hosted by developed countries. This is the traditional and established trend of international migration. However, contrary to the conventional South-North migration flow, recent trends in international migration also show a South-South and North-South flow patterns (IOM, 2013). Though developed countries are the major destination of international migrants, an increasing number of developing countries are also attracting immigrants. Figure 2 shows the migration flow based on estimates from Gallup Poll, World Bank, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). According to the Gallup Poll estimates,

more than half of the top 20 migration corridors are accounted for by South-South migration. The Gallup Poll, World Bank, UNDESA and UNDP estimates show that 40%, 45%, 35% and 31%, respectively, of international migrants move from the South to the North with only 5%, 3%, 6% and 3%, respectively, moving in the opposite direction. This is in line with expectation given the disparity between economic development and hope of economic opportunities in developed and developing countries. However, the global financial crisis that severely affected developed countries and increasing demand for skilled labour in emerging countries could be responsible for the noticed North-South migration.

Fig. 2: Migration Pathways Estimates, 2010



Source: Gallup (2012) and IOM (2013)

An important and growing trend shown by the estimates is the level of South-South migration. The Gallup Poll, World Bank, UN DESA and UNDP estimates show a South-South migration trend of 33%, 35%, 34% and 41%, respectively, compared to North-North migration at 22%, 17%, 25% and 15%, respectively. This growing South-South migration trend could partly be as a result of the increasing level of economic development in some developing countries (such as China, Brazil, etc.) that is propelling migrants from other developing countries to migrate there. Other factors such as increasing globalisation of the economies of developing countries and immigration regulations within the framework of regional economic blocs could also be responsible for this trend. Based on the available data, evidence points to increase in migration to developing countries.

One of the developing countries that have attracted an increased number of international immigrants in recent years is China. China's impressive economic performance in the past few decades has attracted

wide attention both domestically and internationally. One of the impacts of China's economic development is the influx of foreign migrant workers in the past decade. According to an ILO publication, about 458,000 foreigners migrate to China for work (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2005). Particularly, the rate of migration among citizens of Africa, North America, Europe and South East has increased significantly in recent years. This is partly as a result of the opening of the Chinese society in 1978 (Bork-Huffer, Rafflenbeul, Kraas and Li, 2013), and recently due to rapid growth of the Chinese economy as well as the economic crisis that have grinded the economies of these regions, and forced workers to seek economic opportunities elsewhere. Despite the global financial crisis that crushed the Euro zone economy and those of other Western countries, China's economy still continues to record impressive economic growth, and this opens increased employment opportunities for foreigners in the country.

Before the 1978 opening-up and reform policy in China, foreign immigration was largely limited (Liu, 2009). This is as a result of strict regulation and government-driven economic development model. During this period, means of economic production and economic resources are owned and allocated by the government, and allow for limited or absolutely no private enterprises and individual initiatives. However, in 1978, the opening-up policy and series of economic reforms were put in place. As a result of this pivotal action, the Chinese economy attracted significant foreign investments, partly driven by her large population, which serves both as a source of cheap labour and market size. Due to the reform policies of this era, the international migration policies were relaxed, but immigration to China remained largely limited and subject to strict regulations (Liu, 2009; Bork-Huffer et al, 2013). However, China's impressive and consistent economic performance over the past few decades, as well as its significance in the global economy and international community, has shifted attention to the country as a potential migration destination.

Over the past few years, there has been an increase in the number of foreign workers migrating to China in search of economic opportunities. Even though North America and Europe are still the largest destinations of international economic migrants, the proportion of foreign migrant workers in China has increased significantly. The source of migrant workers relocating to China ranges from Africa to Europe, Americas, Middle East and even Asia. While it may be difficult to accurately ascertain the number of migrant workers relocating to China annually, available evidence shows a major increase. According to the 2013 World Migration Report, there are 685,775 migrants in China in 2010, an increase of 35% from the figure in 2000. OECD (2012) also

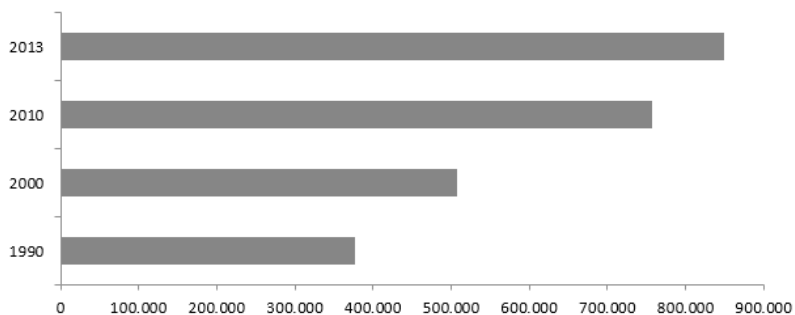
reports that the number of foreign nationals holding residence permits in China increased by 29% between 2006 and 2010. Furthermore, international immigrant stock as a percentage of the total population in China increased consistently from 0.03% in 1990 to 0.04%, 0.05% and 0.06% in 2000, 2010 and 2013, respectively. As at 2013, male migrants make up 52% of total immigrants in China. Table 1 and Figure 3 present the trend of international immigration in China.

Table 1: China (Country) International Immigration Profile, 1990-2010

Indicator	1990	2000	2010	2013
Estimated number of international migrants at mid-year	376,361	508,034	757,108	848,511
International migrants as % of the population	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.06

Source: UN DESA (2013)

Fig 3: Estimated Immigrant Stock in China



Source: UN DESA (2013).

There are no reliable data on the source countries or regions of foreign migrant workers in China. Based on the 2009 Chinese Statistical Yearbook (NBS, 2009), about 24.3 million foreign visitors entered China in 2008. The proportion of the visitors across regions shows that the majority—59.82%—come from Asia, 25.17% from Europe, 9.54% from North America, 2.83% from Oceania, 1.60% from Africa, and 1.07% from Latin America. This figure includes students, tourists, migrant workers or other groups of foreigners. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the actual number of migrants in China is considerably lower. Pieke (2010) estimated that about 2 million foreigners are living in China. Neither does this figure depict the actual number of migrant workers in the country because it does not indicate the status of the

estimated foreigners. Similarly, the demography of foreign migrant workers in China in terms of age, gender, educational attainment and race is not known, as it is not published. This makes evaluation considerably more difficult and hence a comprehensive research on the subject is desirable.

This phenomenal increase in international migration to China could be attributed to a number of factors. According to Bork-Huffer et al (2013), both national and global developments have contributed to the increase in migration flow into China in recent years. They stated specifically that the global economic crisis of 2008/2009 and China's entry to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are examples of the global developments driving migration flows while national immigration regulations, development strategies, and hosting of major international events are domestic influencing factors. Skeldon (2011) posits that demand for labour in China is exceeding supply due to rapid economic growth and demographic changes, leading to increasing demand for foreign labour. The major factors motivating international migration to China are briefly discussed below.

Poverty and Unemployment. High and growing levels of poverty and unemployment in migrants' countries of origin are one of the key factors that compel them to migrate to other countries where they sense hope of employment and a better standard of living. It is noteworthy that despite efforts by the international community to alleviate poverty in developing countries, the proportion of people living in poverty in developing regions is still high (Chandy and Gertz, 2011). This is particularly the case in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Slowed economic growth, high unemployment rates and cost of living in the United States and Europe as well as in traditionally developing regions has also aggravated emigration flows. In contrast, China has experienced significant poverty reduction over the past few decades, which has opened up opportunities for nationals and foreign citizens alike in the country. High poverty and unemployment in origin countries coupled with China's success story in poverty alleviation and economic progress have facilitated the movement of international migrant workers to China. According to Seligson (2009) and Pieke (2012), China's strong economic performance and low-cost living are pull factors for economic migrants from North America.

Economic Crisis. According to Bork-Huffer et al (2013), the economic crisis of 2008/2009 is one of the major global developments that propel the increased migration flow to China. Over the past few decades, the economy of China has witnessed more significant economic

growth than developed countries like the United States, European Union and Japan. Besides, China has overtaken Japan as the largest economy in Asia and become the second largest economy in the world after the United States. The economic growth gap between China and these countries was further widened by the effects of the global economic crisis of 2008/2009. The EU economies went into recession while the growth of the US economy was substantially slowed. In contrast, China's economy still experienced significant growth, averaging over 7%. The resulting effects of the crisis in the US, Europe and other parts of the world in terms of rising poverty and unemployment increased the rate of migration flow from these countries to China. Migrant workers depart their countries for China in the hope of attaining the potential opportunities associated with economic growth and globalisation in China.

Governance, Political Instability and Conflicts. Poor governance resulting in lack of basic necessities, corruption, and political instability in developing countries are some of the push factors of international migration. In the past decades, a number of countries have experienced severe political crisis and bad governance, which have resulted in numerous losses of lives and properties, and undermined possibilities of economic opportunities and better standard of living. On the other hand, China has enjoyed relative social and political stability, which has also contributed to her economic growth and development, and facilitated economic opportunities and employment. Growing insecurity in a number of African countries, and political instability and terrorism in the Middle East have forced millions to migrate to relatively peaceful countries like China. According to UN DESA (2013), estimated number of refugees in China increased from 285,788 in 1990 to 301,018 in 2013, confirming the increasing role of crisis as a push factor for international migration into China.

Globalisation and Opening-up. The "opening-up" policy of 1978 in China is a pivotal step towards economic development. Before 1978, China had maintained a relatively closed economy with little relationship with the global economy. Realising the potential positive impact of globalisation in economic development, the Chinese government opened up its economy in 1978. This step has significantly increased trade and investment, and broadened China's relationship with other countries. Alongside the increase in trade and investment is the increase in immigration and emigration flows. Foreign companies investing in China often deploy some of their nationals as employees in their China subsidiary/office, thus increasing the number of

migrant workers in the country. A number of Chinese-owned private enterprises are also attracting talented and experienced employees from other parts of the world to bring their experiences and knowledge to bear on the development of their enterprises.

Education. Education has contributed to immigration flow into China in a number of ways. Firstly, the economic prosperity in China in the past decade has contributed to the improvement and visibility of China's higher education system. In recent years, increasing numbers of foreign students from developed and developing countries are attending Chinese universities for higher education (UNESCO, 2012), with the country attracting 238,184 overseas students in 2009 (Skeldon, 2011). These opportunities enable foreign students to be acquainted with the Chinese language and culture as well as expose them to other opportunities within China that may influence their decisions to live or work in the country after their studies. Also, the economic prosperity in China and the improvement in living standard associated with it have increased the possibility of Chinese nationals migrating to other countries for studies. The number of Chinese nationals studying in the US, Canada, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand has increased in recent years. Studying in non-Chinese speaking countries require Chinese nationals to learn the language of instruction of education in the host universities, which is usually the English language. As a result, lots of elementary and high schools in China are incorporating English Language as a subject into their curriculum, and thereby creating opportunities for international migrants to work as English Language teachers in the country. The growing influence of the Chinese language could also be a driving factor of immigration flow into the country.

Immigration Regulations. Immigration policies and regulations are crucial to the flow of migrants in every part of the world. Over the years, China's immigration policies and regulations have changed considerably in line with government policies, with attendant impacts on immigration flows (Bork-Huffer and Yuan-Ihle, 2014). The opening-up policy and globalisation of the Chinese economy has significantly influenced immigration policies. Since the opening-up, China has been relatively liberal with immigration compared with the pre-1978 era. Furthermore, changes in international relations and bilateral agreements between countries have influenced migration flow to China. In recent years, the country has signed immigration cooperation agreements with a number of countries to enable their nationals to migrate easily and work in each other's countries. A recent case example

is the agreement reached between China and the US that increased the visa validity period to 10 years. Such policy has the tendency to increase migration flows among nationals of countries involved in the arrangement.

