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The true cost of cheap labour

An intersectional study to understand exploitation of immigrant students working in co-ethnic SMEs

Hira Younas

Thesis re-submitted to the University of Huddersfield

(Huddersfield University Business School)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters by Research

February 2019

No portion of the work referred to in the report has been submitted in support of an application for another degree of qualification of this or any other University or institute of learning.

The true cost of cheap labour

An intersectional study to understand exploitation of immigrant students working in co-ethnic SMEs

Research report

By

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The University of Huddersfield

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Dedication:

Every challenging work needs self-effort and prayers of your elders. That stays with you and guide you like a beam of light in the darkness.

My humble effort I dedicate to my late grandmother, Hafeeza Maqbool. She would have loved and proud to see her granddaughter MRe graduate.

Acknowledgement:

I would like to thank Allah for everything I am able to achieve because of Him and His blessings that He bestowed on me.

First, I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to my supervisors, Dr Julie Davies and Dr James Brooks for giving me their valuable time and support. The most challenging part was to gather my scattered ideas and to remain focussed, and there were times I wanted to give up, but my supervisors and my family and my colleagues from business school of the Huddersfield University, who supported me and motivated me at every step.

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I am greatly indebted to my uncle and auntie, Mr and Mrs Zahid Chaudhry. They are my biggest support and the reason I can complete my thesis, because of them I never felt dishearten. They believed in me when I stopped believing in myself. They are my guide, my parents and my tutors.

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Hira Younas

Huddersfield, 2019

Abstract: Purpose

The purpose of this report is to empirically examine intersectionality in order to analyse the exploitation of migrant student workers and the vulnerability of their identities. Furthermore, using race theory, the report aims to explore the concept of exploitation within Ethnic Minority-owned Small and Medium Enterprises (EMSMEs) in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire (UK).

Design/methodology/approach

The research is concluded based on semi-structured interviews and past literature. A representative sample of 21 employees (16 men/ 5 women) and five employers (four male/ one female) provides empirical results from an exploratory study investigating aspects or assumptions of exploitative behaviour in SMEs with owners or managers of minority ethnicity. To analyse the data, an interview guide was provided. A qualitative content analysis examined the interviews. To gather more accurate results, the author used software NVIVO, which facilitated to compare the data with the given intersectional and exploitation concepts.

Findings

Considering the economic factors and mutual cultural perceptions in SMEs, this report concludes that co-ethnic exploitation is formulated and justified by both employers and employees in ethnic minority businesses. Employers perceive the student workers as hardworking, vulnerable, naive and apt for work. On the other hand, migrant student's desperation for work, relatively higher currency value, barriers to culture and legal rights understanding, working hour restrictions, under-employment and devaluation of their qualifications increase the possibility of migrant workers to work in the informal sector of non-white ethnic minority-owned businesses within their home networks. Hence, there is ambivalence about migrant employment opportunities and cash economy issues in return.

Research limitations/implications

Although the qualitative design of the study allows for an in-depth exploration of the experiences of migrant student workers, the relatively less time span of one year and the small sample size poses some limitations. The study emphasises the need to consider intersectional lens when examining migration, highlighting how migrant studies are mostly limited to a single axis of anti-immigrant or gendered inequality and often ignores multiple axes of migrant's identity.

Social implications

Considering current employment relations practices, this study discusses the implications of exploitation at co-ethnic workplaces in a foreign country.

Originality/value

This report contributes to enriching the understanding of migrant students with Tier 4 Visa and co-ethnic exploitation/discrimination. It challenges the positive alliance assumption in non-white ethnic minority SMEs.

Keywords:

Co-ethnic, EMSMEs, ethnic minority, exploitation, intersectionality, migration, race, SMEs, student employees, vulnerability,

Type:

Research paper

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Chapter 1

1) Introduction

This study applies the philosophies of an intersectional perspective and critical race theory analysis to understand the exploitation of workers in SMEs. It brings another dimension of intersectionality: one that inter-relates different dynamics of exploitation specific to students, migrant communities and their working experience in small and medium-sized firms under ethnic minority management. At the start of 2016, 5.5 million (over 99%) of UK business comprised of SMEs (Nesta, 2017) 5 % of which are ethnic minority-owned businesses. That includes over 300,000 SMEs in the UK (Lobel, 2016). However, there is not enough attention given towards these ethnic minorities owned SMEs from an exploitative intersectional perspective (Jones at el, 2006). This study explores the level of exploitation of university students working in SMEs, with a focus on the multiple forms of discrimination (wage, working conditions, security, violence and so forth) as they work in Asian and other ethnic minority small business communities which are self-identified as multiracial. This study, furthermore, explores the vulnerable situation that comes with the intersection of student and migrant identity axis and exemplify them exploitable.

The current study considers the lens of intersectionality (Samuels and Ross, 2008) for critical race theory (CRT) as an aspect of migration; to identify the race significance of migrant's status. On this basis, the study explores a theoretical framework to understand co-ethnic/race exploitation and other threats to a student's access for social justice on the social identities (student and migrant). This study will analyse same race discrimination and exploitation towards the migrant student workers.

The organisational context in this report is the SMEs well-defined as small businesses employing less than 50 people and medium-sized employing between 50 and 249 people (Hillary, 2004). These SMEs are then narrowed down to 24-hour shops, petrol stations and mainly hospitality sector which is noted for its multicultural workforce (Irimias and Michalko, 2016). Reports have also added that the employers prefer migrants than British workers in the hospitality sector (Matthews and Ruhs, 2007) because of their positive attitude towards work, acceptance of low wages and unawareness of legal rights (McDowell at el, 2008). Although, there is always demand for staff in these hospitality sectors which creates employment opportunities for temporary migrant workers (Janta at el, 2011). Consistent with prior literature, this research employs a semi-structured interview approach as a research method to collect the data from a

small sample of international students who are currently working in Huddersfield (UK) Ethnic Minority Small and Medium Enterprises (EMSMEs). This study fills the theoretical gap by understanding multiple dimensions of discrimination based on student migrants, along with the legality, visa complications, culture, race and explores the intersection of the employment law/migration policies applicable to migrant student workers in the SMEs of United Kingdom. This study is a proposal to identify the paradox of equal rights at work from a migrant student's perspective. This study is more relevant to migrant students on Tier 4 visa than focusing on other migrant worker flows, such as entrepreneur visa or high skilled migrant workers from other developed countries (Office of National Statistics, 2012). This report uncovers the abuse of migrant workers in co-ethnic SMEs. That leads us to the question if migrant student workers are exploited even if they are working under same culture management and if so, how and why? Is it because of the vulnerability of their identities being a student and migrant worker? This study seeks to highlight the discrimination for rights and policies for international student employees in ethnic minority SMEs (Li, 2017).

1.1) Background

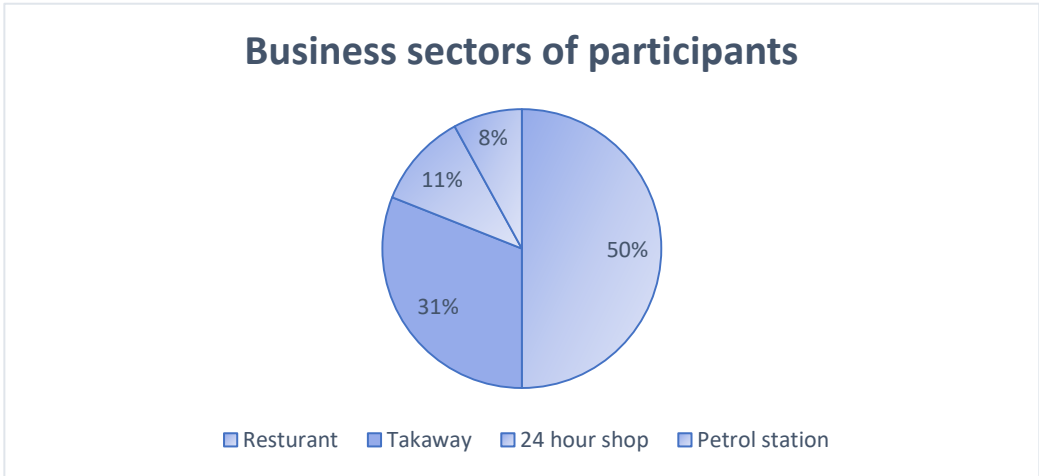
Researchers have addressed the published articles related to the exploitation of migrants explaining the different issues and vulnerability regarding migrant graduate workers in recent years, but these studies were focusing on singular axis i.e. abusive and exploitative behaviour towards migrant graduates (Baas, 2014; Robertson, 2014; Bressán and Arcos, 2017), co-ethnic exploitation (Li, 2017), Marxian exploitation, (McKeown, 2017), migrant workers vulnerability to employment-related discrimination and their exploitation at workplaces (Murphy, 2013), unfavourable wage structure for migrants (Anderson, 2010; Wadsworth et al, 2012; Hamilton and Potter, 2014), unfair treatment in food industry (Scott, 2017), vulnerability of migrant status (Murphy, 2013; McAreavey, 2017), and so forth.

Here transnationalism can also be used to conceptualise rise in migration, as it represents a social phenomenon and scholarly research agenda grown out of the heightened interconnectivity between people and the receding economic and social significance of boundaries among nation states (Collins, Ho, Ishikwa and Ma, 2016). The economic transnationalism is also known as the globalization that was spurred in the latter half of the 20th century by the development of the internet and wireless communication as well as the reduction in international transportation costs caused by containerization. It highlights workforce diversity in organisations and has affected both the SMEs and the immigrant workforce. Over the past two decades, researchers had been focusing on the increasing significance of international student's mobility and their contribution

to a country's economy and culture (Collins, Ho, Ishikwa and Ma, 2016). Puntam (2007) also added in his study that Western countries are showing a rise in its cultural/ethnic mix graph by the international immigrants. This rise has been witnessed evidently in the premises of London (Office of National Statistics, 2012) and has become the first time in history the majority-minority hub for none 'white British'. Later, after the recession in 2009 due to a decrease in traditional large firm jobs. The graduates had to join SMEs, and that reassessed the graduate employment in the UK. Increase in seasonal migrant workers is a kind of blessing as well as curse depending on the management style of a firm (Ashkanasy, Hartel & Daus, 2002) On the other hand, the rise of Donald Trump in the USA, increase in the popularity of Marine Le Pen in France, Brexit highlights (rise of right-wing) the Spector of anti-migrant sentiments is in all societies. That highlights the end to interdependence and growth of societies that prefer to deal with business with people from the same community or culture. However, this is not always the scenario. It had been witnessed that in the co-ethnic firms there are more outbreaks of exploitation and discrimination practices (Li, 2017). Moreover, once again highpoint the question of whether Transnationalism process leads to "race to the bottom" even though an employee is working under similar culture management (Warde, 2000).

1.2) Background of the participants

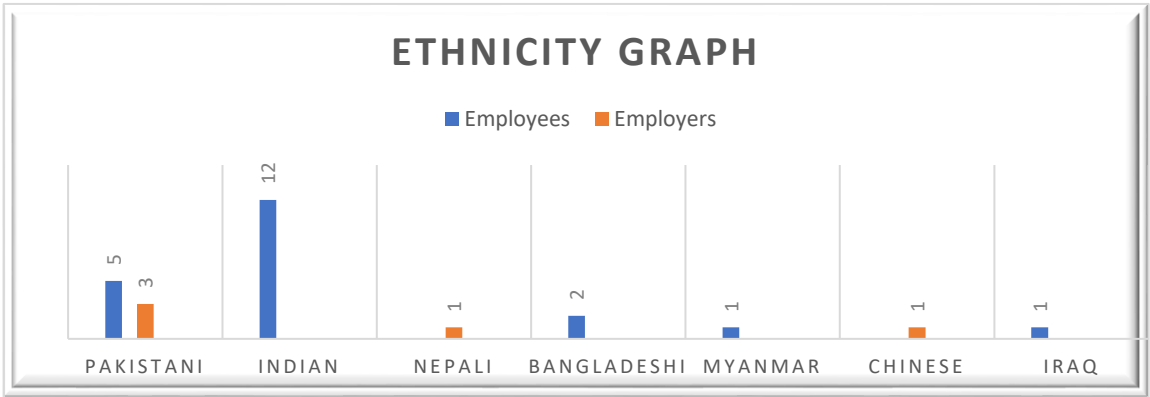
The study was conducted on a sample of 21 migrant students and five employers with working experience in SMEs. To ensure diversification of experiences respondents were selected from different industries, e.g. 24-hour shop, takeaways, restaurants and petrol station. This research is conducted keeping race factor in mind, representing the primary to the managerial position of non-white ethnic minority individuals. The study takes into consideration the viewpoint of the employer and employees, but more specifically it explores the experiences of student employees, to understand their issues, incentives and their job level. This study specifically examines the working experiences of students representing primary to managerial position in industries illustrated in **Figure 1. Participants by industry of employment**



Source: Author

The chart represent, the major part of the interviewed student employees and employers are currently employed in the sector of food business with restaurants (50%) and takeaways (31%). As the requirement of the study, the employers and employees were selected from Asian ethnic background. Making 17 out of 21 students and five employers’ respondents being associated with food sector. Three study participants are employed at the 24-hour shop. Also, two participants are working at the petrol station. The sample group selected for the study contains students and managers representing different ethnic groups. The ethnic structure of study participants is presented in the following diagram.