Hosting of Major International Events. Hosting of international events such as the 2008 Olympic Games, 2010 Shanghai Expo and 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games could also be an important driver of immigration flow in China (Bork-Huffer et al, 2013). China has continued to take on increased international responsibilities since she emerged as one of the largest economies in the world. Hosting the 2008 Olympic Games gave the world an impression about the Chinese economy and society. The events attracted large numbers of participants and tourists who may have been influenced to live or work in the country due to their perception of the society. Besides, hosting of international political, economic, and cultural events could also post a positive picture of China and a sign of international recognition. These factors, alongside the economic performance and opportunities, could influence migration to China.

Demographic Changes. One of the major factors influencing migration according to the 2013 World Migration Report is demographic changes. Decreasing fertility and increasing life expectancy in many countries could create an imbalance in the demand and supply of labour. Though China has a large population, the population growth rate is very low. This is due to the deliberate government policy—one-child policy—which limits the number of children a family can have. This, coupled with the increasing life expectancy in the country, has created a demographic transition. The growing population of the aged relative to young people could result in wide disparity between demand and supply of labour (Skeldon, 2011), and hence serve as a pull factor for international migrant workers (Park, 2010). Though the government recently reviewed the one-child policy by allowing certain families to have two children, its impact on labour supply is still limited.

Emergence of Organised Migrant Communities. Transnational networking could be an important pull factor of international migration. According to the 2013 World Migration Report, the emergence of organised migrant communities in destination countries serves as a social and cultural pull factor (IOM, 2013). A network of individuals from the same origin country in destination countries could facilitate the migration of other immigrants from the same origin country. For instance, the network of African migrant workers in Guangzhou and

Foshan cities of Guangdong Province of South-East China has facilitated the movement of Africans to these cities in particular, and China in general (Bork-Huffer and Yuan-Ihle, 2014).

2.6 REGULATING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN CHINA

Rapid economic growth and the associated improvements in living standards in China fuelled significant rural-urban and international migration. But employment discrimination is a pervasive social problem encountered by both domestic and international migrants in China. According to ILO (2010) and Webster (2011), there are records of high level of employment discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and nationality in China. Employment discrimination exists among rural and urban migrant workers, and also among foreign migrant workers.

There are various efforts and measures to address the high level of employment discrimination pervasive in the Chinese society. Even though there is no separate legislation that proscribes employment discrimination, there are provisions in various Chinese laws that address the problem of (employment) discrimination. Article 33 of the Chinese Constitution, which is known as the Chinese Equal Protection Clause, provides that “all citizens of the People’s Republic of China are equal before the law.” Furthermore, Articles 4, 36, 48 and 89 of the Constitution assert that all citizens are equal, and prohibit discrimination based on ethnic minority status, gender and religion. These provisions of the Constitution are however not specific to employment or a particular aspect of people’s activities.

In terms of employment, the Employment Promotion Law of 2007, Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women of 1992, and Law on the Protection of Disabled Persons of 1990 prohibit employment discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, gender, religious belief, race, migrant workers status, carriers of infectious diseases status, and disability status. Also, articles 25-31 of the Employment Promotion Law of the People’s Republic of China enacted in 2007 and effective in 2008 state provisions that emphasise the creation of fair employment provisions, promotion of equal employment opportunities and elimination of discriminatory practices in employment in all forms and from all perspectives. The major law that relate directly to employment discrimination of foreigners is the Labour Law of the People’s Republic of China which was enacted in 1994. The Law prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of nationality, race, sex, or religious belief. The Rules for the Administration of the Employment of Foreigners in China enacted in 1996 provide guidelines governing the employment and management of foreign migrant

workers in China. But there is no section in the rule that addresses or mentions the issue of employment discrimination.

China is also a party to international conventions against employment discrimination. The ILO's Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), which was ratified by China in 2006, specifically targets issues of employment discrimination. The Convention advocates for equal opportunity and treatment in both private and public employment. According to Article 1(1)(a) of the Convention, foreign migrant workers are protected against employment discrimination on the basis of race, religion, political opinion, colour, social origin, national extraction. However, according to Vuori (1996), while the Convention protects foreign migrant workers against discrimination on the above stated grounds, it does not protect them against discrimination on the basis of nationality. Article 2 of the Convention also encourages countries to pursue a national policy designed to promote equality of opportunity in employment and eliminate discrimination. But despite the preponderance of legislation proscribing employment discrimination, the legal and regulatory system has been ineffective in dealing with the problem in China (Lu, 2009).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section focuses on the experimental design, method of data collection and the analytical procedure and techniques adopted in this paper. The research makes use of primary data and different methodologies. Employment discrimination is studied both from the perspective of getting a job and working conditions. But there are major methodological challenges faced by the study. The first lies in the definition of discrimination. Discrimination has been defined in different ways in the literature. In Roberts (2012), employment discrimination is defined broadly as a distinct criterion, treatment, or consideration by an employer to job applicants or employees based on classifications or categories rather than individual merit. According to Convention No. 111 of the ILO, discrimination includes:

- a) any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation;
- b) such other distinction, exclusion, or preference which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or

treatment in employment or occupation as may be determined by the Member concerned after consultation with representative employers' and workers' organisations, where such exist, and with other appropriate bodies.

According to Ben-Israel (1993), employment discrimination could be direct or indirect. It is said to be direct if there is a differential treatment as a result of race, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, and/or other criteria. It is indirect if the same criteria or conditions are applied to all employees, which indirectly favour or disadvantages a group relative to the other. Indirect discrimination is difficult to identify as it is enmeshed in an organisation's policies. As a result, the present study will focus on direct discrimination when a migrant is disadvantaged because of a specified criterion (in this case, nationality or race).

The second challenge involves data collection and analysis. Due to the difficulties inherent in defining employment discrimination, various methods have been used to collect data on the subject. The most commonly used field experiment methods which to a large extent depict discrimination are the audit and correspondence methods. One of such controlled experiment was conducted by Jowell and Prescott-Clarke (1970), which sent carefully-matched job applications to employers to investigate racial discrimination in England. This method is also used by Riach and Rich (1987) to test sexual and employment discrimination in Melbourne, Australia. Since then, the technique has been extensively used to study employment discrimination in Europe and North America based on several criteria (Weichselbaumer, 2004; Riach and Rich, 2006; Goldberg et al, 1996; Kaas and Manger, 2010). A similar method is also adopted by Ioe et al (1996), which collects information based on telephone call applications instead of the direct resume submission style. Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2008) collect data on employment discrimination through interviews. To comprehensively capture and study employment discrimination both in the sense of access to jobs and in working conditions, the data for this research is collected through studying job advertisement requirements, sending of fictitious resume to job advertisements, and administering of questionnaires to migrant workers.

The third challenge is the conceptualisation of North and South. In this paper, the conceptualisation of "North" and "South" reflects the level of development of a country. Though the North and South categorisation does not accurately capture the overall trend and dimension of development (Cox and Sinclair, 1996), it is used in this paper to depict developed and developing countries, respectively. Following

the 2013 World Migration Report, there are three main categorisations of North-South dichotomy as provided by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The UNDESA categorisation classifies countries into developing and developed regions; and countries such as the US, Canada, European countries, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand are classified as North (developed countries). The World Bank categorisation grades countries every year according to their income level (GNI per capita); and countries in the high-income groups are considered as North. In addition to some of the countries (not all) under the UNDESA, the World Bank categorisation includes Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Saudi Arabia, etc. in North. The UNDP approach uses the human development index (HDI) to grade countries, and includes countries ranking “very high” HDI.

In this study, the UNDESA classification is adopted. Based on this classification, the North includes the US, Canada, all European countries, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand; while the South includes all countries in Africa, all countries in the Americas except the US and Canada, all countries in the Caribbean, all countries in Asia except Japan, all countries in Oceania except Australia and New Zealand. This classification is adopted for two reasons. First, unlike the World Bank and UNDP approaches, which change annually based on changes in income and the HDI, the UNDESA classification does not change significantly over time. Second, the South-South research collaboration programme executed by CODESRIA, CLASCO and IDEAS focuses on Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are best suited under the UNDESA classification, except for only Japan, that is an Asian country classified as North.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Data for this study is collected through various methods. Firstly, we collect and analyse information on job advertisement for foreigners in China by looking at the key requirements stipulated in the advertisement. Specifically, we note the requirements that are related to nationality or race, or that give certain people undue advantages over others. Job advertisements for foreigners are tracked on job-related websites and through other information source in China. Some of these websites include jobs.echinacities.com, www.whatsonxiamen.com, www.expatexchange.com and so on. Afterward, fictitious resumes are sent to the potential employers to ascertain whether employers’ decisions are based on resume quality, or race and nationality. One of the research objectives is to examine the impact of racial and national identity on

labour market outcomes in China while controlling for other determinants of labour market outcomes such as academic achievement, personal strength, qualifications, language proficiency, experience, residence, and work permit status, as well as employer characteristics such as ownership, and control and job specification. Specifically, it investigates if race (Black or White) and nationality (North or South) corresponds to the prospects of getting a job. Fictitious resumes to job advertisements in different cities in China are developed and systematically divided to reflect different race (White and Black) and nationality (North/developed and South/developing countries). Similar information and qualities of resumes are sent to employers with only differences in race and nationality. Race and nationality are explicitly stated on the resume. Other determinants of employment outcomes such as education, work experience and skills are held constant to actually depict the call back rate attributable to race and/or nationality. Secondly, a structured questionnaire is designed to obtain information from foreigners working in China. The questionnaire is designed to solicit questions on employment discrimination and their working condition. Furthermore, it also obtains information about how international migrants view, adapt, and respond to employment discrimination. Unlike the data collected through the fictitious resume, this method enables information about getting a job and the working conditions of those presently on the job. One of the rationales for going further to examine discrimination on the job instead of only in the process of getting a job is the many forms through which employment discrimination manifests. Zegers de Beijl (1995) posits that employment discrimination is common in access to job and training opportunities, promotion, allocation of duties and responsibilities, condition of employment including remuneration, and other areas.

Compared to previous researches using the correspondence method to obtain information on employment discrimination, this study faces a distinct challenge. The previous studies examine employment discrimination on the basis of a criterion such as gender, age, race, nationality, etc. This present study analyses employment discrimination based on two criteria—race and nationality—within the same framework. To collect data using the fictitious resumes, eight (8) resumes are designed and sent to every job advertisement. The resumes are designed to capture race and nationality as they are explicitly written on the resume. The categorisation of the resume based on race and nationality are as follows: 2 American (1 Black American and 1 White American), 2 British (1 White British and 1 Black British), 2 South African (1 White and 1 Black South African), 1 White Bahaman, and 1 Black Indian. In all, there are 4 applicants from developed countries

(North)—USA (2) and England (2)—, and 4 applicants from developing countries (South)—South Africa (2), Bahamas (1) and India (1). In terms of race, there are 4 Whites (1 US, 1 England, 1 Bahamas and 1 South Africa) and 4 Black (1 US, 1 England, 1 South Africa and 1 India) applicants.

Table 2: Categorisation of Resumes Based on Race (Black/White) and Nationality (North/South)

	North		South			
Race/Nationality	US	England	South Africa	India	Bahamas	Total
Black	1	1	1	1		4
White	1	1	1		1	4
Total	4		4			

To ensure that the decision of the employer to invite the applicants for interview is based on race and nationality, all the other information on the resumes is designed to be as similar and homogenous as possible. For example, to avoid employers' bias on work experience and quality of education across the countries of the origin of the applicants, it is taken that all the applicants speak Chinese and English fluently, had similar quality of tertiary education and previous work experiences. They also have the legal permit to live and work in China. Eight (8) email addresses were opened to send the resumes. The email addresses are also used as a contact point for information from the employer and invitation for interview. In the understanding that some employers might prefer to contact applicants through phone numbers, the phone contacts of the members of the author's research group are included in the resume. The resumes are sent in response to any job openings for foreigners in any part of China. Obtaining data through the fictitious resume method commences in December 2014 and ends in April 2015.