Figure 2. The ethnicity of study participants



Source: Author

As shown in figure 2, the majority of respondents belonged to the Indian and Pakistani group with 12 and five student employees each, while three employers also being Pakistani. Along with that, there are respondents from Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar, China and Iraq with one participant each.

To assess the influence of factors such as the background of the sample group on career trajectories of migrant’s students. The level of job and length of stay in abroad have been recorded and are shown below in a graphical form.

Table 1: Length of stay and job level

Length of stay in the UK	Student employees	Employers
1-3 years	15	-
3-6 years	6	-
More than 6 years	-	5

Source: Author

As it has been clear, out of 26 responses collected through semi-structured interviews employers have the longest stay in the UK. Most students are naïve, presently studying with 1-3 years living experience in the UK. Only 6 of the students are living in the UK for less than six years; these respondents have been studying in the UK from the bachelor’s level.

1.3) Aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to shed light on this social issue and initiate discussions about the exploitation phenomena, which is growing and affecting the security of student immigrants in the UK. As earlier mentioned, there has been past literature on the working conditions of immigrants is commonly based on single axis of anti-immigrant or gendered inequality and often ignores multiple axes that makes a migrant’s identity vulnerable. This study argues with the ideology and aims to discuss intersectional axis (race, migrant and student status) vulnerability to address the exploitation of migrant employees’ identities within ethnic minority owned small and medium businesses in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire (UK)

To achieve the aim, the objectives are as follows:

Objective 1: To explore the understanding of intersectionality and migration.

Objective 2: To investigate if and how SMEs exploit the vulnerable factors and situation of migrant student workers on wage, working condition, security, flexibility and at a physiological level.

Objective 3: To discuss the possibility of exploitation in a foreign country by the same race and identical organizational culture.

1.4) Research questions

1. How to use intersectional lens for better understanding of student migration?
2. What makes migrant student's identity vulnerable to exploitation?
3. How do migrant student employees and employer understand co-ethnic exploitation in SMEs?

1.5) Research Justification

This study is based on the SME sector as it has been proved again and again that SMEs contribute a large share of a country's economy. As well as the UK is concerned, SMEs accounts for 99% of all firms and creates a greater number of jobs as the large organisations (small business service, 2004). Despite that, the fact cannot be denied that the literature to date generally depicts a poor picture of employee management within SMEs, with the sector being characterised as a 'bleak house' environment (Festing et al, 2013). The significance of SMEs in an economy can be better justified after analysing the following statistics. As it shows 99.9% of business share and it recruits 60% of employees. Whereas, the larger firms contribute to 40% employment share (Department for business, energy and industrial strategy, 2016, p.1). Hence, more study on SMEs is necessary to understand the paradox of SMEs.

Table 2: Private sector businesses in the UK by number of employees in 2016

	Micro	Small	Medium	SMEs (micro + small +medium)	Large	Total
Number of enterprises (1000)	5254	204	33	5490	7	5498
Share in total (%)				99.9%	0.1%	100%
Number of persons employed (%)				60%	40%	100%
Share in value addition (%)				47%	53%	100%
Micro=0-9 employees, Small=10-49 employees, Medium=50-249 employees, Large= 250+ employees. Number rounded to the nearest 1000						

Source: Department for business, energy and industrial strategy, 2016

Over the years small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) has become a significant area of research for scholars (Garaven and Nolan, 2015). Although in recent years’ researchers had been narrowing their research area and been giving thoughtful attention to ethnic minority businesses around the world (Rahman at el, 2018). This study is a proposal to fill the analytical gap regarding an intersectional theoretical framework, which constructs research with migrant students working in ethnic minority-owned SMEs. This study investigates the intersecting axis of race, migration and student’s role in the construction and deployment of ethnic minority SMEs. The author applies intersectionality as a lens for understanding exploitation in ethnic minority SMEs in two vital ways: i.e., empirical primacy (as a prime proof of oppression in the everyday reality of SMEs), personal primacy (as an essential component in how critical race participants view themselves and their experience). This study addresses the literature gap by challenging the equality assumptions in the minority co-ethnic SMEs of Huddersfield town. This town attracts tourists and students from around the world. Thus, this study will also contribute to the practical gap and will take evidence from discriminating practices related to a diverse workforce in the small and medium level food outlets, 24-hour shops and petrol stations from the migrant student employee perspective.

1.5.1) Why ethnic minority SMEs?

In the more extensive UK small business sector, small ethnic minority businesses (SEMBs) manage to possess a vital and profitable position, reflected in their quick development during the most recent decade. As also indicated in a recent business survey; by the beginning of the new millennium, there were more than 250,000 SEMBs in the UK contributing altogether to the financial and political framework of the country. In addition to that ethnic businesses represented 11% of all new business ventures (SBS, 2004). That shows an average of 56% of the average growth rate of small ethnic business in England and Wales (Hussain and Matlay, 2007a). The ‘ethnic minority’ terminology represents the smaller population than the majority population in a country (Berthoud et al, 1997). This concept covers various identifiers, for example, race, language, culture or religion (Nwankwo and Lindridge, 1998). The term ethnic can be white ethnics (Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians and other Caucasian Europeans) as well as non-white including Asians, Africans, and Caribbean’s. Some scholars also include the minority relatives born and brought up in the UK under the term of ethnic minorities (Matlay, 1998). However, researchers argue that ethnic minority term predominantly describes immigrant origin (Jones, 1993) and usually consider the ethnic minority business of non-white ethnic employees or entrepreneurs functioning in the UK as well (Hussain, Millman, Scott, Hannon and Matlay, 2007).

It had been discussed in the previous studies that ethnic minority businesses (EMBs) are different from other businesses concerning the issues they face and the working characteristics (Crick and Chaudhry, 2010). Scholars argue that entrepreneurs from ethnic background prefer self-employment for more independence (Storey 1994), but these communities’ businesses often deal with racism and inequality issues (Ram 1992; Ram and Sparrow 1993). As they are often accused of low pay for family and community members referred as “class-based” jobs (Jones, McEvoy, and Barratt 1993; Jones, Ram, and Edwards 2006; Virdee, 2006). EMBs are often perceived to be limited to grocery or food outlets and corner shops that demonstrates less innovative, developmental characteristics and minor growth potential (Rafiq, 1988). However, a change has been witnessed in the recent years, and the ethnic minority business owners are diversifying to different sectors as well (Ram et al. 2000; Smallbone, Bertotti, and Ekanem 2005).

Ethnic minority businesses commonly face difficulty regarding finance, resources and proper management system which hinders the development and growth of these firm (Bates et al., 2007). These firms are considered as middleman activities because they offer specialized goods

and services to the similar minority community and the majority population of the country (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Jones-Evans et al., 2011; Warde, 2000) with the opportune accessibility to cheap co-ethnic labour (Ram et al., 2000). The ethnic Asian businesses owned and managed are mostly male-dominated. In a survey by Smallbone, Ram, Deakins and Aldock, (2003) it was clear that less than 1 in 10 of the EMBs were owned by women. Mainly in the Indian (2%) and Bangladeshi groups (4%). Chinese businesses presented a good deal of co-ownership with male and female partners (33%) as compared with other firms. The relationship among the employee and employers in co-ethnic position is rather impersonal and informal based on restricted resources arrangement, as it makes them rely on social networks (Kloosterman et al., 1999). These firms often rely on the co-ethnic population to ensure survival and to manage the legal complications (Kloosterman, 2010; Aldrich et al., 1981). Hussain, Millman, Scott, Hannon and Matlay (2007) also added in their article that language or communication skills are another major challenge for ethnic immigrants (Edwards et al., 2016; Sepulveda et al., 2008; Smallbone et al., 2005). It has also served as one of the main reasons for them to enter entrepreneurship and to start ventures for their communities to avoid communication barrier (Barrett et al., 1996; Virdee, 2006). However, co-ethnic assistance did not prove completely resourceful and had little influence on these firm's profit and employment growth (Wang and Altinay, 2012). For researchers' employee management in the SMEs has been a box of a paradox. Discussed by Edgar and Nisbet (1995), they question the value of strategic management for smaller businesses. They argue that in an increasingly complex environment there should be more focus on the facilitation of manufacturing and creative big organisations than the small shops or firms.

Despite that, rapid growth has been witnessed in the ethnic minority businesses as it has contributed significantly to the UK economy (Hussain, Millman, Scott, Hannon and Matlay, 2007). The recent literature regarding the ethnic minority business in the UK (Jones and Ram, 2012; Ram and Jones, 2008) and other countries (Ma et al., 2013) majorly discuss employees and employers with the Pakistani or Indian background (Haq, 2015; Thompson et al., 2010). Though the research has mostly taken place in large cities with more population of ethnic minority individuals or business, and minor attention is given to the ethnic minority business stakeholders in small towns or cities (Hussain, Millman, Scott, Hannon and Matlay, 2007). Wang and Altinay (2012) in their article also argued that ethnic minority business and entrepreneurial ventures are under-researched. As most businesses are analysed by its growth, profit streams and diversity (Zahra and Covin, 1995; Wiklund, 1999; Rauch et al., 2004). However, there has been a gap observed when it comes to ethical business (Wang and Altinay, 2012) entrepreneurs

and employees. This study aims to fill the research gaps by exploring work experience of class and race-based employment of students at ethnic minority businesses by using intersectional approach and examine co-ethnic discrimination. To fill the gap, this study observes a qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews with employers and employees with the ethnic background (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, China, Myanmar and so forth.). Mainly in sectors such as food outlets, convenience shopping, petrol station and grocery stores (SMEs). As lately employees are flooding to small organisations from diverse backgrounds, motivated by different expectations, they have mixed perceptions of themselves and varied understanding of others (Bakir, 2017). It is not expected that they will dismiss their values, attitudes when t come to work (Robbins and Coulter, 2012; Ilmakunnas and Ilmakunnas, 2011). This research provides practical implications in the light of all the arguments mentioned above. The ethnic minority owned firms sample used for this study can be observed in Figure 1. **Participants by industry of employment**

1.5.2) Diverse Culture of Huddersfield town

Huddersfield is a large market town in West Yorkshire, England. It is the 11th largest town in the United Kingdom, with a population of 141,000 (Kirklees council, 2017, p.9). The location of the University of Huddersfield provides a relatively high proportion of full-time students within the working-age population (16 to 74 years). The University provides about 19,270 students in the year 2015/2016 (Kirklees council, 2017). Huddersfield showcases diverse culture in its premises. (Kirklees council, 2003, p. 19). Whereas, the SME Growth managers have managed to secure £1.1m of LEP funding with the result of 135 additional jobs in the District (Kirklees Council, 2016/17, p. 8). The University of Huddersfield as the main focal point in the district is showing economic revitalisation making the most of existing assets and providing new opportunities to achieve solid economic and employment growth and enhanced resilience. This has been possible because of the University of Huddersfield - an anchor institution with global connectivity and had also been the winner of the University of the Year award in 2013 (Kirklees council, 2014, p. 5). The University of Huddersfield with its excellent reputation for its academics and employment opportunities for the students is one of the leading universities in the country. That adds up to a huge market and a good combination of an attractive environment for the students (Kirklees council, 2014, p. 8).