Questionnaires are also designed and distributed among migrant workers in China. The frequency tables obtained from the responses are presented in Appendix C. In addition to questions about perception of and response to employment discrimination, the questionnaire contains demographic information such as gender, country of origin, race, number of years in China, cities of residence in China, age, educational attainment, marital status, income level, etc. The demographic information is essential to be able to categorise the perception of the respondents on employment discrimination under such demographic information. In other words, the information shows whether

the perception of foreign migrant workers on employment discrimination is influenced by their demographic characteristics. The questionnaires are administered in major cities in China. This is aimed at considering regional heterogeneity given the differences in economic development, population size and costs/standards of living across cities in China.

3.2 ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUE

This study adopts the statistical discrimination hypothesis while the Duncan statistical regression model is adopted for estimating the impact of getting a job in China discriminating along the lines of race and nationality. In terms of techniques, this paper will make use of descriptive and econometric techniques. The descriptive technique presents the data and information collected in an easily comprehensible form. This entails tables, percentages and basic measures of central tendencies. The response of the respondents with respect to the perception of employment discrimination as reported by them is compared across their nationality, race, cities of residence, educational attainment, and other factors.

The econometric technique adopted is the logit regression models. According to Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000), the probit/logit regression models are appropriate models for analysing regression whose dependent variables are binary. In these models, the inverse standard normal distribution of the probability is modeled as linear combination of the independent variables (Long, 1997). Previous studies on this subject such as Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), Booth et al (2012), and Hwok-Aun and AbdulKhalid (2012) adopt this technique to examine the impact of race and ethnicity of employment prospects. Race and nationality will be regressed on the probability of getting an interview invitation while controlling for other determinants of application success.

In addition to the analysis of the data collected through the fictitious resumes by logit models, the study also determines whether the view of foreign migrant workers on employment discrimination is related to their race and/or nationality. Thus, the data collected through the questionnaire is analysed using the logit regression model. Race (X_1) and nationality (X_2) are also decomposed as thus: $X_1 = x_{11}, \dots, x_{1n}$, and $X_2 = x_{21}, \dots, x_{2n}$ to capture observed race and nationality. Also, using race and nationality as dependent variables, the effect of type of employment, gender, qualification, amongst others can also be estimated to ascertain what race and nationality benefit the most from changing labour market structure in China.

LOGIT/PROBIT REGRESSION MODEL

According to Stock and Watson (2006), the probit regression models the probability that $Y = 1$ using the cumulative standard normal distribution function, evaluated at z . It is normally expressed as follow:

$$\Pr(Y = 1|X) = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1 X)$$

Φ is the cumulative normal distribution function.

$z = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X$ is the z-value or z-index of the probit model.

The probit model satisfies these conditions:

- $0 \leq \Pr(Y = 1|X) \leq 1$ for all X
- $\Pr(Y = 1|x)$ to be increasing in X (for $\beta_0 > 0$)

Thus, z-value = $\beta_0 + \beta_1 X$

$\widehat{\beta}_0 + \widehat{\beta}_1 X$ is the predicted z-value, given X

β_1 is the change in the z-value for a unit change in X. The estimation is done using STATA.

RESULTS

4.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The descriptive statistics is divided into two parts. The first part shows the data collected through the submission of CVs to job placements. The second part focuses on the data collected through the questionnaire.

4.1.1 DATA COLLECTED THROUGH CV SUBMISSION

Here a total of 8 different CVs (2 US citizens—1 Black and 1 White; 2 UK citizens—1 Black and 1 White; 2 South African citizens—1 Black and 1 White; 1 Indian citizen—Black, and 1 Bahamas citizen—White) were sent to each job opening. The CVs (see samples in appendix) are all homogenous in terms of educational qualification, years of work experience, language proficiency, skills, etc. The only differences in the CVs are the names, nationality and photograph of the job applicants (to show their race). After sending a total 456 CVs to 58 job openings over the period of four (4) months, only 4 invitations for interview were received.

Table 3: CV Identity and Invitation for Interview

CV Identity	Invitation for Interview			
	Job 1	Job 2	Job 3	Job 4
US (White)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
US (Black)	No	No	No	No
UK (White)	No	Yes	No	No
UK (Black)	No	No	No	No
South Africa (White)	No	No	No	No
South Africa (Black)	No	No	No	No
Indian (Black)	No	No	No	No
Bahamas (White)	No	No	No	No

From the 4 responses recorded in table 3, it is seen that the White US citizen is invited for interview in all the four cases while the White UK citizen is invited for interview in one case. Neither the Black citizens of the US and the UK nor the citizens of South Africa, India and Bahamas are invited for the interview. However, because it is not sufficient to use 32 observations out of 456 to make a generalisation, the major analysis of this research is based on the data collected through the questionnaire. Also, the majority of the jobs are teaching jobs, thus it would be unreliable to make a credible conclusion from the data.

4.1.2 DATA COLLECTED THROUGH QUESTIONNAIRE

A total of 640 questionnaires were administered. Out of the 640 questionnaires, 547 questionnaires were returned, which represent an 85% return rate.

Table 4: Frequency Distribution of Respondents According to Race

Race	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Black	105	19.34	19.34
White	172	31.68	51.01
Latino	31	5.71	56.72
Caucasian	51	9.39	66.11
Asian	165	30.39	96.50
Others	19	3.50	100.00
Total	543	100.00	
Nationality	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
North	248	45.76	45.76
South	294	54.24	100.00

Africans	92	16.97	16.97
Asians	170	31.37	48.34
Europeans	156	28.78	77.12
North Americans	67	12.36	89.48
South Americans	29	5.35	94.83
Australia/Oceania	28	5.17	100.00

The distribution of the respondents according to race in Table 4 shows that 19.34% are Blacks, 31.68% are Whites, 5.71% are Latinos, 9.39% are Caucasians, 30.39% are Asians, and 3.50% identified as other races. In terms of the continents of the respondents, 16.97% are from Africa while 31.37%, 28.78%, 12.36%, 5.35% and 5.17% are from Asia, Europe, North America, South America, and Australia/Oceania, respectively. Also, looking at the development status of the country of origin of the respondents using the North/South categorisation, 45.76% are from developed countries (North) and 54.24% are from developing countries (South).

The representation of more than five types of respondents by racial divide is consistent with one of the justifications for this study following Shore et al (2009). The diversity of migrants in China would thus help to identify the specific factors that make the respondents to classify themselves as being racially discriminated against or not in the work place. The classification of nationality into global North and South divide shows that there are more migrants from the South (54.24%) in China than those from the global North (45.76%).

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents According to How Many Years They Have Worked in China

Years	Freq.	(%)	Cum. Freq.
Less than 2	243	44.92	44.92
2-4 years	175	32.35	77.26
5-7 years	90	16.64	93.90
8-10 years	18	3.33	97.23
Over 10 years	15	2.77	100.00
Total	541	100.00	

Table 5 above shows the distribution of the respondents based on how many years they have been working in China. 44.92% have worked in China for less than 2 years, 32.35% have worked for 2-4 years, 16.64% for 5-7 years, 3.33% for 8-10 years and 2.77% for more than 10 years. It appears, therefore, that most migrants mostly make do with part-time jobs as about 44.92% of them have only worked for less than two years.

Table 6: Frequency Distribution of Respondents According Gender, Age and Educational Level

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Male	333	61.21	61.21
Female	211	38.79	100.00
Total	544	100.00	
Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
18-24 years	120	22.06	22.06
25-34 years	273	50.18	72.24
35-44 years	119	21.88	94.12
45-54 years	27	4.96	99.08
Over 55 years	5	0.92	100.00
Total	544	100.00	
Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Primary	5	0.95	0.95
Secondary	53	10.10	11.05
Bachelor Degree	283	53.90	64.95
> Bachelor Degree	184	35.05	100.00
Total	525	100.00	

Table 6 shows the gender distribution of the respondents. 61.21% are male while 38.79% are female. This could confirm the assertion that males are more mobile than female, partly due to social and cultural reasons. In terms of the age distribution of the respondents, 22.06% are within the age of 18 and 24 years, 50.18% within 25 and 34 years, 21.88% within 35 and 44 years, 4.96% within 45 and 54 years, and 0.92% are over 55 years. Looking at the level of education, 0.95% had only primary education, 10.10% had secondary education, 53.90% had bachelor’s degree while 35.05% had education attainment higher than bachelor degree.

Fig. 4: Frequency Distribution of Respondents According to Current City of Residence in China

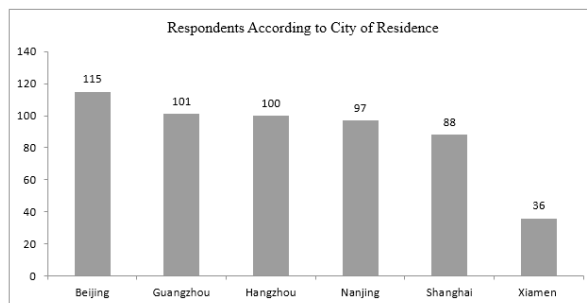


Figure 4 shows the cities of residence of the respondents. The data shows that 21.42% resides in Beijing, 18.81% in Guangzhou, 18.62% in Hangzhou, 18.06% in Nanjing, 16.39% in Shanghai, and 6.70% in Xiamen. These cities are specifically selected because they are part of the largest cities in China, with large numbers of foreign migrant workers.

Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Respondents According to Income Level

Monthly Income (RMB)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Under 1,000	1	0.19	0.19
1,000-5,000	109	20.26	20.45
5,001-10,000	177	32.90	53.35
10,001-15,000	126	23.42	76.77
Over 15,000	125	23.23	100.00
Total	538	100.00	

Fig. 5: Frequency Distribution of Respondents According to Income Level

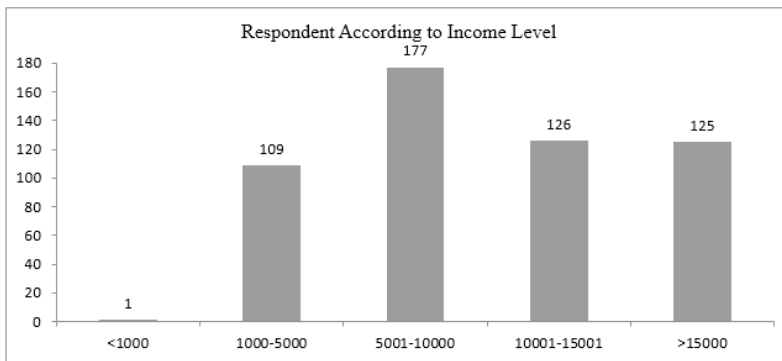


Figure 5 and Table 7 above show the income distribution of the respondents. Based on the distribution, 0.19% of the respondents have a monthly income under 1,000 RMB, 20.26% has a monthly income between 1,000 and 5,000 RMB, 32.90% has an income between 5,001 and 10,000 RMB, 23.42% has an income between 10,001 and 15,000 RMB, and 23.23% has a monthly income over 15,000 RMB.

Table 8: Income Level (RMB) of Respondents According to Race

Race/Income	< 1,000	1,000-5,000	5,001-10,000	10,001-15,000	> 15,000	Total
Black	0	13 (12.38%)	47 (44.76%)	31 (29.52%)	14 (13.33%)	105
White	1 (0.60%)	34 (20.48%)	40 (24.10%)	39 (23.49%)	52 (31.33%)	166
Latino	0	7 (22.58%)	9 (29.03%)	6 (19.35%)	9 (29.03%)	31
Caucasian	0	7 (14.00%)	21 (42.00%)	11 (22.00%)	11 (22.00%)	50
Asian	0	44 (26.83%)	52 (31.71%)	33 (20.12%)	35 (21.34%)	164
Others	0	3 (16.67%)	6 (33.33%)	6 (33.33%)	3 (16.67%)	18
	1	106	175	126	124	534

Table 8 shows the cross tabulation between income and race. This is aimed at showing the income distribution of the respondents based on the race they identify with. From the table, 12.38% of Blacks earn 1000-5000 RMB monthly as against 44.76%, 29.52% and 13.33% that earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. Comparatively, 20.48% of Whites earn between 1,000 and 5,000 RMB, as against 24.10%, 23.49% and 31.33% that earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. For Latinos, 22.58%, 29.03%, 19.35% and 29.03% earn 1,000-5,000, 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. 14% of Caucasians earn 1,000-5,000 RMB against 42%, 22% and 22%, which earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. Among respondents with racial identity as Asians, 26.83%, 31.71%, 20.12% and 21.34% earn 1,000-5,000, 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and above 15,000 RMB, respectively. For respondents that identify with other races, 16.67%, 33.33%, 33.33%, and 16.67% earn 1,000-5,000, 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and above 15,000 RMB respectively. The income distribution shows that Blacks have the lowest proportion earning, over 15,000 RMB, while Asians have the highest proportion earning, under 5,000 RMB.