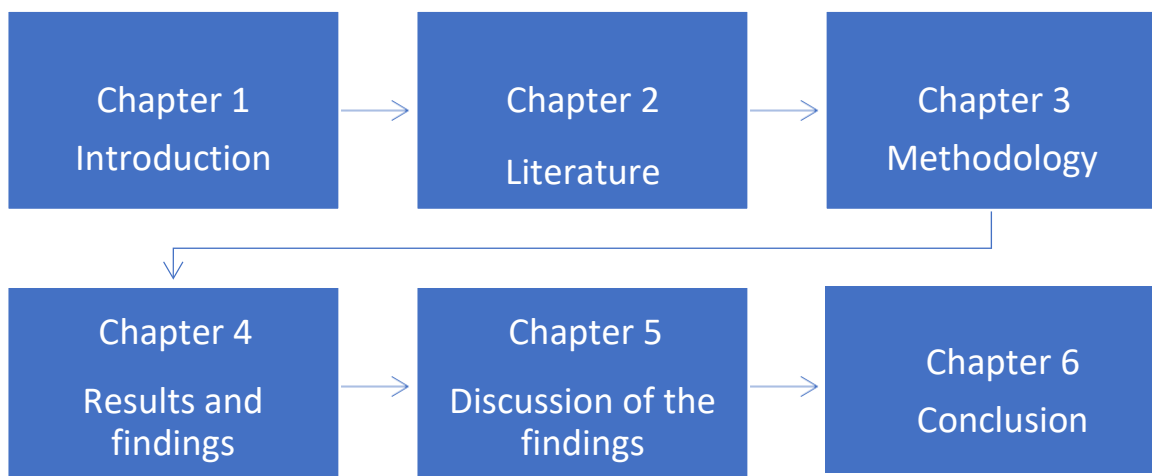
Huddersfield is driving intensive activities to promote enterprise skills and graduate entrepreneurship. This activity furnishes young people especially with the experience, skills and self-belief to start a business or social enterprise, become self-employed, or simply more

enterprising in work (Kirklees council, 2014, p. 22). The author finds this town quite interesting and resourceful to research this study, as this is one of the hubs of international students working in SMEs.

This study is a trial to align ethnic minority SMEs, and international students work experience together (Figure 2. The ethnicity of study participants). Taking the strengths and weaknesses of co-ethnicity into account. It is perceived that to fully understand the migrant students working experience in SMEs, contextualising the research regarding a developed town of the UK, namely Huddersfield, provides an interesting perspective because of the university and location significance. The study provides a sample study regarding the issues faced by the migrant students work experience. That contributes to the theoretical literature along the practical suggestions to improve the working standards in SMEs for students from any part of the world.

4) Project outline

The research report is divided into six different chapters. Chapter one consists of an introduction to different aspects of this study. This section mainly discusses objectives, research aim and background of this research. That leads to chapter two; this chapter includes the past and latest literature in the relevant field. That concludes with a list of theoretical frames of reference. Chapter three involves the methodology that is used in investigating the employees' perspective. Later chapter four discusses the gathered data. Chapter five analyse the data, and finally, chapter six is for showcasing the conclusion of this study.



Chapter 2

2) Literature review

The author is analysing the working experience of migrant students. A prime area of study deals with discrimination and exploitation issues in SMEs. The author firstly details the perspective on the exploration of racial identities and migration to rationalise the use of the theoretical framework of intersectionality. The author focuses on different approaches that intersect in the development of diverse characters of the student workforce. Hence, by using intersectional lenses, the author identifies the development of students. Özbilgin and Tatli, (2012) suggested in their article that analysing inequality under single strands may lead to “stereotype and over-simplification effect”. Also suggested by Acker (2006, p. 422) studying gender inequality on a single factor may result in vague results as with other inequality issues, gender inequality also depends on class, race/ethnicity, and other differences. This study discusses the different axis of a student’s identity and explores if that make them vulnerable to exploitative behaviour in co-ethnic SMEs.

2.1) Intersectionality

As mentioned earlier the research focuses on the theoretical framework of intersectionality, by proposing an area of research applying intersectional lens to study exploitation possibility of migrant student workforce in the complex environment of SMEs. The work experience of these employees helps to uncover the central argument of this study, if these employees’ vulnerability is based on the intersectional dimensions of race, different cultural background, visa complications, temporary stay and student status? The author has used the concept of intersectionality to represent the various ways in which race and migration interact to shape the multiple dimensions of a migrant student’s identity and employment experiences.

Researchers discussed in the past, the intersecting theories of multiple dimensions of identity (e.g. race, gender and so forth. referred with core impacts of personal characters) (Jones and McEwen, 2000). Later, these concepts were also applied to different disciplines to understand the oppression and equality structure, e.g. intersectional studies about students to observe the link between their personal and social characteristics and its impact on various prospects (Baxter Magolda, 2009; Renn, 2003, 2004; Langinier and Gyger, 2015). This study argues that immigrant student workers in SMEs are exploited not on any sole basis, but it is because of their diverse nationalities, culture, race, sexual orientation, student status and immigrant status

(visa complications, i.e. tier 4 visa, legality). Arguments on intersectionality are frequently addressed to theorise gender and migration (Anthias and Yuval Davis 1983, 1992;

Anthias 1992; Brah 1992). For it identifies the multiple social pressures and exploitative behaviour towards the migrant identities (Anthias, 2012). This study considers migrant student community to uncover the vulnerable factors that are beyond gender.

As per the opinion of Davis, (1981); Hill Collins, (2009); Lorde, (1985) intersectionality approach was initiated during the 1980s mainly in feminist's theory to understand multidimensional women oppression (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Crenshaw, 1991; Nash, 2008) and race issues (Kothari, 2006, 2006). Intersectionality is based on feminists' theory of power (Crenshaw, 1991) and critical race theorists who deny the idea of race, ethnicity and culture as separate determinants. Foucault, (1972) also added that intersectionality had been an interesting and complex subject for theorists. The famous ones are Crenshaw (1994) and Collins (1993). Crenshaw debates that location plays the fundamental role for women of color at the intersection of sexual orientation, and race contrast their experience from white women. On the other hand, Collin (1993) claims that race, gender and class are different conceptual practices that construct together during power production. Although Foucault argues that this contingent can lead to under-accentuating the most prominent features of the progression involved. Intersectionality was introduced to challenge the assumption of white middle-class women, or black men being exemplary social threats for racism and sexism victims (Prins, 2006). This concept highlights intra-group oppression, as violence against women is based on different aspects of race, class and identities (Crenshaw, 1991: 1242). Despite on the sole basis of color, intersectionality identifies the cultural perspective in the feminist study (Bastia, 2014). This study, however, is not primarily gender-based but explores the vulnerability of employees with migrant and student status. Intersectionality can be convenient for scholars because it increases analytical sophistication and offer theoretical explanation of the criteria in which heterogeneous members might experience the workplace differently, depending on their ethnicity and sexual orientation. It is the acknowledgement within group of people with a common identity, whether it is gender, religion, race or one of the many other defining aspects of identity, there exist intragroup differences. Theoretical development in the intersectionality studies have brought forward some valuable insights, making intersectionality not only an interplay of someone's identities of race, culture, class or sexual orientation but a social construct that involves economic and political complexities as well (Anthias, 2012). Bose (2012) added that intersections efficiently discuss the concerns and prejudices of the national and international

diversity across countries based on intersecting and the interdependent axis of marital status, culture, religion and other characteristics (Lee and Kramer, 2016). The prejudices against migrant students are discussed later as it also influences the exploitative behaviour of employers.

Acker (2012) in his article argues that, inequalities in any organisation are developed mainly at wages and empowerment level because exploitation and discrimination can be a part of organisational culture. As also been observed in the state of Oregon, the jobs were segregated gender basis, women's position was less classified and had lower wages compared to men. (Acker, 1989). However, organisations may differ the degree to which class, gender, and racial inequalities are experienced in a firm (Wills, 1977). This study also analyses the exploitation in the small and medium enterprise by applying intersectionality approach to understand the multidimensional identity of immigrant student workers.

In the opinion of Gaffney et al., (2010) intersectionality is a critical framework that deliver us with the mindset and language for examining interconnections and interdependencies between system and social categories. It draws attention to individuals and groups multiple positionality at micro and macro levels. In the contradicting view Crenshaw, (1991) defined intersectionality theoretical contribution as a way of analytical lenses and as a practical approach with several paradoxes rooted in its literature remains a flux for researchers. Many scholars have questioned undeveloped methods of examining multiple subject implications. As intersectionality is not a theory but an analytical perspective to discuss the arguments of oppression as formerly discussed intersectionality had been asserted from feminist and race theory, to explore experiences of subjects who have been ignored and unheard (Matsuda, 1987). It has now become a dominant tool that feminist and anti-racist scholars deploy for understanding identity, vulnerability and exploitation (Nash, 2008). Robert Chang and Jerome McCristal Culp, Jr. also added to the query that 'How does one pay attention to the points of intersection? How many intersections are there? Is the idea of an intersection the right analogy?' (Chang and Culp, 2002: p, 485). Researchers argue that intersectionality has a tremendous gap in its implications. For instance, it had been assumed that black women have the race or gender-based issues while ignoring other cause of discrimination actions and they are treated as a unitary and monolithic entity. It should not be overlooked that discrimination can be both similar and different than those encountered by white women and black men' (Crenshaw, 1989: 149). Although, integration of social issues and race theory into the discourse on diversity and culture, under the concept of intersectionality, provides robust analysis and reliable knowledge about ethical approach to pursuing social justice (Jani, Pierce, Ortiz and Sowbel, 2011). Different methodologies often present different results.

However, intersectionality calls for a unique paradigm to analyse different social superiority, oppression and exploitation aspects. It makes intersectionality challenging and an area of interest for the researchers (McCall, 2005). As discussed earlier there is still a debate about the vagueness of this approach (Davies, 2008). Though most researchers use this metaphor of intersection to understand the interplay of multiple identity dimensions and matrix of discrimination and authority (Collins, 1990) that stimulate the numerous forms of oppression (Geerts and Iris, 2013). However, the prior research of intersectionality across the discipline of student development ignored the detailed study about a specific group. For instance, researchers analysed the development process under uniform scale for all (e.g., psychosocial, cognitive, moral) and ignored more intense investigation into the process of specific groups (e.g., Asian Americans, Latino/as, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students) (Torres, Jones and Renn, 2009). Although, current societies often contain more than one cultural perception of race, gender, culture and any gender preposition but it is incomplete without discussing race, class and other social impacts. The concept of intersectionality is an approach to abstract the complex links between analytically separated processes and stereotyping (Acker, 2012). Jani, Pierce, Ortiz and Sowbel, (2011) also added that there are some limitations of intersectionality lens as there are no unified methods to studying intersectionality empirically. If any organization decide to embrace intersectionality-based approaches, then how they should manage it? Which approaches are specifically suitable to the exploration of intersectionality?

Though, this approach can be problematic but the idea behind intersectionality was to provide marginalized and oppressed group with an emancipatory voice. Hence, it is selected as a lens to identify, the critical issues associated with the multidimension identity of migrant student employees to analyse exploitation, rather than intersectionality being a theory itself (Crenshaw, 1989; Winker and Degele, 2011). Using the intersectionality perspective of exploitation as a theoretical lens in this study – with its spatial dimensions, race, international students, nationality, cultural diversity and organisational complexity –yield exciting and novel possibilities for theory creation. This research argues that the immigrant student’s reflection of work experience in SMEs can trigger new research questions, along with viewing observations can enlighten new insights and open new layers of meaning in data generation and analysis about EMSMEs. Researchers such as McCall (2005), prints (2006) and Han Cook (2007) had been arguing throughout the years about the need for analysing different theoretical frameworks. Such arguments led to the development of Intersectionality in studies (Choo and Ferree, 2010). They further added that despite the limitations the studies using intersectional approach provide more prosperous outcomes by focusing on inclusion of views that includes not only personal

experience but also societal and problematised relationships of exploitation and oppression. Hence, further, this study discusses the central interrelated intersectional axis/themes. i.e. migrants, students and race to explore its vulnerability to exploitation in EMSMEs.

2.2) Migration

Migration is commonly referred as a study that discusses the movement of people from one country to another and their challenges of understanding, adopting different culture, ethnicity and social enclosure (Anthias, 2012). This movement of people increases cultural diversity in the host country depicting differences in race, ethnicity, language, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation within a community (Amadeo, 2013). Although, the media and contemporary literature emphasizes the advantages of cultural diversity benefits in the work environment, the real picture is not as beautiful and simple (Al-Jenaibi, 2011, p. 49). Cultural diversity can influence the work environment from various perspectives. Negative impacts can incorporate miscommunication, delays, and useless adjustment practices. Whereas, positive impact can result in building a sound knowledge-based talent and constructive mix of diverse cultures in an international environment (Martin, 2014). Diversity management in big corporations has been started and discussed widely by the researchers. However, minor attention has been given to the rights of the diverse international employees in SMEs (Pedrini, Bramanti & Cannatelli, 2016). Agars & Kottke (2006, p.55) referred that diversity management is not a matter of decision but a matter of fact thus, "no organization is free of the impact of demographic changes". Matlay (1999) stressed on the complications because of the informal system, specifically the issues related to diversity in these small sectors. The idea of diversity started from the USA, in the 1980s was then exported to UK. However, it was accepted with a different socio-political-legal context that also could be seen presently in the UK associations (Greene and Kirton 2009). In UK diversity management started prevailing in the 1990s and along with some other elements from the US model, equality laws and organisational equal opportunities policies and practices dating back to the late 1970s were also hosted (Hansen & seierstad, 2017).

The diverse immigrants represent the heterogeneity of migrant identities and subjectivities (Castles 2002; Goldring and Landolt 2011; Ong 2006). The overseas movement is growing as can also be witnessed in the UK; the immigrant worker's population here grows from 2.3 to 4.2 million by the mid-2000s (Manacorda, Manning and Wadsworth, 2012). Migrant rights were then protected under 'The International Convention' (Migrant Workers' Convention or MWC) in 2003. This event was a notable effort to protect the human rights of migrant workers and their families around the world (Satterthwaite, 2005). However, Scholars argue that these non-

white immigrants still face challenges more than just culture at workplaces (Guenther, Pendaz and make, 2011; Pedrini, Bramanti and Cannatelli, 2016), as many SMEs considers international human capital management quite challenging (Mohr and Shoobridge, 2011). Other researchers' debate that employers prefer migrant workers than native born, for the migrant workers with limited rights are willing to compromise on ethics and standards (Kuhn and Shen, 2015). For instance, Anderson (2010) argues in his article that, migrant workforce in different sectors, such as hospitality, industrial, agriculture and small businesses are often exploited by means of low wage policies, anxiety and complicated employment structure (May et al., 2006; Shelley, 2007; TUC Commission on Vulnerable Employment, 2008). Employers often consider that the immigrant comes with the baggage of language, social skills, legality and unrecognized qualification barriers. Thus, they view it as a favour for providing employment, and it gives the employers a justification to exploit and oppress the immigrant workers (Bill, 2016). Such factors make a migrant vulnerable, and they agree to do jobs at lesser remunerations and standards than the native citizens (Anderson, 2010). Such behaviour has raised attention towards the migrants' exploitation (Rogaly, 2008; TUC Commission on Vulnerable Employment, 2008). As also quoted by UK Home Office: Failure to take on the people traffickers ... leaves vulnerable and often desperate people at the mercy of organised criminals. However, equally importantly, the fact that many immigrants, at the end of their journey, end up in shadowy jobs in the grey economy undermines the terms and working conditions of British workers, which is not fair. It chips away at the social contract and fabric of our country. Resentment of it breeds discontent and racism. It is especially keenly felt among those who believe they are not getting the economic or social opportunities they should because others, who have flouted the rules and often the law, seem to be getting on ahead of them, which is not fair either. That is why the time is now right to tackle the exploitation underpinning immigration. Not only the illegally trafficked journeys but also the illegal jobs ahead of them must be tackled. (John Reid, MP, in Home Office, 2007: 2)

The migration study was initially gender blind, and it was assumed that men are primary, and women are travelling as companions or secondary regarding migrants (Donato et al., 2006). Researchers then criticised this approach and identified women's participation in migration (Anthias, 1983; Morokvasic, 1984; Phizacklea, 1983). The migration study is hence developing, although it is still not appropriate to implicate feminists critique approach in its studies and if even it does discuss gender (women), it gives less attention to other intersectional axes of discrimination, e.g. race, class and so forth. Despite the popularity and contribution of intersectionality in feminist, migration and race theories, it still lacks in discussing the clear

methodology and concepts of equality and justice (Basta, 2014). Recently researchers have been discussing gender-based immigrant studies. However, there is still a need to specify this study with multiple disciplines. This research argues that there is a need to frame migration study contextually to analyse the interconnection of diverse identities and their exploitation experiences specific to ethnicity, gender and race of international students in small and medium-sized firms. Intersectionality has been an efficient source to understand diverse forms of oppression and exploitation in the migration process. Migrants' face discrimination by class, ethnicity, legality and other forms rather than just sexual orientation (Bürkner, 2012). However, some researchers focus on the need of intersectionality to discuss multiple disciplines, others argue that by doing so intersectionality is leading away from its feminist's roots (Bastia, 2014).

The immigration policy specifies a proper system to enter the UK legally, that comes under Tier 1 (highly skilled), Tier 2 (skilled) or Tier 3 (low skilled), students enter under Tier 4, and youth mobility schemes and temporary workers (e.g. au pairs) are covered by Tier 5 (Anderson, 2010). This study focuses on students under Tier 4 visa and their working experiences.

2.2.1) Migrant student workers

Employment has always been a complicated subject, as can be witnessed from the literature post- 1970's, that even though in the mature economies the employees are insecure in the formal labour markets (Sassen, 1991; Standing, 2011; Theodore, 2016). Shapiro, Farrelly and Tomas (2014) referred an international/migrant student as, "a student who moves to another country (the host country) to pursue tertiary or higher education, e.g., college or university" (p.2). Bista and Foster (2016) also added that the expression "international students" is of transitory character. Once international students get their degrees and start their career in the host or domestic country abroad on temporary visa status, their temporary identity as a foreign (migrant) student goes away (Bista, 2016). For instance, in Australia, 20% of Australia's workforce consists of temporary immigrants aged 20-24 in the last ten years with different work rights and authorized working hours (Mares, 2011).

International student recruitment is one of the essential causes of local universities to look for collaboration with foreign universities (Buck Sutton and Obst, 2012; Lee, 2014; EAIE, 2014). The most interesting geographic external partners are institutes situated in Asian countries (China and India) with a large number of youths travelling to study abroad every year (Falcone, 2017). Foster (2014) explained that since the second half of the 20th century, there had been a rise in international education (De Wit, 2002; Knight, 2004, 2006, 2009) and student mobility

(King et al., 2010) that has increased by 52% over the period 1998–2004. Hence, analysts have pointed out some factors that encourage students to move abroad such as making them more independent and confident, as well as strengthening increased intercultural competencies, a higher value of the degree, employer preferences to overseas education degree holder than domestic. Another factor that triggers a student to study and work abroad can be the political and economic problems in the home countries along with a reputation of the country/institution, improved employment prospects and the opportunity to experience a different culture (Wilkins et al., 2012). However, leading scholars have published articles critiquing the current working state of immigrant students (e.g. Knight, 2011; Brandenburg and de Wit, 2011). Universities are considered as a significant source to provide temporary migrant employees, but despite the profound insights shared, characteristic of the body of immigration literature, these critiques typically fail to address the internationalisation of career advising. (Etzkowitz, 1998).

Education in an international university can be productive and worthwhile, but it comes with physiological and social challenges. At personal level isolation and new environment upsurge emotional vulnerability in culturally diverse university students (Jada, Jena and Pattnaik, 2014). This stress is more common for international students and sometimes result in depression, lack of confidence and anxiety (Hum and Carr, 2018). Cheng, Lourenco and Resnick (2016) in their article brought attention towards the graduates working in SMEs. They assert that despite the rapid increase in the graduates (aged 18-24 years) unemployment in the UK that has risen in recent years reaching 18.4 per cent (761,000) with almost one-in-five youths currently out of work (ONS, 2013). Universities heighten this situation by providing a substantial number of graduates each year. For instance, 787,205 fresh graduates were passed by higher education institutions (HEIs) in England in 2011/2012 (HESA, 2012). However, these graduates prefer their jobs in large firms than SMEs because of enhanced career prospects (Hart and Barrat, 2009). Still, there are enough graduates working in SMEs (ONS, 2013). Many graduates end up with starting their career from SMEs. Per Jensen and Higgins (2009) employment in SMEs has been reassessed in the UK after the recession of 2009. As for traditional graduate level jobs, there is a fall, and an apparent rise has been recorded in the graduate's SME employment. As per the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (2016) currently 5.5 million SMEs are operating in the UK, and in such organisations, almost 306,670 students pursuing post-graduation studies were employed at the time of 2015/2016 (HESA, 2017). Empirical study depicts that the employment opportunities of these migrant employees are far from equal to those of native- born citizens in SMEs. Migrants are exploited financially and psychologically, as they earn lower wages (e.g. Fertig and Schurer, 2007), more often hired for low-skill jobs for which

they are over-qualified students (Holgate, 2005; Turner, 2010); they also face partiality in appraisals (Roth et al., 2003), more obstructions in their career development (Kamenou and Fearful, 2006) and often experience multifaceted discrimination (Ogbonna and Harris, 2006).

As the current political context is changing, researchers are considering the immigrant student's research to be re-assessed. Not only are migrant students experiencing a "world in flux" (Glass, 2017) but because of their vulnerability, they are currently living in an unstable environment of insecurity in which migrant students are increasingly becoming the objectives of violence and exploitation in the light of on race, religion, ethnicity, and national origin (Redwood. and Redwood, 2017). Hagedorn and Zhang (2014) described the most common issues to migrant student's concerns; making them more vulnerable for employers are the language barrier, limited knowledge about career, legal rights, visa complications and uncertainty about their stay in the UK. Along with that financial constraint has always been one of the key weaknesses for the international students (Falcon, 2017) and a big influence towards persuing a career in SMEs. Scholars argue that some small industrial firms deliberately target student employees. The reason is to increase graduates in that specific sector (Bowen, Lloyd, and Thomas 2004; Jones et al. 2001; Graduate Talent Pool program as cited in Kewin, Hughes, and Fletcher 2010; Otter 2005; Westhead 1998). However, evidence of the efficacy of these initiatives is feeble as SMEs recruitment and incentives depend more on the recruiter behaviour than a formal system.

The insecure and unstable situations of workers are more common in small and medium-sized firms and show the rise in employees' exploitation, more often in the case of migrants (Scott, 2017). These migrant employees are mistreated and exploited based on the employer's perception. As also discussed previously, the employers believe they are doing a favour by employing these graduate migrant workers and they consider them inferior than the native employees (Anderson, 2010). The misconception is found among SME managers because they neglect to perceive the advantages of recruiting migrant graduates for development (Collinson, 1999; Holden and Jameson, 2002; Holden et al., 2007; Hart and Barrat, 2009; Kewin et al., 2010). As they believe that even though these migrant graduates may have true academic capabilities of business, they don't wholly appreciate business objectives (O'Brien and Hart, 1999; Stringfellow et al., 2006; Woods and Dennis, 2009), they are considered as too exorbitant to utilise extra training costs (Collinson, 1999). The UK Commission for Employment and Skills conceded that recent modern graduates are deficient in "soft skills" which are essential in conveying daily business exercises in SMEs (UK Commission for Employment and Skills, 2010). About 43 % of managers has expressed doubts in enlisting graduates because of their

absence of soft skills, for example, leadership, teamwork and communication (BBC, 2007; Ford, 2007). Woods and Dennis (2009) also showed in their research that among the 60 % of graduates employed for SMEs, their managers believe that only 22% of graduates are well prepared for the world of work. There are different aspects of beliefs, expectations and visions that affect a migrant student's identity. The Leitch Review of Skills (HM Treasury, 2006) argued about the significance of SMEs in career development and contribution to the UK economy. They underlined the need to put resources into educating and training, to enhance the abilities of the workforce to manage the UK's competitiveness in the worldwide economy. Thus, building up graduates' aptitudes fundamental for work in SMEs is a vital strategy for HEIs. Similarly, the Confederation of British Industry and Universities UK (2009) also signifies the graduate aptitudes for different industries. They added that the necessary generic soft skills make graduates more employable and effective in the working environment (Cheng, Lourenco & Resnick, 2016).

The critical lens of intersectionality reflects these perspectives better (Torres, Jones and Renn, 2009). Intersectionality framework has been a focal point of discussion in the debates about identities (e.g., Crenshaw, 1991) and for feminist studies (e.g., Collins, 2000; Dill, McLaughlin, and Nieves, 2007). As this framework discusses the real-life experiences based on the interaction of social structure of exploitation and inequalities (e.g., Collins, 2000; Dill, McLaughlin, and Nieves, 2007) based on the migrant student employees' vulnerability and employer's perception. Migrant student workers are the main participants in this research to understand the exploitation issues in SMEs. Moreover, migration status, formal rights, visa restrictions and ethnicity/race, directly influence employee's position at workplace and vulnerability of those migrant workers (Anderson, 2000; Ruhs and Anderson, 2006).