Table 9: Income Level (RMB) of Respondents According to Nationality

Nationality	< 1,000	1,000-5,000	5,001-10,000	10,001-15,000	> 15,000	Total
North	1 (0.41%)	41 (16.80%)	73 (29.92%)	57 (23.36%)	72 (29.51%)	244
South	0 (0.00%)	68 (23.21%)	103 (35.15%)	69 (23.55%)	53 (18.09%)	293
Total	1	109	176	126	125	537
African	0 (0.00%)	19 (20.43%)	42 (45.16%)	25 (26.88%)	7 (7.53%)	93
Asian	0 (0.00%)	47 (27.98%)	50 (29.76%)	37 (22.02%)	34 (20.24%)	168
European	1 (0.66%)	33 (21.85%)	43 (28.48%)	33 (21.85%)	41 (27.15%)	151
N. American	0 (0.00%)	3 (4.41%)	27 (39.71%)	16 (23.53%)	22 (32.35%)	68
S. American	0 (0.00%)	5 (17.24%)	6 (20.69%)	7 (24.14%)	11 (37.93%)	29
Australia/Oc.	0 (0.00%)	2 (7.14%)	8 (28.57%)	8 (28.57%)	10 (35.71%)	28
Total	1	109	176	126	125	537

Similar to Table 8, Table 9 shows the cross tabulation between income and nationality. This is aimed at showing the income distribution of the respondents based on their nationality. From the table, 20.43% of Africans earn 1,000-5,000 RMB monthly as against 45.16%, 26.88% and 7.53%, that earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. Comparatively, 27.98% of Asians earn between 1,000 and 5,000 RMB, as against 29.76%, 22.02% and 20.24% that earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. For nationals of European countries, 21.85%, 28.48%, 21.85% and 27.15% earn 1,000-5,000, 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. 4.41% of North Americans earn 1,000-5,000 RMB against 39.71%, 23.53% and 32.35%, which earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. Among respondents from South America, 17.24%, 20.69%, 24.14% and 37.93% earn 1,000-5,000, 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. For respondents from Australia, 7.14%, 28.57%, 28.57%, and 35.71% earn 1,000-5,000, 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. Categorising nationality based on the South/North, the table shows that 16.80% of respondents from the global North earn 1,000-5,000 RMB monthly as against 29.92%, 23.36% and 29.51%, which earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. In comparison, 23.21% of respondents from the global South earn between 1,000 and 5,000 RMB, as against 35.15%, 23.55% and 18.09%, that earn 5,001-1,000, 10,001-15,000, and over 15,000 RMB, respectively. The income distribution shows that Africans have the lowest proportion earning over 15,000 RMB, while Asians have the highest proportion earning under 5,000 RMB. Similarly, in terms of the South/North divide, respondents from the global South have the highest proportion earning under 5,000 RMB and the lowest proportion earning over 15,000 RMB.

Table 10: Important factors considered by employers when hiring foreigners

Factors	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Quality of CV	196	37.98	37.98
Gender	28	5.43	43.41
Nationality	96	18.60	62.02
Race	46	8.91	70.93
Experience	77	14.92	85.85
Chinese Language proficiency	70	13.57	99.42
Others	3	0.58	100.00
Total	516	100.00	

Table 10 shows the response of participants to the important factors they feel employers consider when hiring in China. Based on the response, 37.98% states it is the quality of the applicant CV, 5.43% posit it is gender, 18.60% nationality, 8.91% race, 14.92% experience, 13.57% Chinese language proficiency, and 0.58% other factors.

Table 11a: Perception of How Easy or Difficult to Get a Job in China

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Very easy	36	6.58	6.58
Easy	101	18.46	25.05
Neutral	207	37.84	62.89
Not easy	154	28.15	91.04
Very difficult	49	8.96	100.00
Total	547	100.00	

**Table 11b: Perception of How Easy or Difficult to Get a Job in China
(Based on Race & Nationality)**

Race	Very easy	Easy	Neutral	Not easy	Very difficult	Total
Black	0 (0.00%)	5 (4.76%)	21 (20.00%)	57 (54.29%)	22 (20.95%)	105
White	21 (12.21%)	44 (25.58%)	69 (40.12%)	26 (15.12%)	12 (6.98%)	172
Latino	1 (3.23%)	4 (12.90%)	11 (35.48%)	12 (38.70%)	3 (9.68%)	31
Caucasian	8 (15.69%)	11 (21.57%)	25 (49.01%)	5 (9.80%)	2 (3.92%)	51
Asian	5 (3.03%)	34 (20.61%)	68 (41.21%)	49 (29.70%)	9 (5.45%)	165
Others	1 (5.26%)	2 (10.52%)	11 (57.89%)	5 (26.32%)	0 (0.00%)	19
Total	36	100	205	154	48	543
Nationality	Very easy	Easy	Neutral	Not easy	Very difficult	Total
North	28 (11.24%)	57 (22.89%)	101 (40.56%)	45 (18.07%)	18 (7.23%)	249
South	8 (2.69%)	44 (14.81%)	106 (35.69%)	108 (36.36%)	31 (10.44%)	297
Total	36	101	207	153	49	546
African	1 (1.08%)	6 (6.45%)	22 (23.66%)	45 (48.39%)	19 (20.43%)	93
Asian	5 (2.91%)	33 (19.19%)	75 (43.60%)	49 (28.49%)	10 (5.81%)	172
European	14 (8.97%)	29 (18.59%)	68 (43.59%)	31 (19.87%)	14 (8.97%)	156
NAmerican	10 (14.71%)	19 (27.94%)	19 (27.94%)	16 (23.53%)	4 (5.88%)	68
SAmerican	2 (6.90%)	5 (17.24%)	12 (41.38%)	8 (27.59%)	2 (6.90%)	29
Australia/O	4 (14.29%)	9 (32.14%)	11 (39.29%)	4 (14.29%)	0 (0.00%)	28
Total	36	101	207	153	49	546

In terms of how easy or difficult it is to get a job in China (Table 11a), 6.58% of the respondents ticks very easy, 18.46% easy, 37.84% neutral, 28.15% not easy, and 8.96% very difficult. Looking at the response of the participants based on their race in Table 10b, 75.24% of Blacks claims that getting a job in China is not easy or very difficult, as against 22.10% of Whites, 48.38% of Latinos, 13.72% of Caucasians, 35.15% of Asians, and 26.32% of other races. Similarly, the response of the

respondents based on their nationality as presented in Table 11b shows that 68.82% of Africans claims that getting a job in China is not easy or very difficult, as against 34.30% of Asians, 28.85% of Europeans, 29.41% of North Americans, 34.48% of South Americans, and 14.29% of Australian/Oceanians. Also, 46.80% of respondents from developing countries (South) claims it is very difficult or not easy to get a job in China compared with only 25.30% of respondents from developed countries (North). This shows that a majority of Blacks, Africans and respondents from the global South believe it is more difficult to get a job in China.

**Table 12: Perception of How Easy or Difficult to Get a Job in China
(Based on Education Level)**

Education	Very easy	Easy	Neutral	Not easy	Very difficult	Total
Primary	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (20.00%)	2 (40.00%)	2 (40.00%)	5
Secondary	3 (5.66%)	4 (7.55%)	16 (30.19%)	26 (49.06%)	4 (7.55%)	53
Bachelors	17 (6.01%)	49 (17.31%)	122 (43.11%)	72 (25.44%)	23 (8.13%)	283
> Bachelors	15 (8.15%)	43 (23.37%)	57 (30.98%)	51 (27.72%)	18 (9.78%)	184
	35	96	196	151	47	

Table 12 also shows the response of participants to the ease or difficulty of getting a job in China based on their level of education. 80% of those with only primary education claims that getting a job in China is very difficult or not easy. This is compared to 56.61% of those with secondary education, 33.57% of those with bachelor's degree and 37.50% of those with a higher degree. From the data, it seems getting a job in China may be difficult for immigrants with educational level lower than a university degree compared to those with a minimum university degree.

Table 13: Extent of the Existence or Absence of Employment Discrimination in China

Degree	Freq.	Freq. (%)	Cum. Freq.
None	45	8.32	8.32
Not strong	145	26.80	35.12
Slightly strong	197	36.41	71.53
Strong	108	19.96	91.50
Very strong	46	8.50	100.00
Total	541	100.00	

Table 13 shows the extent of the perception of the existence of employment discrimination among foreign migrant workers in China. Overall, 67.63% of the respondents answers that there is employment discrimination in China as against 32.37% that claims there is no em-

ployment discrimination. In terms of the degree of employment discrimination, 8.32% of the respondents claims there is none, 26.80% claims the level of employment discrimination is not strong, 36.41% claims it is slightly strong, 19.96% claims it is strong while 8.50% claims it is very strong.

Table 14: Denial of Employment in China—and Possible Reason(s)

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Yes	145	27.46	27.46
No	383	72.54	100.00
Total	528	100.00	
Possible reason for denial			
Nationality	19	13.10	13.10
Race	29	20.00	33.10
Other reasons	97	66.90	100.00
Total	145	100.00	

Table 14 shows the claim of employment denials in China, and the possible reasons. 27.46% of the respondents claims they have been denied employment at one time or the other in China. In terms of the reasons why they are denied employment, 13.10% claims it is because of their nationality, 20.00% claims it is because of their race, and 66.90% gave other reasons such as qualifications, language requirements, etc.

Table 15a: Perception of the Extent of the Role of Race and Nationality in Getting a Job in China

Response	Race			Nationality		
	Freq.	Percentage (%)	Cum. frequency	Freq.	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Very strongly	51	9.53	9.53	75	13.99	13.99
Strongly	197	36.82	46.36	225	41.98	55.97
Low	146	27.29	73.64	115	21.46	77.43
Very low	74	13.83	87.48	65	12.13	89.55
Not at all	67	12.52	100.00	56	10.45	100.00
Total	535	100.00		536	100.00	

Table 15b: Perception of the Role of Race and Nationality in Getting a Job in China Across Racial and Nationality Divide

Race	Very strongly	Strongly	Low	Very low	Not at all	Total
Black	17	61	10	7	4 (4.00%)	99
White	19	63	37	27	25 (14.62%)	171
Latino	0	10	15	3	3 (9.68%)	31
Caucasian	8	14	12	8	8 (16.00%)	50
Asian	5	40	64	28	28 (17.28%)	162
Others	1	8	7	1	2 (10.53%)	19
	50	196	145	74	67	532
Nationality	Very strongly	Strongly	Low	Very low	Not at all	Total
Africans	19	62	10	6	5 (4.90%)	102
Asians	27	67	29	25	22 (12.94%)	170
Europeans	3	14	9	4	1 (3.23%)	31
N Americans	8	14	14	8	5 (10.20%)	49
S Americans	10	60	49	22	20 (12.42%)	161
Australia/Oc.	7	6	3	0	3 (15.79%)	19
	74	223	114	65	56	532

The respondents' perception of the role of race and nationality in getting a job in China is presented in Tables 15a and 15b. From the data in the table, only 12.52% of the respondents believes that race does have a role in employment in China. On the other hand, 46.35% believes strongly or very strongly that race is important in getting a job. Likewise, only 10.45% of the respondents believes that nationality does not play any role in getting a job in China. On the other hand, 55.97% believes strongly or very strongly that nationality plays an important role in getting a job. A further look at the extent of race in getting a job in China (Table 15b) shows that 96.00% of Blacks, 85.38% of Whites, 90.32% of Latinos, 84% of Caucasians, 82.72% of Asians, and 89.47% of other races believe to some extent that race is important in getting a job in China. Similarly, 95.10% of Africans, 87.06% of Asians, 96.77% of Europeans, 89.80% of North Americans, 87.58% of South Americans, and 84.21% of Australians/Oceanians believe to some extent that nationality is important in getting a job in China.

Table 16: Perception of the Role of Race and Nationality in Determining Salary and Working Conditions

Response	Race			Nationality		
	Freq.	(%)	Cum. frequency	Freq.	(%)	Cum. frequency
Yes	304	58.57	58.57	351	65.49	65.49
No	215	41.43	100.00	185	34.51	100.00
Total	519	100.00		536	100.00	
Race	Freq. (Yes)	(%)		Nationality	Freq. (Yes)	(%)
Black	80	78.43%		North	157	(64.08%)
White	99	59.64%		South	194	(66.67%)
Latino	13	43.33%		Africans	71	(78.89%)
Caucasian	29	63.04%		Asians	102	(59.65%)
Asian	71	45.22%		Europeans	89	(58.55%)
Others	12	66.67%		N Americans	49	(72.06%)
				S Americans	22	(78.57%)
				Australia/Oc.	18	(64.29%)

From Table 16, 58.57% of the respondents claims that race is important in determining salary and working conditions in China while 65.49% claim that nationality is important in determining salary and working condition. Looking at the racial distribution of the responses, 78.43% of Blacks, 59.64% of Whites, 43.33% of Latinos, 63.04% of Caucasians, 45.22% of Asians and 66.67% of other races agree that race is an important determining factor of salary and working condition in China. On the other hand, 78.89% of Africans, 59.65% of Asians, 58.55% of Europeans, 72.06% of North Americans, 78.57% of South Americans, and 64.29% of Australians/Oceanians agree that nationality is an important determining factor of salary and working condition in China. Similarly, 66.67% of migrants from developing countries (global South) and 64.08% of migrants from developed countries (global North) believe there are differences in salary and working condition depending on country of origin.

Table 17a: Extent of Employment Discrimination

Response	Overall			Based on race			Based on nationality		
	Freq.	(%)	Cum. Freq.	Freq.	(%)	Cum. Freq.	Freq.	(%)	Cum. Freq.
Very high	26	4.84	4.84	43	7.96	7.96	38	7.00	7.00
High	130	24.21	29.05	150	27.78	35.74	179	32.97	39.96
Moderate	213	39.66	68.72	186	34.44	70.19	198	36.46	76.43
Low	120	22.35	91.06	106	19.63	89.81	91	16.76	93.19
Very low	48	8.94	100.00	55	10.19	100.00	37	6.81	100.00
Total	537	100.00		540	100.00		543	100.00	

Table 17b: Extent of Racial Employment Discrimination – Responses by Race and Nationality

Race	Very high	High	Moderate	Low	Very low	Total	(%)
Black	16	45	25	12	5	103	59.22
White	15	43	55	33	24	170	34.12
Latino	1	7	14	7	2	31	25.81
Caucasian	5	11	25	6	2	49	32.65
Asian	4	36	59	45	20	164	24.39
Others	1	8	6	3	1	19	47.37
Nationality	Very high	High	Moderate	Low	Very low	Total	(%)
North	16	68	97	48	18	247	(34.01%)
South	22	110	101	43	19	295	(44.75%)
Africans	14	46	20	6	4	91	(65.93%)
Asians	8	49	72	29	14	172	(33.14%)
Europeans	8	38	65	31	12	154	(29.87%)
N Americans	6	26	22	10	4	68	(47.06%)
S Americans	0	15	10	4	0	29	(51.74%)
Australia/Oc.	2	4	9	11	2	28	(21.43%)

In terms of the extent of employment discrimination in China, 29.05% of respondents claim it is high or very high. 35.74% agrees that employment discrimination based on racial identity is high or very high while 39.97% agrees that employment discrimination based on nationality is high or very high. Looking deeper into the racial distribution of the responses in Table 17b, it is shown that 59.22% of Blacks, 34.12% of Whites, 25.81% of Latinos, 32.65% of Caucasians, 24.39% of Asians, and 47.39% of other races rates employment discrimination on racial identity bases as high or very high. Similarly, the table shows that 65.93% of Africans, 33.14% of Asians, 29.87% of Europeans, 47.06% of North Americans, 51.74% of South Americans, and 21.43% of Australians/Oceanians rate employment discrimination on nationality basis in China as high or very high. From the perspective of developed and developing countries, 44.75% of respondents from developing countries (South) rates employment discrimination on nationality basis as high or very high as against 34.01% of respondents from developed countries (North).

Table 18: Is There Employment Discrimination Against Specific Foreigners (on What Basis?)

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Very likely	70	12.89	12.89
Likely	178	32.78	45.67
Indifferent	158	29.10	74.77
Unlikely	105	19.34	94.11
Very unlikely	32	5.89	100.00
Total	543	100.00	

Basis of discrimination	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Nationality	19	13.10	13.10
Race	29	20.00	33.10
Other reasons	97	66.90	100.00
Total	145	100.00	

Asked if they perceive employment discrimination on some set of foreigners and on the criteria of discrimination (Table 18), 12.89% of the respondents claims it is very likely, 32.78% claims it is likely, 29.10% are indifferent, 19.34% claims it is unlikely, and 5.89% claims it is very unlikely. On the criteria on which they think they are discriminated, 13.10% and 20.00% claims it is based on nationality and race respectively while 66.90% claims it is based on other criteria.

Table 19: Perception of Efforts to Chinese Government to Tackle Employment Discrimination

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Yes	125	24.22	24.22
No	391	75.78	100.00
Total	516	100.00	

In response to whether the Chinese government is doing enough to combat employment discrimination on foreigners in the workplace, 24.22% agrees it is doing enough while 75.78% claims the Chinese government is not doing enough.

Table 20: Response of Foreigners to Employment Discrimination

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cum. Frequency
Return to origin country	168	36.36	36.36
Fake name/nationality	158	34.20	70.56
Report to authority	116	25.11	95.67
Others	20	4.33	100.00
Total	462	100.00	

On how foreign migrant workers respond and adjust to employment discrimination, 36.36% claim they return to their country of origin, 34.20% claim some foreigners fake their names and/or nationality to increase their chances of employment, 25.11% claim they report to the authority while 4.33% claim they adopt other measures.

4.2 ECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS

This section shows the results of the logistic regression model where the impact of race and nationality on employment discrimination is estimated.

Table 21: Nationality (Global South/North) and Employment Discrimination

Emp. Discrimination	Coef.	Std. Err.	p>|z|
South/North	-0.1174471	0.2049794	0.567
Jobtyp	-0.3779561	0.2042737	0.064
WorkCH	0.2021034	0.0976736	0.039
Gender	0.1897076	0.2101975	0.367
Age	-0.0410616	0.1277266	0.748
Education	-0.3706739	0.1627995	0.023
City	0.0850864	0.0412079	0.039
Constant	1.658672	0.8490443	0.051

Note: South/North is development status of the country of origin, Jobtyp is type of job, WorkCH is number of years of work experience in China, Gender, Age, Education, city of residence

Table 21 shows the result of the logit model estimating the impact of nationality on employment discrimination in China. In this model, nationality is captured by the development status of the country of origin of the respondent (North/South). Based on the result of the model, nationality does not have significant impact on the possibility of being discriminated against in China. In other words, the development status of a migrant's country of origin does not determine if they will be discriminated against or not. The type of job is a significant determinant of employment discrimination at 10% significance level. This implies that employment discrimination is influenced by the type of job or differ based on the type of job. The number of years a foreigner has worked in China, the level of education, and the city of residence are important determining factors of whether a person will be discriminated against or not. Age and gender do not have influence on whether a migrant will be discriminated against or not.

Table 22: Nationality (Continent) and Employment Discrimination

Emp. discrimination	Coef.	Std. Err.	p>|z|
Continent	-0.0897377	0.0783065	0.252
Jobtyp	-0.4014981	0.2043695	0.049
WorkCH	0.1920827	0.0973894	0.049
Gender	0.2423578	0.2119674	0.253
Age	-0.0065412	0.1201776	0.960
Education	-0.3452974	0.1606248	0.032
City	0.0799807	0.04116	0.052
Constant	1.580339	0.7533965	0.036

Table 22 shows the result of the impact of nationality on employment discrimination. In this model, nationality is proxied by the continent where a migrant worker originates from. Based on the result, the continent

of origin of a migrant worker does not have impact on whether they are discriminated against or not, as the coefficient is not statistically significant at 10% level. Similar to the model in Table 21, the type of job, the years of work experience in China, level of education and the city of residence are important factors that determine whether a foreigner is discriminated against in employment in China. Age and gender also does not have impact on the likelihood of employment discrimination.

Fig. 6: Probability of Employment Discrimination Based on Nationality (Continent)

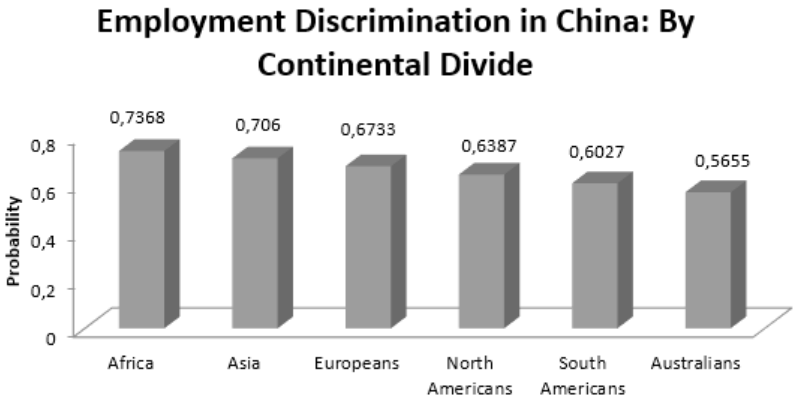


Figure 6 shows the result of the predicted probability of being discriminated against in China based on the continent a migrant worker originates from. From the result, the probability of being discriminated against is higher for Africans (0.7365), followed by Asians (0.706), Europeans (0.6733), North Americans (0.6378), South Americans (0.6027), and Australians/Oceanians (0.5655). This implies that Africans have the highest probability of being discriminated against in employment in China.

Table 23: Race and Employment Discrimination

Emp. discrimination	Coef.	Std. Err.	p>|z|
Race	-0.2719901	0.0637397	0.000
Jobtyp	-0.2010916	0.2120868	0.343
WorkCH	0.2282594	0.0987398	0.021
Gender	0.2498253	0.2138601	0.243
Age	-0.0765079	0.1298611	0.556
Education	-0.4036865	0.1656133	0.015
City	0.0741312	0.0422525	0.079
Constant	2.185471	0.7901123	0.006

Table 23 presents the result of the model which estimates the impact of race on employment discrimination in China. Based on the result, race has a very strong significant impact on whether a foreigner is discriminated against or not. In other words, the race a person identifies with has strong influence on the level of employment discrimination they will be subjected to. The years of work experience, level of education and city of residence also have significant impact on the possibility of employment discrimination. The type of job, age and gender do not have impact on employment discrimination.