2.3) Race (race theory)

In the opinion of Bill, (2016) racism is getting common in all parts of the world and referred as another justification for exploitation. The racial hierarchies can be classified in multiple ways, e.g. elites in third world countries, local or immigrant groups, ethnic, cultural groups and so forth. However, the most common form of racialisation stays in the skin colour'. According to Grosfoguel, Oso and Christou, (2015), societies are perceived in different ways some being exploited as inferior and others as superior. They also added that racism had been a difficult concept to discuss in migration studies due to some misconceptions, for instance, Islamophobia, as it does not clarify whether it is about religious extreme or a form of race. Gillborn (2005) argues that exploitation based on institutional racism in the UK has often been taken for granted.

Another form of racism is xenophobia that is recently growing in Europe against the immigrants of Global South as they justify the immigrants not as inferior but as “culturally inadequate for European civilisation. LatCrit (an extended form of CRT) also acknowledge racism issues of language, culture and immigration status that probably may be overlooked by colour paradigm (Huber, 2009).

The author applies intersectionality as a vital aspect for understanding if exploitation is based on race discrimination in SME at transactional (wage level) or structural level (internal system). The scholars in 1970 who were concerned about racial domination in society introduced race theory (Smith, Altbach, and Lomotey, 2002). This approach helps to increase the overall commitment to social justice and to reduce exploitation based on identities such as nationalities, race, religion or ethnicity. It also encourages managers to focus on the topics of ethnicity, prejudice, and structural exploitation in a diverse culture organisation (Miller and Garran, 2008). It evolved in the late 1980s by dynamic legal researchers, who brought in consideration about racism and its standardisation in and by the law to fulfilment (Bell, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas, 1995). As time is passing CRT is gaining more and more significance. One of the reasons is migration as it welcomes individuals from different nationalities and prompts growing number of migrant workers (Dyer, McDowell and Batnitzky, 2010). For instance, the recent research has demonstrated that migrants in London have lower employment rates than the UK-born populace yet are polarised by their nationality, with those from developing nations faring less than others at workplaces (Greater London Authority, 2005). As also added by García, (2017) in the latest article that CRT contrasts from customary social rights dialogue by explicitly addressing liberal institution (counting equality theory, lawful, rational, enlightenment logic, and neutral standards of constitutional law) based on democratic ideas. For instance, "equality," "justice," and "truth" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Critical Race Theory has become a familiar refrain to understand different forms of exploitation that comes under terms as “systemic oppression,” “institutional racism,” and “white privilege”. That have turned out to be primary themes of open discussion. Harvard Law, a group of protestors, plays a vital role in CRT’s popularity as it calls for \$5 million and three tenure-track faculty to set up a program on Critical Race Theory at HLS. However, there remains an absence of lucidity about what critical race theory indeed implies (Barlow, 2016).

CRT is a significant contribution for understanding the race and exploitative issues. As CRT asks the questions as well simplified by Dorothy Brown “What does race has to do with this?” (Brown, 2004). It is presumed that a community is strong and united within itself. Delgado

and Stefancic (2012) considers, "race-cognizant" as basic leadership, agenda and a considerable permanent norm to be utilised as a part of changing places of riches, honour, and power (Barlow, 2016).

However, this report challenges this perception of community privileges and debates about co-ethnic exploitation. Although this is not the first time. CRT is often defied because of the different variations and debates of scholars about this concept (Gonzales, 2017; Hernández, 2016). Cole criticised CRT and explained that this theory has two significant flaws related to white supremacy' as it explains the privileges someone can enjoy being of a certain race. He added that in the present world there are subgroups. i.e. Islamophobia, European groups (Jews, Irish and so forth.) such groups are discriminated on the non-colour basis. Hence, racism is not only related to whiteness or any other colour only, but it can be non-coded as well. Whereas, white supremacy only identifies the colour-based discriminations. It shows a gap in the study of CRT (Cole, 2009). The second argument by Cole (2009) is that CRT's only emphasis is on race; while it ignores other scenarios. Such as social class, that is also a significant form of exploitation in the society.

Additionally, researchers added that the core of critical race theory lies the dismissal of colour-blind meritocracy. "Formal equality neglects structural disadvantages and requires sheer non-discrimination or "equivalent treatment" in a community. Harris (1995) claims that Critical Race Theory calls for "aggressive, colour-conscious efforts to change the way things are". Mills although debates that Cole's argument is not valid that CRT's sole focus is on race. As Cole sighted from European Spectres' article (Mills, 2003a) about the United States and its individualities in Western culture, the issues are regarding income inequality and health care. Mills adds that he discussed race as the primary contradiction for 'American exceptionalism' and not on the general proposition in that specific section (Mills, 2009).

Scholars believe that there is limited knowledge regarding how people of colour experience, challenge, resist racism and other forms of exploitation (Yosso, 2005). Moreover, LatCrit scholars acknowledged and highlighted that "racism, sexism, and classism are inextricably linked with other intersectional forms of marginalisation based on phenotype, culture, sexuality, surname, linguistic accent, and immigration status" (Haney López, 2006; Johnson, 1999; Montoya, 1994;). These scholars argued and encouraged other scholars towards the Black/white binary understanding with one primary unit. However, in this study, these multiple intersectional variables can be served as measuring points to analyse exploitation towards immigrant student workers in EMSMEs with employers from same race and ethnicity.

However, it is argued that this approach is problematic for two main reasons: First, there are substantial cultural dissimilarities already within a nation considering the ethnic origin of people, which are mostly ignored. Second, people from different countries may have similar values, standards and attitudes because of a shared racial foundation. Thus, utilisation of the "nation equals culture" approach in this manner appears to be improper while examining workforce diversity. Researchers propose that there is yet a lack of studies on migrant's ethnic diversity and its outcomes, particularly in SMEs (Mohr and Shoobridge, 2011). In different types of literature on ethnic diversity the research had been based on the larger firms and their top management teams (TMTs) (see, for example, Kilduff et al., 2000, Reuber and Fischer, 1997, Lee and Park, 2008).

Based on the lack of research about the significance of racially diverse migrant workforce in SMEs and its different success aspects (Mohr and Shoobridge, 2011). This research argues about the implication and changing trend of a diverse ethnic workforce in SMEs resulted in the rise in migration. Researchers have pointed out that in Asian owned SMEs family and social networks encourages the business activities of the Asian minority groups. That comes with the low wage for female labour and financial incentives from personal means (Basu, 1998; Srinivasan, 1995; Werbner, 1990; Barrett et al., 1996). In this prospect, it can be argued that these Asian owned enterprises act of exploitation of employees has not been a new dilemma (see, e.g. Barrett et al., 1996; Jones and Ram, 2003; Ram et al., 2000) based on mobilisation and sometimes same race discrimination as well. However, Flap et al. (2000) argue that these Asian minority enterprises share a strong bond with its network than other population and moral community carries more value than the contractual obligations. Although qualitative studies have shown that the ethical behaviour in these firms is mostly neglected Eda et al., 2000 explains, there is a lack of study regarding different approaches to intersectionality contribution to diverse categories, as most of the research focuses only on single phenomena of exploitation. There is lack of research in the field of specific and multi-category cultural paradigm to identify the role in generating privilege, advantage, disadvantage, exploitation and discrimination at work (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012), expressly in SMEs. Thus, arguably it ignores some intersectional aspects of exploitation. This study produces an etic approach showcasing the migrant workforce diversity and generates flawed empirical and theoretical insights into same race discrimination in EMSMEs.

2.4) Exploitation

Exploitation is a term that can be used to refer social, political and economic injustice. This study discusses exploitation as a social phenomenon towards migrant student workers in SMEs. As this started with discussing interrelated dimensions of migration and student status, along with equality theory focusing on global justice, i.e. race theory and intersectional approach. It will now help to understand the global exploitation. Exploitation theories do not adequately justify equality and discrimination on the intersectional point of view. As these theories still need to explore more about the third world women (McKeown, 2017) and graduate workers in the era of internationalism. This section is using migrant graduate workers as a sample to understand the exploitation of social identities of migrant employees in SMEs (McKeown, 2017).

This study argues that the employers see migrant students exploitable due to their vulnerability (as explained earlier in this study, the migrant students come from diverse cultures, race, ethnicity, status (student, marital, national), limited access to legal rights, culture and language). The employer's perception about migrant students possess lack of soft skills that are required for SMEs (explained above). Along with the unfavourable impression about the students who sometimes study in so-called 'dodgy colleges for visa purpose attaining low standard education and accommodation (Baas, 2014). This negative representation and employers with awareness of their weak financial situation, often reflect these migrant students exploitable'.

Exploitation can be simplified as 'taking unfair advantage of someone' (Tormey, 2008). Whereas termed by Marxist, exploitation is about unequal surplus value in the capitalist society. In addition to the argument, the classic reference can be used here "birds of passage" by Piore (1979). It refers to the primary and secondary forms of employment, allied to stable and flexible labour markets (dual labour market). Piore represents the secure, fair and indiscriminate employment conditions, in contrast, there is a capitalist system; shifted onto (migrant) labour, represents the secondary market vacancies with low wages and unfavourable working characteristics (Cohen, 1987; Goos and Manning, 2007; Standing, 2011; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). As Piore (1979: p: 39) notes: 'the institutional distinctions that permit escape from job-security arrangements closely parallel to the distinctions between the jobs of migrants and the jobs of natives.' Migrants often accept the jobs with lesser pay due to fear of starvation. Such jobs come without the benefits of insurance or holidays (Li, 2017). The Marxist approach of productive labour can also be challenged here, as the student migrant workers or global

women migrants. Their work is unproductive at domestic level, and these migrants usually live, and work based on ethnic prejudices and racial hierarchy, and it does not fall on technical Marxist sense. As a researcher it is important to challenge the idea of other scholars, as per Smith (2017), Marxism vs intersectionality can be classified as individuality vs social status. Marxism stated that oppression, discrimination, and exploitation is rooted in class society and rejects the idea of identity oppression or “overlapping oppression”, a term used to express intersectionality. Some researcher believes that intersectionality is less empathetic than Marxism in relation to exploitation as it also identifies the social conditions that encourages oppression and exploitation. This research also supports the perception that Marxism and intersectionality can benefit from each other in practice as per it can help in the advancement of Marxist theory and its practice.

The rise in immigration has also risen the anti-immigrant sentiments of people. Politicians and media portray the migrants as ‘sponging’ a country’s welfare (McAreevey, 2017). Jenkins (2014) adds that events such as Brexit, shows the powerful groups attempt to signify their position in the economy it also shows the social and cultural exchange and pressure on the government on local health and education scheme (Dax and Machold, 2015). Researchers are narrowing their focus from labour struggles to analyse issues of migrants and other minority groups in firms (Wills, 2009; Bressán, and Arcos, 2017). Wills (2005; 2009) discussed the struggles of migrants and minority workforce in London, bringing focus towards these groups’ representation by trade unions in low wage economies. Researchers argue that with the decline of unionism in recent time, minorities and migrants are left unnoticed and are left to deal with discrimination, harassment and low wage system (Holgate et al. 2011).

Researchers recently are paying attention towards the idea of migrant international students (e.g. Baas, 2010; Fong, 2011; Robertson, 2013a). One of the reasons for interest is the abusive and exploitative behavior towards them due to the growing racist sentiments and because they are often considered as aliens in a different country. Newspapers have also published different articles representing this exploitative conduct towards migrant student workers (ABC, 2018); ‘Overseas students of ‘new slave trade’ (The Age, 2008); ‘Foreign students exploited’ (Sydney Morning Herald, 2008) and Indian students were frequently flagged as ‘cash cows’ (Sydney Morning Herald, 2008; Herald-Sun, 2008). It has demonstrated the issues of exploitation primarily in regard to part-time jobs, wages and accommodation (Nyland et al., 2009).

Exploitation of migrant students is not only in the UK, but it is a global phenomenon. The cases discussed here are the concepts related to this study. For instance; As Goodin’s (1985: p, 37)

argues that exploitation is ‘a kind of abuse or taking advantage of the vulnerability of others’ and sometimes taking advantage of people from the same community.

Similar cases can be witnessed in Australia, where Chinese immigrants are exploited by other Chinese employers. They accept to be exploited because of the same vulnerable factors discussed earlier and most significantly the language barrier. These Chinese migrants have limited choices to search for jobs. As they depend on the co-ethnic sites and social circle for employment (Li, 2017). Hence, the employer benefits from the vulnerable situation and takes advantage as these Chinese students who find difficult to get a legal job due to English language proficiency, and they agree to work to cover daily expenses.

‘Continuum of exploitation’ is another form of exploitation referred by Skřivánková (2010). It denotes the vague line between labour exploitation and forced labour.

Ireland is one of the examples; migrant workers accept the working criteria suitable to their requirements and feasibility. However, later it becomes difficult for them to leave the job when the working hours and condition contrast to their expectations (Coghlan and Wylie, 2011). While, migrants also face “coercion” that involves psychological manipulation including threats and pressure (Skřivánková, 2006). Migrants feel vulnerable based on gender/ migrant/student/race. They are not able to change the power relationship with the employer and do not feel free to leave the job letting the other person control them (Anderson and Rogaly, 2005).

The UK government is developing policies to protect the rights of the migrant workers. However, there are some economies, for instance,

Northern Ireland with limited knowledge and rural isolation about the UK employment rights, provides opportunities to the employer to peruse the exploitive behaviour toward the migrants (Potter and Hamilton, 2014). It can also be witnessed in the supermarkets that portrays positive attitude towards diversity and ethical practices but in reality, emphasis on cost reduction and stresses on the delivery of goods, ignoring the quality of products and working conditions (Lloyd and James, 2008; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009).

Migrants also face violence and discrimination due to their race and ethnicity (Cwerner, 2001). For instance, in Australia, numerous violent attacks were registered against Indian students working at late night shifts of taxi or food industry from 2008-2010 (Baas, 2014).

Inspired by the low levels of conflict within large “sweatshop economies” based on extreme labour exploitation in Italy and Argentina, we ask ourselves what contextual and subjective factors prevent migrant workers from organising collectively in defence of their rights. As City Council evaluates about 10,000 Chinese migrants works in these firms and the majority is claimed to be exploited by the employer at wage and working conditions parameters (Bressán and Arcos, 2017).

Researchers argue that language limitation, more currency value than home country, cash in hand flexibility and less expectation from employer encourages immigrants to accept cash economy and exploitative employers who offer less than minimum pay (Li, 2017). Wertheimer (1996) adds that exploitation happens when one person pays lesser than legal certified wage. Employers indulge in this illegal mode of payment to save the tax, and it gives a chance to the employee to work extra hours and earn extra money. Cash in hand jobs is common for the employer paying less than minimum pay as these wages are not withholding any taxation, insurance or guarantee an employer can benefit from tax-free transactions. Surprisingly, these cash in hand jobs is getting common and accepted by employees (Braithwaite et al., 2008). The immigrants’ expectations of suitable and desired work conditions are overlooked under controlling factors of the employer, and they find themselves as victims in a different country; one of the highlighted elements that distinguishes the native population from the migrants (Potter and Hamilton, 2014).

However, another interestingly related concept is ‘mutual exploitation’. Wertheimer (1996) argues that it has been assumed person A Exploits B and takes advantage of the situation. While it can be argued that exploitation is not always about damage and sabotage, exploitation is a form of coercion, because to some extent exploitation needs association of exploitee as well (Goodin, 1987). In some cases, exploitation can bring benefit for both parties. Wertheimer (1996) simplifies that if a shopkeeper doubles the rate of a product and another party B buys it to meet some needs. Party B will consider itself to be exploited as it paid double price, but it cannot be ignored that both parties benefited from this trade. Same is the case with the migrant workers, they get exploited by different means but in the short term of stay, jobs at SMEs are convenient and flexible. It can be argued here that gaining unequal profits and benefits can be a definition of exploitation, but this is not the case. Otherwise, all transactions will be considered as exploitative, however; it can be stated that taking advantage of someone’s vulnerable position can be exploitation (Goodin, 1987). Here Wertheimer and Zwolinski (2013) argue that it is not always necessary that exploitee is vulnerable. As in the case of

shopkeeper example, the party B may be more abundant than the shopkeeper. Hence, to identify the exploitation justification the market must be assumed in perfect market conditions. It clarifies that explaining exploitation is complicated and built on the consent of different parties in the economic system (McKeown, 2017).

Given below are some important themes of exploitation discussed by researchers from the past five years. However, there is some gap observed that the author has tried to cover in this study. The central gap in most past and present literature is the lack of analysis of intersectional axis to understand vulnerability to exploitation. Most of these articles have been accessed on sole determinants, and as the primary argument, this study argues this idea and supports the intersectional approach to analyse exploitation.

Table 2: Past literature table

Theme	Gap	Reference
Theories of exploitation	This article considers different industries as uniform. However, SMEs dynamics are much more complex, and the rate of exploitation is higher compared to large firms. Hence relating it to SMEs would have given a better perspective.	McKeown, M. (2017). Global structural exploitation: towards an intersectional definition. <i>Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric</i> , 9(2).
Wage discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using migrant as the sole entity • No specification of industry • Discrimination factors not fully discussed 	Scott, S. (2017). In formalisation in Low-wage Labour Markets: a case study of the UK food industry. <i>Population, space and place</i> , 23(7).

	Does not fully justify the reasons these migrants are considered exploitable	Bressán, J. M., & Arcos, A. (2017). How do migrant workers respond to labour abuses in “Local sweatshops”? Migrant workers and sweatshops. <i>Antipode</i> , 49(2), 437-454. 10.1111/anti.12250
	Relational inequality theory does not fully explain the reason for the wage gap. There shall be some discussion about the visa and legality of migrant’s impact on job	Tomaskovic-Devey, D., Hällsten, M., & Avent-Holt, D. (2015). Where do immigrants fare worse? Modelling workplace wage gap variation with longitudinal employer-employee Data1. <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> , 120(4), 1095-1143. 10.1086/679191
Graduate migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Considering temporary migrants as sole determinants, a student’s social identity is different from holiday worker • Temporary workers preferred industry shall have better elaborated 	Robertson, S. (2014). Time and temporary migration: The case of temporary graduate workers and working holiday makers in Australia. <i>Journal of ethnic and migration studies</i> , 40(12), 1915-1933.
	This study mentions the multiple outcomes of migrant identity. Hence, the intersectional approach could have presented a better outcome simultaneously	McAreavey, R. (2017). Migrant identities in a new immigration destination: revealing the limitations of the ‘hard-working’ migrant identity. <i>Population, space and place</i> , 23(6).

Significance and vulnerability of migrant identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used gender as sole identity vulnerable axis against external law and regimes • Ignored identity axis of race and culture 	Murphy, C. (2013). The enduring vulnerability of migrant domestic workers in Europe. <i>International & comparative law quarterly</i> , 62(3), 599-627.
	Again, the intersectional approach could have been used here then the pathway model as identity vulnerability. As it can be a combination of different identity determinants along with external factors	Hum, S., & Carr, S. M. (2018). Testing the emotional vulnerability pathway to problem gambling among culturally diverse university students. <i>Journal of Gambling Studies</i> (Online), 1-13. 10.1007/s10899-018-9753-3
	This article assumes that the migrants are vulnerable and does not fully justify the factor that determines them exploitable	Potter, M., & Hamilton, J. (2014). Picking on vulnerable migrants: Precarity and the mushroom industry in Northern Ireland. <i>Work, Employment & Society</i> , 28(3), 390-406. 10.1177/0950017013510760
Co-ethnic exploitation	<p>Ethnic identity analysed on the singular determinant of culture</p> <p>Ignore other axis visa status (temporary, permanent), marital and legality of stay</p> <p>Cash in hand sole exploitative entity</p>	Li, Y. (2017). Constituting co-ethnic exploitation: The economic and cultural meanings of cash-in-hand jobs for ethnic Chinese migrants in Australia. <i>Critical Sociology</i> , 43(6), 919-932. 10.1177/0896920515606504
Racist attacks	Lack of industry specification and discussion about employability subjectivity	Baas, M. (2014). Victims or profiteers? Issues of migration, racism and violence among Indian students in Melbourne. <i>Asia Pacific Viewpoint</i> , 55(2), 212-225.

Source: Author

2.4.1) Mutual exploitation; SMEs and migrant student workers

The literature about human rights and ethics have been focusing mainly on the larger firms working in the mainstream (Spence et al., 2003) and lesser attention has been given to the social human rights in small and medium-sized firms (Quinn, 1997; Spence, 1999; Spence and Rutherford, 2001; Vyakarnam et al., 1997). However, this growing literature does not identify the ethnic minority enterprises (Ede et al., 2000; Spence et al., 2003). As discussed earlier, SMEs in the UK constitutes over 99% of total business while providing employment and economic stability to the country. Though, in this percentage, 10 % is represented by the ethnic minority group (Barclays Bank, 2005). SMEs are the primary source of employment for migrant workers. However, larger firms have recruited the immigrant employees, but often they are appointed at the lower level compared to the immigrant employee's experience and abilities (Irwin et al., 2014). There has been limited research about the small and medium-sized Asian owned or managed firms in the U.K (Worthington, Ram and Jones, 2006) even though there is a rise in ethnic minority business that also includes longstanding immigrant communities (Carter, Mwaura, Ram, Trehan and Jones, 2015). It had been observed that the exploitation of social human rights of employees is more common in the SMEs sector (Cooke and Clifton, 2003; Cooke and Wills, 1999). SMEs operate with the lesser number of stakeholders; hence it encourages nepotism and develops more personal and informal links with its customers and employees than the larger firms (Southwell, 2004). Another primary factor is the owner-manager reinforcement, as it is based on personal ties, in micro firms (mainly) the personal and professional boundaries are blur and effects recruitment, fair treatment of employees and retainment decisions (Baines and Wheelock, 1998), Working and wage discrimination, security, overtime and development are reported as unfavourable for the migrants working in these Asian owned firms. The exploitation of migrants is documented by different authors explaining the various issues and vulnerability regarding migrant graduates workers in the recent years; unfavourable wage structure for migrants (Anderson, 2010; Manacorda, Manning and Wadsworth, 2012; Potter and Hamilton, 2014), unfair treatment in food industry (Scott, 2017), exploitation and abusive behavior towards migrant graduates (Baas, 2014, Robertson, 2014; Bressán and Arcos, 2017), vulnerability of migrant status (Murphy, 2013, McAreavey, 2017), co-ethnic exploitation (Li, 2017), Marxian exploitation, (McKeown, 2017), migrant workers vulnerability to employment-related discrimination and their exploitation at workplaces (Murphy, 2013). This study fills the theoretical gap by using Asian owned SMEs exploitation towards co-ethnic graduate workers. There are a number of factors that make migrants vulnerable, such as, level of dependency on the employer for accommodation, support

and status (Chen, 2011), unawareness of laws, alienness, irregular immigrant status (Blackett, 2011), instability, lack of security (Anderson, 2010). All these discriminating determinants further combined by multiple, intersecting forms based on class, race, nationality and gender, with migrant worker's status and oppress migrants in the context of a globalising world' (Murphy, 2013).

However, as discussed earlier the idea of mutual exploitation is the perception of the students. During the research, it was clear that most of the students were interested in starting their jobs association with large firms for better pay scale and better opportunities (Belfield 1999). In fact, Mukhtar, Oakey and Kipling's (1999) survey of undergraduates' views on employment in SMEs found that 84% had not even considered SME employment as a possibility" (Jameson, Thomas, and Walmsley, 2012). Still, they agree upon working in SME as the informal structure is convenient for the migrant student employees. One of the leading examples is cash in hand. Although this means less wage than the legal minimum wage, temporary immigrants find it easy to get cash in hand jobs without the complications of insurance and superannuation (Li, 2017). Hence, it can be argued that cash in hand low wages is sometimes beneficial for both parties (employer and employee). As the employer saves himself from taxations and gets cheap labour and employees can work for their desired hours and due to temporary stay can stay away from the insurance policies (Li, 2017). Additionally, most temporary immigrants use their visa to work rather than using it for the fundamental purpose of studies or holiday tourism (Robertson, 2014) and prefer any jobs while they change their visa status from temporary to permanent, i.e. more than 1,62,000 working tourists are residing in Australia (DIAC, 2013). The graduate migrants sometimes use the educational degrees to extend their stay in the host country. For instance, students after November 2011, accomplished a bachelor's degree in Australia are eligible for a post-graduate work visa of two to four years. Depending on their level of qualification these students are given a chance to change their visa status to permanent (Robertson, 2014). However, these temporary migrant graduates to get future support, sponsorships, work experience and to accomplish long-term goal of residency, becomes more vulnerable to the employer and are more likely to compromise on temporary working conditions and wage structure for future purposes (Robertson, 2014). The above arguments and the research process of this study makes co-ethnic employer and employee relationship debatable because along with the element of exploitation, mutual exploitation, there is also an element of interdependence involved. However, the fact cannot be denied that one party exploits more than the other party.