Fig. 7: Probability of Employment Discrimination by Race

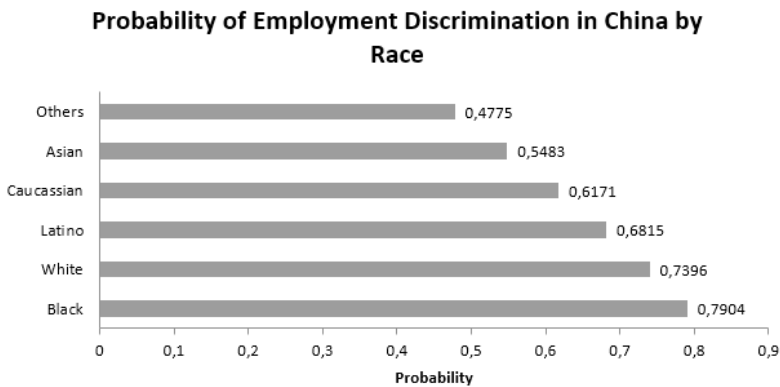


Figure 7 shows the result of the predicted probability of being discriminated against in China based on the racial identity of a migrant worker. From the result, the probability of being discriminated against is higher for Blacks (0.7904), followed by Whites (0.7396), Latinos (0.6815), Caucasians (0.6171), Asians (0.5483), and other races (0.4775). The predicted probability implies that Blacks have the highest probability of being discriminated against in employment in China.

Table 24: Nationality (Continent) and Differences in Working Condition

Working Condition	Coef.	Std. Err.	p>|z|
Continent	0.0096127	0.0730774	0.895
Jobtyp	-0.5845997	0.190963	0.002
WorkCH	0.0156313	0.899044	0.862
Gender	-0.1309402	0.1956901	0.503
Age	0.0024107	0.1215433	0.984
Education	-0.1770482	0.1515497	0.243
City	0.0827159	0.0385509	0.032
Constant	1.501637	0.7083029	0.034

Table 24 presents the result of the model which estimates the impact of nationality on working condition in China. The result shows that the continent of origin of migrant workers does not have impact on the salary and working condition of a migrant worker. The type of job and the city of residence have significant impact on the possibility of being discriminated against. On the other hand, years of work experience in China, gender, age, and level of education do not have impact on working conditions.

Table 25: Nationality (North/South) and Differences in Working Condition

Working Condition	Coef.	Std. Err.	p>|z|
North/South	-0.3472228	0.1946312	0.074
Jobtyp	-0.5587393	0.191702	0.004
WorkCH	0.0325244	0.090459	0.719
Gender	-0.1663892	0.1959419	0.396
Age	-0.0217809	0.1210564	0.857
Education	-0.2251967	0.1539517	0.144
City	0.0865289	0.0387443	0.026
Constant	2.224273	0.8056635	0.006

The result presented above in Table 25 shows the impact of nationality (based on the development status of the country). The result shows that the development status of a country, indicated by Global South or North, is related to working condition at 10% significance level. This implies that whether a foreigner is from a developed or developing country will to some extent determine their salary and working condition in China. All the other factors, except the type of job and the city of residence, are not significant in determining working condition.

Table 26: Race and Differences in Working Condition

Working condition	Coef.	Std. Err.	p>|z|
Race	-0.1941983	0.0586824	0.001
Jobtyp	-0.4834117	0.195786	0.014
WorkCH	0.0425695	0.0908396	0.639
Gender	-0.1092063	0.1964882	0.578
Age	-0.0254741	0.1209858	0.833
Education	-0.2050977	0.152196	0.178
City	0.0700894	0.0390127	0.072
Constant	2.100282	0.727454	0.004

The result presented in Table 26 shows the impact of race on salary and working condition in China. The result indicates that race has a very significant impact on salary and working condition in China. This

also complements the result in Table 22 which also shows the strong impact of race in determining whether a foreigner will be discriminated against. Type of job and city of residence are also important determinants of working condition in this model. All the other factors—years of work experience in China, gender, age, education level—are not significant in determining salary and working conditions.

Fig. 8: Predicted Probability of Being Discriminated Against in Different Types of Job

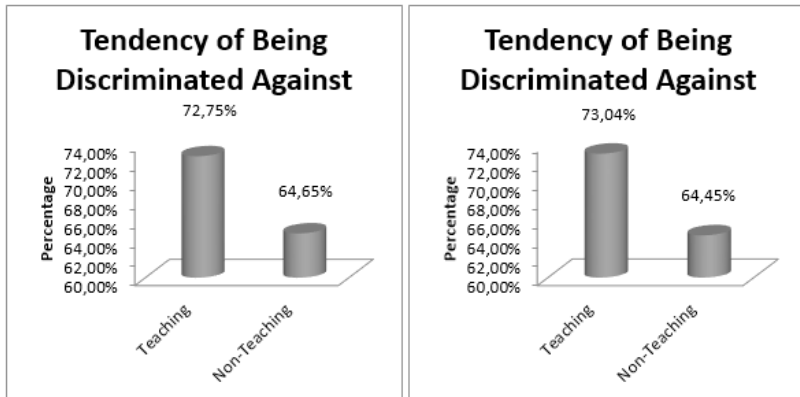


Figure 8 shows the predicted probability of being discriminated against based on the type of job. The type of job is one of the key important variables that influence employment discrimination and working condition in the models. From the result presented in Figure 8, there is higher probability of being discriminated against in teaching jobs than in non-teaching jobs, regardless of race or nationality.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The issue of employment discrimination among foreigners in China has been well established but there is basically no empirical research on the subject. This research investigates whether race and nationality matter in getting a job in China. The research makes use of questionnaires administered to over 600 foreign migrant workers in China. The methods of analysis include descriptive statistics and logit regression model. The descriptive statistics present the data collected in tabular to show the demographic characteristics of the respondents as well as some of the responses of the participants to the questionnaire. The logit regression model investigates the impact of race and nationality on employment controlling for gender, the type of jobs and the city of residence of the participants. The result of the logistic regression models is summarised as follows:

- I. The continent of origin of a foreign migrant worker does not have significant impact on whether they will be discriminated against or not.
- II. The development status of the country of origin of a foreign migrant worker does significantly determine whether they face employment discrimination in China.

- III. The possibility of employment discrimination in China is not based on gender or age.
- IV. Race is a very strong and important factor determining employment discrimination. In other words, there is more significant evidence of racial employment discrimination than of discrimination based on nationality.
- V. Blacks have the highest probability of being discriminated against in China, with a probability of 0.79 as against the baseline probability of 0.69.
- VI. Continent of origin does not have significant influence on determining salaries and working condition in China.
- VII. Salaries and working condition differs across job types and cities in China.
- VIII. The development status of a migrant's nationality has significant impact on salary and working condition.
- IX. Race is also a significant factor in determining salary and working condition in China.
- X. The majority of the respondents claim that the Chinese government is not doing enough to address the issue of employment discrimination affecting migrant workers.
- XI. Foreign migrant workers have adopted series of strategies to cope with discrimination. While some of them report to appropriate authorities, others fake their names and nationality, and some return to their countries.

Based on the findings of this research, the following recommendations are proposed.

- I. The Chinese government needs to initiate policies and measures to address employment discrimination based on race. Measures should be put in place to create a level playing field for migrant workers from different countries.
- II. Government policies to address employment discrimination in China should take into consideration the fact that discrimination differs across job types. Thus, job-specific and customised policies, particularly in the teaching sub-sector, may be more effective in addressing discrimination than a general one-size-fit-all policy.
- III. Given that employment discrimination differs across cities of residence, subnational governments should be encour-

aged to lay out measures to combat the problem in their cities/provinces.

- IV. There should be deliberate effort by the Chinese government to combat employment discrimination against Blacks and migrants from Africa. This could be done through public enlightenment as well as immigration regulations that ease access to employment permits and visas.
- V. Labour and immigration cooperation between the Chinese government and the governments of immigrants' countries should be promoted to create a mutual understanding on immigration and employment. This could be incorporated into economic and political engagements between China and other countries.

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CONDITIONS AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION STRATEGIES] 505 (Cai Dingjian ed.). In CHINESE Constitution Research Center of the China University of Politics and Law 2007 “Questionnaire Survey on the Situation of Employment Discrimination in Ten Large Chinese Cities” in Dingjian, C. (ed.) *Employment Discrimination in China: Current Conditions and Anti-discrimination Strategies*, pp. 505. In ENGLISH.

APPENDIX A: DATA COLLECTION

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondents,

The objective of this short survey is to study the dynamism of employment situation and discrimination among foreigners in China. To this end, I covet your **sincere** and **objective** response to the questions. Your information is treated with **utmost confidentialities**. Thank you.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Where is your country of origin? _____
2. What is your race? (a) Black (b) White (c) Latino (d) Caucasian (e) Asian (f) Others
3. How long have you been living in China? (a) < 2 (b) 2-4 (c) 5-7 (d) 8-10 (e) > 10 yrs
4. How long have you been working in China? (a) < 2 (b) 2-4 (c) 5-7 (d) 8-10 (e) > 10
5. What is your gender? (a) Male (b) Female
6. How old are you? (a) 18-24 (b) 25-34 (c) 35-44 (d) 45-54 (e) 55-above
7. What is your level of education? (a) Primary (b) Secondary (c) BSc (d) > BSc

8. In what city and province do you reside? _____
9. What is the type and nature of your job here in China?

10. Years of working experience in China (a) < 2 (b) 2-4 (c) 5-7 (d) 8-10 (e) > 10
11. Monthly income in RMB? (a) <1,000 (b) 1,001-5,000 (c) 5,001-10,000 (d) 10,001-15,000 (e) >15,001

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN CHINA

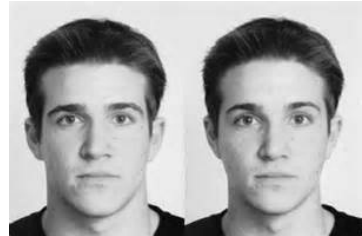
12. In your opinion, what is the **most important** factor considered by employers in China when hiring foreigners (a) applicant CV quality (b) gender (c) nationality (d) race (d) experience (e) Chinese language proficiency (f) Others (please state) _____
13. In your opinion, what is the **least important** factor considered by employers in China when hiring foreigners (a) applicant CV quality (b) gender (c) nationality (d) race (d) experience (e) Chinese language proficiency (f) Others (please state) _____
14. In your opinion, how easy is it for **you** to get good employment in China?
(a) very easy (b) easy (c) neutral (d) not easy (e) very difficult
15. Do you think there is employment discrimination in China?
(a) Yes (b) No
16. To what extent is employment discrimination among foreigners in China in your opinion? (a) none (b) not strong (c) slightly strong (d) strong (e) very strong
17. Have you ever been denied employment by any organisation in China? (a) Yes (b) No
18. If question 17 is Yes, why do you think you didn't get the job?

19. To what extent would you agree that your race is a reason you did not get the job in question 17? (a) Strongly agree (b) Agree (c) indifferent (d) Disagree (e) Strongly disagree
20. To what extent would you agree that your nationality is a reason you did not get the job in 17? (a) Strongly agree (b) Agree (c) indifferent (d) Disagree (e) Strongly disagree
21. Do you think your race plays a role in getting or not getting a job in China?
very strongly (b) strongly (c) low (d) very low (e) not at all
22. Do you think your nationality plays a role in getting or not getting a job in China?
(a) very strongly (b) strongly (c) low (d) very low (e) not at all
23. Do you think there are differences in salary and working conditions based on race? (a) Yes (b) No

24. Do you think there are differences in wage and working conditions based on nationality? (a) Yes (b) No
25. To what extent do you think there are differences in wage and working condition based on race? (a) Very high (b) High (c) Moderate (d) Low (e) very low
26. To what extent do you think there are differences in wage and working condition based on nationality? (a) Very high (b) High (c) Moderate (d) Low (e) very low
27. How would you rate discrimination in the work place in China generally?
(a) Very high (b) High (c) Moderate (d) Low (e) very low
28. How would you rate the level of employment discrimination based on race?
(a) Very high (b) High (c) Moderate (d) Low (e) very low
29. How would you rate the level of employment discrimination based on nationality?
(a) Very high (b) High (c) Moderate (d) Low (e) very low
30. Do you think there is employment discrimination against specific set of foreigners?
(a) very likely (b) likely (c) indifferent (d) unlikely (e) very unlikely
31. If question 30 is **a** or **b**, on what criterion are they mostly discriminated (rank 1st-6th)? () Gender () Race () Nationality () Age () Experience () others.....
32. Do you think the Chinese government has done (is doing) enough to address employment discrimination? (a) Yes (b) No
33. What strateg(ies) do foreigners adopt to cope with employment discrimination? (a) return to their countries (b) fake their names or nationality (c) report to the authority (d) others (please specify)
.....