2.5) Summary: Race, immigration and student visa: an intersectional approach to understanding exploitation

This study proposes the ideology of McKeown (2017), as he claims that the Marxian theory of exploitation is appropriately structural, but it does not justify the intersectional approach. The author stresses the need for an intersectional lens for analysing exploitation to comprehend global structural exploitation based on critical race, along with the definition of exploitation on intersectional grounds. However, to analyse limitation of intersectionality from a Marxist point of view, some researchers argue that as intersectionality disregards one's class and promotes identifying people based on their characteristics (sexual orientation, ethnicity, culture etc.). This can be conveniently incorporated into capitalist system because then the failure and oppression of workers will result from the orientation of their separate axis of identity with no impact of societal pressure. That will promote capitalism in society (Cassell, 2017). Hence, it will not be wrong to say that both theories can benefit from each other to understand exploitation, oppression and discrimination in transnationalism era.

As far as migration is concerned, latest studies show the mass migration situation in countries like France, UK, Switzerland, as it has given the employer the opportunity to recruit cheap labour with working conditions less concerned than the native employees (Scott, 2017). As with legal protection and more opportunities native workers becomes comparatively expensive and demanding. Hence the recruiter looks for foreign employees from secondary labour market segment (Scott, 2013). These migrant workers are considered vulnerable and naïve with their temporary status of stay and because they belong to the informal economy. In recent research, the author stressed on intensifying immigrant-native wage gap. He claims that this gap increases with job segregation and decline with the rise in immigrant employment and ethical representation at the workplace (Tomaskovic, Hällsten and Avent, 2015). For instance; In Sweden, the migrants face discrimination in the recruitment process, inequality in earning that is much lesser than the Swedes (Carlsson and Rooth 2007; Bursell 2012), along with high unemployment risk and are appointed for lower level jobs (Åslund and Skans, 2010).

However, in defence of the UK, the government is trying to protect the rights of immigrant workers since 1996, the employers can be prosecuted for hiring irregular immigrants in the UK. The civil penalties 'resulted in strengthening the immigrant protection regulations in 2004 and again in 2008. For instance, employers can be liable to pay a £10,000 fine per illegal worker, with the possibility of up to 2-years imprisonment if found guilty. Following this enactment, there was a dramatic rise witnessed in both immigration workplace enforcement staff (from

564 in the early 2000s to 7,500 by 2011), and employer legal trials (from 37 between 1997 and 2006 to 3,709 between 2008 and 2010) (IPPR, 2011: 4, 87).

Migrant graduates are exploited even though employers from the UK considers low wage immigrant workers as ‘good, hardworking and beneficial workers’ (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Findlay et al., 2013; Scott, 2013; Thompson et al., 2013). Researchers focusing on immigration studies are emphasising on the positive link between race and immigrant status (Galindo and Vigil, 2006; Pérez Huber, Benavides Lopez, Malagon, Velez, and Solórzano, 2008; Sánchez, 1997). The heterogeneity of modern societies and the rapid growth in global student migration are often discussed to highlight the challenges of a plural society. The doubts associated with migration may oppose the sense of unity and loyalty to different cultures, that frames immigrants as a liability rather than an asset (Hickman and Mai, 2015; Puntenev, 2016). However, researchers argue that migration shall be viewed as a positive change in the society, rather than a harmful impact on the local and social environment. There is an obvious relationship between the place and a sense of belonging for immigrants (Hickman and Mai, 2015). Hence to understand the connection between modern immigration factors, social cohesion and vulnerability of the student immigrant’s situation, it is necessary to understand the intersecting aspects that may be exploitable.

2.6) Guideline used to answer the research questions

The researcher will briefly discuss here the guideline used to answer the research questions based on the conducted discussions till now and interviews with migrant students and employers. *To identify the intersectional axis that makes a migrant student’s identity vulnerable in SMEs and will elaborate the factors of migration and critical race theory to explain co-ethnic exploitation.* This study is a specific addition to the past empirical research about the exploitation of migrant workers using multiple data sources. The main source of this research is based on qualitative data that is a combination of past literature as well as interviews with employers and student employees. The variety of sources will shed light on the paradox of exploitation of migrant students from different angles. The angles that will clarify the employer level, legal level, international level and mainly the level of migrant students themselves, as it will help to explore one main scenario; co-ethnic exploitation of migrant students in an international environment of UK. The three sub-questions are outlined below.

Research question 1: How to use intersectional lens for better understanding of student migration?

As the intersectional axis of migrant student's identity is analysed. It provides an opportunity to understand better the migration decision of a student. The literature review chapter has identified different patterns related to migration and the research process of this study has contributed to understand migrant's behaviour as they explore the role of race, culture and the authenticity of ethnic communities in an international country. That impacts employment law, equality and diversity.

Research question 2: What makes migrant student workers vulnerable to exploitation?

The second question focuses on the vulnerable identity of migrant students. As in the interviews and literature, the researcher has repetitively observed information regarding tier 4 visa, working hours' restrictions, study and adjusting issues, immigrant vulnerability as the subject of equal human rights and so forth. The interviews have helped to uncover the intersectional axis as they are compared with the above-mentioned literature, eventually identifies factors making a student's identity vulnerable to exploitation at workplaces.

Research question 3: How do migrant student employees and employers understand co-ethnic exploitation in SMEs?

In the literature review, the researcher has discussed different forms of exploitation. For instance, at the wage level, a continuum of exploitation, verbal abuse, illegal practices and so forth. (Potter, & Hamilton, 2014; Li, 2017; McKeown, 2017). However, in this study, the researcher will discuss co-ethnic exploitation that is breaking the stereotype of positive and enclave ethnic network. This situation is getting common in the form of the cash economy in the developed countries (Li, 2017). The interviews have helped to understand the student and employer's perspective about exploitation involving co-ethnics in the informal SME sector of UK. The interviews are then compared with the legal guidelines stating the rules regarding forced labour, working restrictions and minimum pay according to the UK law.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3.1) Introduction

Tewari and Misra (2013) describes methodology as an examination of research methods. It deals with processes, documentation and practices. Research methodology according to Naslund (2002) is a research strategy that helps to identify and influence the reliable answers to the research questions (McGrath and Brinberg, 1983). This research was carried out as a qualitative study that sought to explore the work experiences of immigrant students in SMEs specifically in EMSME. The main instrument used to collect information was in-depth interviews. There were two main approaches for conducting interviews. 1. Interview guides were prepared for key respondents identified, also were used to obtain information on considerations and issues that the investigator sought to investigate. 2. The informal conversation approach was used in some cases to gather information on the subject and stimulate discussion, based on the interviewer's experience, on the topic in question. During the research, the author discovered the methodological difficulty of turning migration, race and intersectional into qualitative research methodology, thus putting the theory into practice.

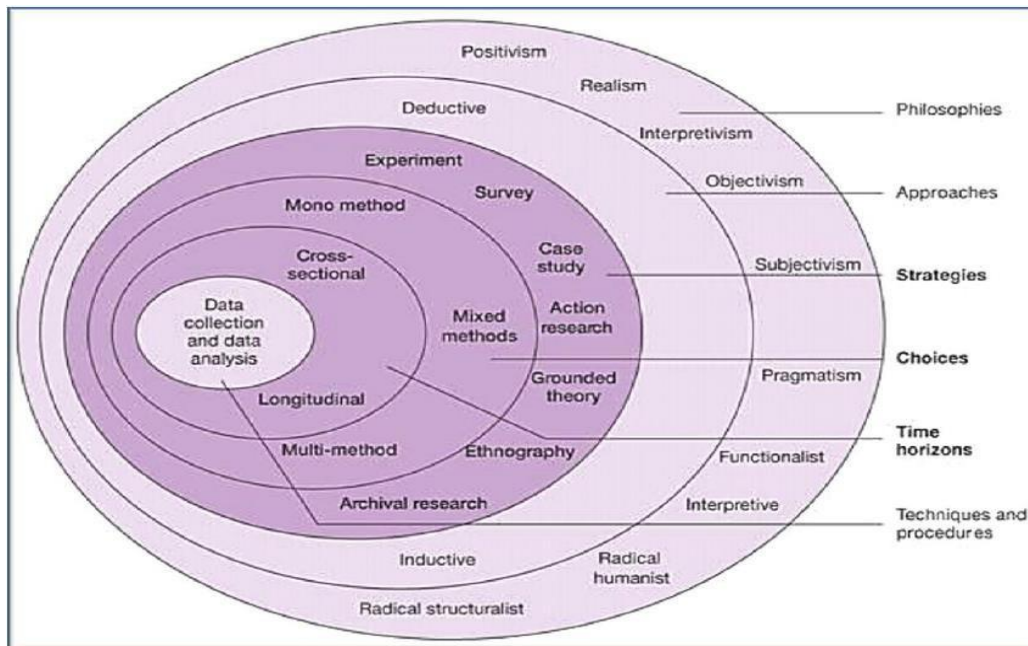
During the interviews, the author did not have the full freedom to conduct the research and discuss the sensitive issues, as exploitation, discrimination, migration, vulnerability and intersectionality as the author anticipated. The author had to work with the research plan and ethical conduct that the university had already created, along with situational ethics and adapted it where this was necessary to discuss the negative outcomes. It was prearranged that the collection of rich qualitative data was to be done through interviews, NVIVO and the analysis of the transcripts using content analysis.

3.2) Methodological consideration

A rationale is discussed to endorse and simplify the research topic. As it will cover the research approach, strategy, time horizon, philosophy and purpose of the study. Along with the data collection and sampling methods. The validity of qualitative research is based mainly on research protocol' (Annink, 2017). Qualitative data collection may result in unexpected issues and ambiguities. These doubts can be clarified by providing information regarding the process of data collection, its transparency about the mistakes and honesty of

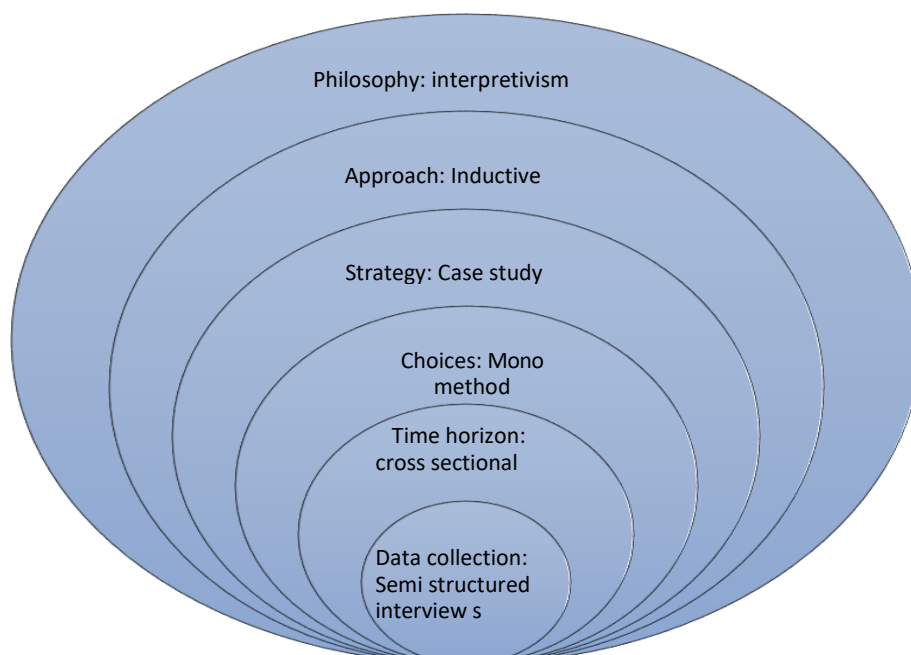
the research (Tracey, 2010). In order to obtain the research objectives, an appropriate methodology is decided from the methodological choices. The metaphor used here is 'research onion', it was introduced by Saunders et al., (2003) for a clear framework to justify the research strategies and approach. As it goes from the outer layer to the inner layer, it reveals the philosophical patterns.

Figure 3: Research onion



Source: Saunders et al, (2007)

Figure 4: Highlights the philosophical choice for this study. As explained below:



Source: Author

3.2.1) Research philosophy

Research Philosophy is one of the major research approaches in the research methodology and the first layer of research onion (Saunders et al, 2007) with the help of research philosophy, researcher can effectively understand the actual aim of entire research (Mason, 2002). The research philosophy is interlinked with the data collection techniques. i.e. either qualitative or quantitative or sometimes both. By using research philosophy, researcher can easily address the right solution of research problem and obtain relevant information regarding the subject. In order to conduct research in more systematic and effective manner, scholars pay much attention on research philosophy decision. It aids in determining belief pattern of researcher. It is very important to select one appropriate research philosophy for entire research. It is also helpful to conduct research in more appropriate manner and gather right information to solve research issues. (Tewari and Misra, 2013). There are mainly two kinds of research philosophy such as positivism and interpretivism.