SOLARE WALTERS

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Gender: Male
Nationality: American



WORK EXPERIENCE

2008 - 2014 High School Teacher, Mayden Community School, New York, USA

- Teaching of junior and senior students
- In charge of the school literary and debate society

EDUCATION

- 2003 – 2007
Brown University, USA
Bachelors of Science (Hons.) in Administration
- 1997 – 2003
Farragut International High School, New York, USA

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

- Coordinator of school games
- Active member of the debate club

LANGUAGES

Spoken and Written: English (Proficient), Chinese (Intermediate)

SKILLS PROFILE

- Good oral and written communication skills
- Good team player
- Ability to face challenges and solve problems
- Proficient in the use computers and other teaching soft wares

References will be provided on request

CHUCKS NATHAN

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Email: chukkssy@yahoo.com

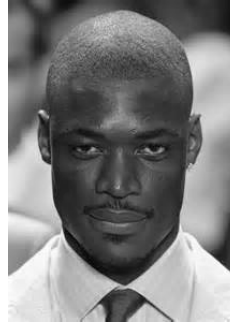
Phone No.: 15659282131

Address: 29, Daxue Road, By Xiamen

University, Xiamen

Gender: Male

Nationality: American



WORK EXPERIENCE

2008 - 2014 Teacher, Mount Freddy High School, Maryland, USA

- Teaching and grading of students
- Coordinator of the school music and drama society

EDUCATION

- 2003 – 2007

North Carolina University, USA

Bachelors of Art (Hons.) in Management

- 1997 – 2003

San Fran High School, Baptist Boulevard, Maryland, USA

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

- I am in charge of the school volunteering and community service club
- Active member of the counselling team

LANGUAGES

English - Spoken (Fluent), Written (Proficient)

Chinese – Spoken (Intermediate level), Written (Intermediate level)

SKILLS

- Good team player and goal oriented
- Good communication and interpersonal skills
- Ability to face challenges and solve problems
- Excellent user of computer and other IT applications

References will be provided on request

APPENDIX B: RESULTS

North/South and employment discrimination

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -309.58431
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -300.81737
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -300.75497
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -300.75496

Logistic regression		Number of obs	=	492
		LR chi2(7)	=	17.66
		Prob > chi2	=	0.0136
Log likelihood = -300.75496		Pseudo R2	=	0.0285

EmpDiscrim	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
GlobalDivide	-.1174471	.2049794	-0.57	0.567	-.5191994	.2843053
Jobtype	-.3779561	.2042737	-1.85	0.064	-.7783252	.022413
InChina	.2021034	.0976736	2.07	0.039	.0106667	.3935402
Gender	.1897076	.2101975	0.90	0.367	-.2222719	.6016872
Age	-.0410616	.1277266	-0.32	0.748	-.2914011	.2092779
Edu	-.3706739	.1627995	-2.28	0.023	-.689755	-.0515928
Reside1	.0850864	.0412079	2.06	0.039	.0043205	.1658523
_cons	1.658672	.8490443	1.95	0.051	-.0054248	3.322768

Baseline probability

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6835	95% Conf. Interval					
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.3165	[0.6415,	0.7256]				
			[0.2744,	0.3585]				
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Jobtype	1.56	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38
							Age	2.13
								Edu
								3.25
								Reside1
								5.32

Global North

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.7242	95% Conf. Interval					
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.2758	[0.6584,	0.7901]				
			[0.2099,	0.3416]				
x=	GlobalDivide	1	Continent	2.72	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38
							Age	2.13
								Edu
								3.25
								Reside1
								5.32

Global South

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6463	95% Conf. Interval					
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.3537	[0.5816,	0.7110]				
			[0.2890,	0.4184]				
x=	GlobalDivide	2	Continent	2.72	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38
							Age	2.13
								Edu
								3.25
								Reside1
								5.32

Teaching job

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.7275	95% Conf. Interval					
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.2725	[0.6665,	0.7884]				
			[0.2116,	0.3335]				
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Jobtype	1	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38
							Age	2.13
								Edu
								3.25
								Reside1
								5.32

Non-teaching job

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6465	95% Conf. Interval					
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.3535	[0.5887,	0.7043]				
			[0.2957,	0.4113]				
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Jobtype	2	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38
							Age	2.13
								Edu
								3.25
								Reside1
								5.32

Europe

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval											
	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6733	[	0.6297,	0.7169]								
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.3267	[	0.2831,	0.3703]								
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Continent	3	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38	Age	2.13	Edu	3.25	Reside1	5.32

North America

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval											
	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6387	[	0.5711,	0.7063]								
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.3613	[	0.2937,	0.4289]								
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Continent	4	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38	Age	2.13	Edu	3.25	Reside1	5.32

South America

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval											
	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6027	[	0.4968,	0.7086]								
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.3973	[	0.2914,	0.5032]								
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Continent	5	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38	Age	2.13	Edu	3.25	Reside1	5.32

Australia/Oceania

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval											
	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.5655	[	0.4163,	0.7148]								
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.4345	[	0.2852,	0.5837]								
x=	GlobalDivide	1.55	Continent	6	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38	Age	2.13	Edu	3.25	Reside1	5.32

Teaching job

logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval											
	Pr(y=yes|x):	0.7304	[	0.6698,	0.7910]								
	Pr(y=0|x):	0.2696	[	0.2090,	0.3302]								
x=	Continent	2.72	Jobtype	1	InChina	2.28	Gender	1.38	Age	2.13	Edu	3.25	Reside1	5.32

Non-teaching job

logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval				
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6445		[0.5866,	0.7025]			
Pr(y=0|x):	0.3555		[0.2975,	0.4134]			
x=	Continent	Jobtype	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	2.72	2	2.28	1.38	2.13	3.25	5.32

Race and employment discrimination

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -308.06382
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -289.78487
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -289.55796
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -289.5578
 Iteration 4: log likelihood = -289.5578

Logistic regression

Number of obs = 490
 LR chi2(7) = 37.01
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0601

Log likelihood = -289.5578

EmpDiscrim	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]
Race	-.2719901	.0637397	-4.27	0.000	-.3969177 -.1470625
Jobtype	-.2010916	.2120868	-0.95	0.343	-.6167741 .214591
InChina	.2282594	.0987398	2.31	0.021	.0347329 .4217859
Gender	.2498253	.2138601	1.17	0.243	-.1693328 .6689834
Age	-.0765079	.1298611	-0.59	0.556	-.3310311 .1780152
Edu	-.4036865	.1656133	-2.44	0.015	-.7282826 -.0790905
Reside1	.0741312	.0422525	1.75	0.079	-.0086822 .1569447
_cons	2.185471	.7901123	2.77	0.006	.6368798 3.734063

Baseline probability

logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval			
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6912		[0.6483,	0.7341]		
Pr(y=0|x):	0.3088		[0.2659,	0.3517]		
x=	Race	Jobtype	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu
	3.1326531	1.5591837	2.277551	1.3816327	2.1285714	3.244898

Black

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

					95% Conf. Interval	
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.7904				[0.7320,	0.8489]
Pr(y=0|x):	0.2096				[0.1511,	0.2680]
x=	Race	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	1	2.27	1.38	2.12	3.44	5.31

White

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

					95% Conf. Interval	
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.7396				[0.6891,	0.7902]
Pr(y=0|x):	0.2604				[0.2098,	0.3109]
x=	Race	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	2	2.27	1.38	2.12	3.44	5.31

Latino

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

					95% Conf. Interval	
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6815				[0.6364,	0.7266]
Pr(y=0|x):	0.3185				[0.2734,	0.3636]
x=	Race	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	3	2.27	1.38	2.12	3.44	5.31

Caucasian 0.6171

Logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

					95% Conf. Interval	
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.6171				[0.5655,	0.6686]
Pr(y=0|x):	0.3829				[0.3314,	0.4345]
x=	Race	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	4	2.27	1.38	2.12	3.44	5.31

Asian = 0.5483

logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval]			
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.5483	[	0.4772,	0.6193]		
Pr(y=0|x):	0.4517	[	0.3807,	0.5228]		
x=	Race	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	5	2.27	1.38	2.12	3.44	5.31

Others

logit: Predictions for EmpDiscrim

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval]			
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.4775	[	0.3819,	0.5732]		
Pr(y=0|x):	0.5225	[	0.4268,	0.6181]		
x=	Race	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	6	2.27	1.38	2.12	3.44	5.31

Nationality (continent) and working condition

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -336.99156
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -329.02454
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -329.01223
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -329.01223

Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	496
	LR chi2(7)	=	15.96
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0255
Log likelihood = -329.01223	Pseudo R2	=	0.0237

SalaryDif	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Continent	.0096127	.0730774	0.13	0.895	-.1336164	.1528417
Jobtype	-.5845997	.190963	-3.06	0.002	-.9588804	-.210319
InChina	.0156313	.0899044	0.17	0.862	-.1605781	.1918407
Gender	-.1309402	.1956901	-0.67	0.503	-.5144858	.2526053
Age	.0024107	.1215433	0.02	0.984	-.2358099	.2406312
Edu	-.1770482	.1515497	-1.17	0.243	-.4740802	.1199837
Reside1	.0827159	.0385509	2.15	0.032	.0071576	.1582742
_cons	1.501637	.7083029	2.12	0.034	.1133883	2.889885

Baseline probability

logit: Predictions for SalaryDif

Confidence intervals by delta method

			95% Conf. Interval]				
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.5855	[	0.5414,	0.6296]		
Pr(y=0|x):	0.4145	[	0.3704,	0.4586]		
x=	Continent	Jobtype	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1
	2.7358871	1.5584677	2.266129	1.391129	2.1310484	3.2379032	5.358871

Nationality (South/North) and working condition

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -336.99156
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -327.43949
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -327.41972
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -327.41972

Logistic regression
 Number of obs = 496
 LR chi2(7) = 19.14
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0077
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0284

SalaryDif	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
GlobalDivide	-.3472228	.1946312	-1.78	0.074	-.728693	.0342473
Jobtype	-.5587393	.191702	-2.91	0.004	-.9344684	-.1830103
InChina	.0325244	.090459	0.36	0.719	-.1447721	.2098209
Gender	-.1663892	.1959419	-0.85	0.396	-.5504283	.2176499
Age	-.0217809	.1210564	-0.18	0.857	-.2590471	.2154854
Edu	-.2251967	.1539517	-1.46	0.144	-.5269365	.0765431
Reside1	.0865289	.0387443	2.23	0.026	.0105914	.1624663
_cons	2.224273	.8056635	2.76	0.006	.6452015	3.803344

Baseline probability

logit: Predictions for SalaryDif

confidence intervals by delta method

	Coef.	95% Conf. Interval								
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.5860	[0.5418,	0.6303]							
Pr(y=0|x):	0.4140	[0.3697,	0.4582]							
x=	GlobalDivide	Jobtype	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1			
	1.5443548	1.5584677	2.266129	1.391129	2.1310484	3.2379032	5.358871			

Race and working condition

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -335.90836
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -322.29207
 Iteration 2: log likelihood = -322.25174
 Iteration 3: log likelihood = -322.25173

Logistic regression
 Number of obs = 494
 LR chi2(7) = 27.31
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0003
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0407

SalaryDif	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Race	-.1941983	.0586824	-3.31	0.001	-.3092137	-.0791829
Jobtype	-.4834117	.195786	-2.47	0.014	-.8671451	-.0996783
InChina	.0425695	.0908396	0.47	0.639	-.1354729	.2206118
Gender	-.1092063	.1964822	-0.56	0.578	-.4943043	.2758917
Age	-.0254741	.1209858	-0.21	0.833	-.2626019	.2116537
Edu	-.2050977	.152196	-1.35	0.178	-.5033964	.0932011
Reside1	.0700894	.0390127	1.80	0.072	-.0063741	.1465529
_cons	2.100282	.727454	2.89	0.004	.6744985	3.526066

Baseline probability

logit: Predictions for SalaryDif

confidence intervals by delta method

	Coef.	95% Conf. Interval								
Pr(y=yes|x):	0.5857	[0.5409,	0.6304]							
Pr(y=0|x):	0.4143	[0.3696,	0.4591]							
x=	Race	Jobtype	InChina	Gender	Age	Edu	Reside1			
	3.1072874	1.5566802	2.2651822	1.3927126	2.1315789	3.2327935	5.3461538			

APPENDIX C: FREQUENCY TABLE FOR THE RESPONSES

Global North vs Global South

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	North	249	45.5	45.6	45.6
	South	297	54.3	54.4	100.0
	Total	546	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		547	100.0		

Continent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Africa	93	17.0	17.0	17.0
	Asia	172	31.4	31.5	48.5
	Europe	156	28.5	28.6	77.1
	North America	68	12.4	12.5	89.6
	South America	29	5.3	5.3	94.9
	Australia/Ocean	28	5.1	5.1	100.0
	Total	546	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		547	100.0		

What is your race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Black	105	19.2	19.3	19.3
	White	172	31.4	31.7	51.0
	Latino	31	5.7	5.7	56.7
	Caucasian	51	9.3	9.4	66.1
	Asian	165	30.2	30.4	96.5
	Others	19	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	543	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	4	.7		
Total		547	100.0		

How long have you been living in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< 2	164	30.0	30.0	30.0
	2 - 4	176	32.2	32.2	62.3
	5 - 7	138	25.2	25.3	87.5
	8 - 10	42	7.7	7.7	95.2
	> 10 yrs	26	4.8	4.8	100.0
	Total	546	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		547	100.0		

How long have you been working in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< 2	243	44.4	44.9	44.9
	2 - 4	175	32.0	32.3	77.3
	5 - 7	90	16.5	16.6	93.9
	8 - 10	18	3.3	3.3	97.2
	> 10 yrs	15	2.7	2.8	100.0
	Total	541	98.9	100.0	
Missing	System	6	1.1		
Total		547	100.0		

What is your gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	333	60.9	61.2	61.2
	Female	211	38.6	38.8	100.0
	Total	544	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	3	.5		
Total		547	100.0		

How old are you

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18 - 24	120	21.9	22.1	22.1
	25 - 34	273	49.9	50.2	72.2
	35 - 44	119	21.8	21.9	94.1
	45 - 54	27	4.9	5.0	99.1
	55 above	4	.7	.7	99.8
	6.00	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	544	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	3	.5		
Total		547	100.0		

What is your level of education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary	5	.9	1.0	1.0
	Secondary	53	9.7	10.1	11.0
	BSc	283	51.7	53.9	65.0
	> BSc	184	33.6	35.0	100.0
	Total	525	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	22	4.0		
Total		547	100.0		

In what city do you reside

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Anhui	2	.4	.4	.4
	Beijing	115	21.0	21.0	21.4
	Dalian	3	.5	.5	21.9
	Guangzho	101	18.5	18.5	40.4
	Hangzhou	100	18.3	18.3	58.7
	Harbin	3	.5	.5	59.2
	Nanjing	97	17.7	17.7	77.0
	Shanghai	88	16.1	16.1	93.1
	Shenzhen	1	.2	.2	93.2
	Xiamen	36	6.6	6.6	99.8
	Yiwu	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	547	100.0	100.0	

Teaching or non-teaching job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Teaching	238	43.5	43.5	43.5
	Non-Teaching	309	56.5	56.5	100.0
	Total	547	100.0	100.0	

Years of working experience in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< 2	240	43.9	44.3	44.3
	2 - 4	182	33.3	33.6	77.9
	5 - 7	88	16.1	16.2	94.1
	8 - 10	14	2.6	2.6	96.7
	> 10 yrs	18	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	542	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	5	.9		
Total		547	100.0		

Monthly income in RMB

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< 1000	1	.2	.2	.2
	1001 - 5000	109	19.9	20.3	20.4
	5001 - 10000	177	32.4	32.9	53.3
	10001 - 15000	126	23.0	23.4	76.8
	> 15001	125	22.9	23.2	100.0
	Total	538	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.6		
Total		547	100.0		

Most important factor considered by employers in China when hiring foreigners

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Quality of Applicant CV	196	35.8	38.0	38.0
	Gender	28	5.1	5.4	43.4
	Nationality	96	17.6	18.6	62.0
	Race	46	8.4	8.9	70.9
	Experience	77	14.1	14.9	85.9
	Chinese language proficiency	70	12.8	13.6	99.4
	Others	3	.5	.6	100.0
	Total	516	94.3	100.0	
Missing	System	31	5.7		
Total		547	100.0		

Least important factor considered by employers in China when hiring foreigners

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Quality of Applicant CV	71	13.0	13.5	13.5
	Gender	230	42.0	43.9	57.4
	Nationality	52	9.5	9.9	67.4
	Race	67	12.2	12.8	80.2
	Experience	30	5.5	5.7	85.9
	Chinese language proficiency	72	13.2	13.7	99.6
	Others	2	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	524	95.8	100.0	
Missing	System	23	4.2		
Total		547	100.0		

In your opinion, how easy is it for you to get good employment in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very easy	36	6.6	6.6	6.6
	Easy	101	18.5	18.5	25.0
	Neutral	207	37.8	37.8	62.9
	Not easy	154	28.2	28.2	91.0
	Very difficult	49	9.0	9.0	100.0
Total		547	100.0	100.0	

Do you think there is employment discrimination in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	351	64.2	67.6	67.6
	No	168	30.7	32.4	100.0
	Total	519	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	28	5.1		
Total		547	100.0		

To what extent is employment discrimination among foreigners in China in your opinion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	45	8.2	8.3	8.3
	Not strong	145	26.5	26.8	35.1
	Slightly strong	197	36.0	36.4	71.5
	Strong	108	19.7	20.0	91.5
	Very strong	46	8.4	8.5	100.0
	Total	541	98.9	100.0	
Missing	System	6	1.1		
Total		547	100.0		

Have you ever been denied employment by any organisation in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	145	26.5	27.5	27.5
	No	383	70.0	72.5	100.0
	Total	528	96.5	100.0	
Missing	System	19	3.5		
Total		547	100.0		

If Yes in Q 17, why do you think you didn't get the job

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	453	82.8	82.8	82.8
Chinese Language	5	.9	.9	83.7
CV	10	1.8	1.8	85.6
Experience	7	1.3	1.3	86.8
Failed to negotiate wage level	1	.2	.2	87.0
Gender	2	.4	.4	87.4
Insecurity	1	.2	.2	87.6
Language Proficiency	1	.2	.2	87.8
Merit	1	.2	.2	87.9
Nationality	19	3.5	3.5	91.4
Not a native English speaker	1	.2	.2	91.6
Not enough experience	10	1.8	1.8	93.4
Race	29	5.3	5.3	98.7
Salary	2	.4	.4	99.1
Skill Insufficient	1	.2	.2	99.3
Time conflict	1	.2	.2	99.5
Timing	2	.4	.4	99.8
Too good	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	547	100.0	100.0	

To what extent would you agree that your race is a reason you did not get the job in question 17

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Strongly agree	34	6.2	17.3	17.3
Agree	47	8.6	23.9	41.1
Indifferent	43	7.9	21.8	62.9
Disagree	39	7.1	19.8	82.7
Strongly disagree	34	6.2	17.3	100.0
Total	197	36.0	100.0	
Missing				
System	350	64.0		
Total	547	100.0		

To what extent would you agree that your nationality is a reason you did not get the job in question 17

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	39	7.1	19.5	19.5
	Agree	48	8.8	24.0	43.5
	Indifferent	42	7.7	21.0	64.5
	Disagree	41	7.5	20.5	85.0
	Strongly disagree	30	5.5	15.0	100.0
	Total	200	36.6	100.0	
Missing	System	347	63.4		
Total		547	100.0		

Do you think your race plays a role in getting or not getting a job in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very strongly	51	9.3	9.5	9.5
	Strongly	197	36.0	36.8	46.4
	Low	146	26.7	27.3	73.6
	Very low	74	13.5	13.8	87.5
	Not at all	67	12.2	12.5	100.0
	Total	535	97.8	100.0	
Missing	System	12	2.2		
Total		547	100.0		

Do you think your nationality plays a role in getting or not getting a job in China

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very strongly	75	13.7	14.0	14.0
	Strongly	225	41.1	42.0	56.0
	Low	115	21.0	21.5	77.4
	Very low	65	11.9	12.1	89.6
	Not at all	56	10.2	10.4	100.0
	Total	536	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	11	2.0		
Total		547	100.0		

Do you think there are differences in salary and working conditions based on race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	308	56.3	58.9	58.9
	No	215	39.3	41.1	100.0
	Total	523	95.6	100.0	
Missing	System	24	4.4		
Total		547	100.0		

Do you think there are differences in wage and working conditions based on race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	352	64.4	65.3	65.3
	No	187	34.2	34.7	100.0
	Total	539	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	1.5		
Total		547	100.0		

To what extent do you think there are differences in wage and working condition based on race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very high	56	10.2	10.4	10.4
	High	151	27.6	28.1	38.5
	Moderate	197	36.0	36.6	75.1
	Low	80	14.6	14.9	90.0
	Very low	54	9.9	10.0	100.0
	Total	538	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.6		
Total		547	100.0		

To what extent do you think there are differences in wage and working condition based on nationality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very high	64	11.7	11.9	11.9
	High	175	32.0	32.5	44.4
	Moderate	197	36.0	36.6	81.0
	Low	70	12.8	13.0	94.1
	Very low	32	5.9	5.9	100.0
	Total	538	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.6		
Total		547	100.0		

To what extent do you think there are differences in wage and working condition based on nationality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very high	64	11.7	11.9	11.9
	High	175	32.0	32.5	44.4
	Moderate	197	36.0	36.6	81.0
	Low	70	12.8	13.0	94.1
	Very low	32	5.9	5.9	100.0
	Total	538	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	9	1.6		
Total		547	100.0		

How would you rate the level of employment discrimination based on race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very high	43	7.9	8.0	8.0
	High	150	27.4	27.8	35.7
	Moderate	186	34.0	34.4	70.2
	Low	106	19.4	19.6	89.8
	Very low	55	10.1	10.2	100.0
	Total	540	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	7	1.3		
Total		547	100.0		

How would you rate the level of employment discrimination based on nationality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very high	38	6.9	7.0	7.0
	High	179	32.7	33.0	40.0
	Moderate	198	36.2	36.5	76.4
	Low	91	16.6	16.8	93.2
	Very low	37	6.8	6.8	100.0
	Total	543	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	4	.7		
Total		547	100.0		

Do you think there is employment discrimination against specific set of foreigners

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very likely	70	12.8	12.9	12.9
	Likely	178	32.5	32.8	45.7
	Indifferent	158	28.9	29.1	74.8
	Unlikely	105	19.2	19.3	94.1
	Very unlikely	32	5.9	5.9	100.0
	Total	543	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	4	.7		
Total		547	100.0		

Do you think the Chinese government has done (is doing) enough to address employment discrimination

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	125	22.9	24.2	24.2
	No	390	71.3	75.6	99.8
	3.00	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	516	94.3	100.0	
Missing	System	31	5.7		
Total		547	100.0		

What strateg(ies) do foreigners adopt to cope with employment discrimination

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Return to their countries	168	30.7	36.4	36.4
	Fake their names or nationality	158	28.9	34.2	70.6
	Report to the authority	116	21.2	25.1	95.7
	Others	20	3.7	4.3	100.0
	Total	462	84.5	100.0	
Missing	System	85	15.5		
Total		547	100.0		