Positivism research:

In positivism, positivists believe that reality is stable and can be observed and described from an objective point of view, that is, without interfering with the phenomena studied. They argue that phenomena must be isolated and that observations must be repeatable. Researcher emphasizes on perception and depict components from the target perspective. By using the positivism research philosophy, researcher can obtain solution in realistic and more authentic detail. In this kind of research, researcher make predictions on the bases of past perceptions. If scholar applies positivism research philosophy, then they can focus on the main goal and objective of research study.

Interpretivism research philosophy:

The interpretivism argue that reality can be fully understood only through subjective interpretation and intervention. The study of phenomena in their natural environment is the key of interpretive philosophy, along with the recognition that scientists cannot avoid influencing the phenomena they are studying. They admit that there may be many interpretations of reality, but they argue that these interpretations are in themselves a part of the scientific knowledge they seek. Interpretation has a tradition that is no less glorious than that of positivism, nor is it less. Unlike positivism, interpretivism approach is more empathetic, using qualitative data to analyses in-depth investigation of small samples

(Saunders and Tosey, 2013).

In the present research study, researcher's main purpose is to explore the experiences of migrant student workers who have encountered exploitation at their workplaces in Huddersfield food joints, 24-hour shops and petrol stations, specifically in the ethnic minority-owned SMEs. For addressing this research objective, researcher has applied interpretivism research philosophy. The interpretivism research philosophy helped the researcher in understanding the actual objective of research and to analyse the information in more detail and in-depth manner. Researcher is interested in analysing rich insights into subjective meanings rather than depending on the law like generalisations. Hence, the author choice of the philosophy is interpretivism, as this philosophy is based on researching people rather than objects to understand the social phenomena (Saunders & Tosey, 2013). Another reason that makes interpretivism the apt philosophy for this study is, this approach analyse in-depth investigation of small samples (Saunders & Tosey, 2013).

Rejected philosophies: The main rejected philosophies are briefly mentioned here. For instance, reflecting the philosophy of positivism can also be assumed as the scientific method. As it tests theories and data that is large in number and highly structured. This usually involves measurable quantitative data and statistical hypothesis testing. Similar to positivism, realism is also a philosophical position related with scientific logic. Realism expresses that reality exists regardless of how researcher perceives the truth. However, a researcher may be influenced by his experiences or the world perspectives. Realism is categorised as direct and critical realism. Here direct realism portrays that experience through our senses provides an accurate representation. Interestingly, critical realist argues that what is at first experienced through abilities is later prepared subjectively by the mind. As for these researchers implies there is a need to discover both what is initially experienced, the structures and connections that lie underneath this; as it were to think about the fundamental multifaceted nature.

3.2.2) Research approach

Research approach is the second layer of research onion; the selected research protocol. Research approach is part of systematic planning and strategy that involves broad assumptions regarding data collection and analysis. The design of a research is a significant factor to decide the research approach as if the data exploration is to identify the consistency with prior assumptions or theories identified by the researcher. This is more common in

experimental and hypothesis testing research. It is very important for scholar to select accurate research approach that depends upon the nature of research problems (Thomas, 2006). However, fundamental themes are often obscured or left invisible because of the prejudices of the researcher, in the data collection and data analysis processes (Thomas, 2006). There are mainly two kind of research approach that are deductive and inductive. Both research approach has unique characteristics and nature.

Deductive Approach:

Deductive approach often begins with ideas and is usually associated with enormous data. This method of research begins with a common, non-understandable then functional and straightforward situation. If it is found that there is something true for certain things, then it is considered true for all such things as general. This is more common in experimental and hypothesis testing research.

Inductive Approach:

Inductive research approach is a method in which premises are being used by researcher to generate untested conclusions. In this regard, researcher develops conceptual framework and themes in order to explore the facts in the investigation, with help of inductive research approach, researcher can easily generate theories and framework that supports in finding results and outcomes. In the qualitative data collection, researcher mostly prefers to select inductive approach to carry out the research study. Beginning of the examination is done from the general perspective about the theme and later it moves towards explicit data and investigations. It is a method in which researcher needs to plan theories to a current hypothesis. After plan of theories, the researcher tests these speculations and on the bases of test, outcomes are drawn by the scholar. In addition to this, outcomes of various tests verify the truth of theories (Creswell, 2012). As also described by Strauss and Corbin's (1998) description: "The researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data" (p. 12). The main purpose of this approach is to generate the research conclusions inherited from the raw data and identify the links between the research goals (Thomas, 2006). In general terms, inductive approach assisted to narrow the multiple codes of intersectionality into lesser and appropriate themes (Creswell, 2012) and helped to explore the work experiences of these student workers and aided to identify the vulnerabilities of their identities.

3.2.3) Research strategy

Research strategy is the third layer of research onion (Saunders et al, 2007). The author has selected the qualitative method for this research and will conduct a case study approach. As per Denscombe (2008), to achieve the decent result the researcher must consider different approaches and take strategic decisions considered to be appropriate. Also referred by Yin (2003) case study research is preferred when the topic required to be discussed broadly and to research multiple variables, shreds of evidence and resources as this has also been the scenario of this research. However, Yin (2003) refers to explanatory case studies, as a better option when designing casual case studies. Case study approach helps to analyse complex situations. Unlike quantitative, case study does not depend on the statistical result and provides a deeper understanding of the social constructs and participant's perspectives (Zainal, 2017). Case study investigates the real-life contexts that are unclear and requires different lenses to analyse one in-depth situation. This study is the exploratory case study (Yin, 1984), as the researcher's area of interest is to explore the phenomena of migrant workers' exploitation authenticity. Hence the related questions are regarding their life/ work experiences. These general questions are meant to open doors for further study of the phenomenon observed. The case study which the researcher analysed in the research is temporary migration: The case of temporary graduate workers and working holidays (Robertson, 2014).

3.2.4) Research nature

The nature of this study is exploratory as this approach will help to explore the data and relationship between different variables (Festing, Schafer and Scullion, 2013). This explorative study aims to provide some insight about the issues and experiences (Galliers and Huang, 2012) of migrant student employees. Data is collected by semi-structured interviews with a panel of international colleagues who have a range of working experience in EMSMEs. Intersectional perspective is used to identify, develop and interconnect themes. Given the explorative nature of the study, will help to explore the yielding of subjects that are comparatively under-articulated (Eisenhardt, 1989).

3.2.5) Time horizon

The fifth layer of Saunders et al (2007), research 'onion' is the time horizon. Considering the limitations, the time has been the biggest constraint for this study. Hence, Cross-

sectional design is selected to cover the short span of one-year time. Cross-sectional helped to measure and provide a snapshot of the migrant student workforce behaviour at a single point in time.

3.2.6) Research purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate the intersectional factors influencing the treatment and personality development of migrant student workers in EMSMEs, compared with the level of job satisfaction. In order to answer the questions, a framework was designed based on literature on the intersectionality of migrant student employees, exploitation and co-ethnicity. This exploratory research is based on past literature, semi-structured interviews and observation to determine the conclusion.

3.3) Research Procedures:

3.3.1) Data collection methods

Data collection is the “grass root level” of any research. Gomez and Kuronen (2011) adds that it is the foundation of research decisions that influence its consistency and validity (Yang, Wang and Su, 2006). As mentioned above this research is based on semi-structured interviews, observations, and past literature. As per Yin (2003), using multiple sources of evidence strengthens the result of a case study. Data collection helps researcher in collecting the information from primary and secondary source. It is one of the most crucial part in the research methodology through which researcher collect information regarding the subject and find out appropriate solution of research problems. Regarding the primary data collection process, the author has conducted semi structured interviews and observations, through which primary information from employers and students has been successfully collected from a sample of 21 migrant students and five employers with working experience in ethnic-minority owned SMEs. To ensure diversification of experiences respondents were selected from different industries of SME sector, e.g. 24-hour shop, takeaways, restaurants and petrol station. On the other hand, for the secondary data collection process, researcher has used past literature to gather published information that was later compared with the practical research (primary data). The cross-cultural qualitative research has helped to discuss the everyday experience of power and oppression and has explored the indebt analysis of this multicultural research (Annink, 2017). It enabled the author to understand the cultural phenomena “from inside”. Although, this approach can be more problematic in

large multinational context assessment (Gómez & Kuronen 2011). However, it has assisted to identify the data based on personal and other participant's observation, interviews, and contextual information required to justify this study (Altrichter & Holly 2005).

The data was saved in the form of recordings, documents, observations and physical artefacts. The motive of using multiple sources is to compile non-questionable findings and conclusion (Alam, 2005). To analyse the data, an interview guide was provided to the research participants. The interviews were then analysed by qualitative content analysis. To achieve accurate results the author used qualitative data analysis computer software; NVIVO (the implications are discussed later). The participants of this study are multicultural. So, the researcher used simple English to interview and to describe this study. However, the participants answered in English, Urdu, Punjabi or Hindi. As per their convenience. Along that the papers presented to them were in simple understandable language to give the proper idea of the research without any miscommunication.

3.3.2) Pilot Study

In qualitative research pilot study helps to identify and modify the methodological issues. The Pilot study is essential 1) identify the barriers 2) engaging with the participant in the most efficient way 3) To revise the factors that will reflect the importance of the study 4) modify interview questions

In this research, the researcher has conducted a pilot study with 2 participants. To get a better understanding and to avoid the complications for later interviews. The pilot interviews took less than 20 minutes and did not fully cover the intersectional issues. Hence, after the pilot study, the author divided the interview questions into different sections with proper attention to intersectional section. The author also was able to understand that the interview shall be for 30-40 minutes at-least to cover different research areas. It also helped to understand that the participants can get uncomfortable while discussing the exploitation experiences. Hence the author also changed the research plan and used indirect approach to discuss such sensitive issues.

3.3.3) Sample Selection criteria

The informed choice about sampling is critical for refining the quality of research synthesis (Suri, 2011). The area chosen for research is vast and broad. That is difficult to be researched in a given one-year period. Hence, the research is limited to the treatment and discrimination

issues of migrant student employees in SMEs of Huddersfield town. Due to the time limitation, the area of research is mainly from the migrant student's perspective working in SMEs and scarcely discuss the data from the managerial perspective.

This research is carried forward by focusing and comparing the data from ethnic minority-owned SMEs in Huddersfield. These SMEs represent an interesting approach towards employee treatment. This qualitative research is conducted over the period of one year and is expected to provide a descent understanding of the SME employer relation and issues linked with migrant student employees, as it fills the gap between the rights of migrant employees in co-ethnic small and medium SMEs and their challenges. The selection based on the immigrants with tier 4 student visa, studying in university of Huddersfield, aged 19 -35. The interviews were approximately about 40 - 50 minutes. The research participants were provided one day or at least few hours earlier with the consent form and other information for appointment.

The following table is discussing some relevant information regarding selection background of research participants of this study: Semi structured interviews group

1: Migrant student workers

Aim: To explore the working experiences and treatment.

Group 2: Employers

Aim: The employer's perspective in this study is also important. As sometimes the employer does not understand the line between flexible and forced work. Along that employer's perspective also helped to understand the mutual exploitation that occurs in some scenarios.

Role	Vulnerability	Research sites	Justification of research
International student employees	Male and female international students/ Asian minority employees in UK, aged 19-35	Food related SMEs, 24/7 shops, Petrol station, Grocery shops	They are the main research participants as their life and working experiences has unfolded different aspects of the study and helped to identify the exploitative behavior towards them and their vulnerabilities
SME employers	Male and female employers of SMEs. Age unknown in some cases	SMEs	Employers here discussed their experiences with the migrant employees and explained their opinion about them. It helped to understand different perceptions about migrant workers

The participants (employees and employers) were accessed on the bases of peer relations. Researcher being a student had easy access to students. The university email facility also helped to identify the research participants. The employers were accessed personally by visiting the firms and explaining the study.

3.4) Data Analysis

The goal of this study is to develop a better understanding of what it means to conduct research using an intersectional lens. The past literature discussed throughout have been of a philosophical nature with less practical implications. Hence, the questions arise: How to turn different intersectional axis into singular methodology applicable to qualitative data? And how best to tackle the methodological problems the author encountered during data collection and analysis? Therefore, for the research process, the author went through past literature knowledge and the personal interviews analysis. That assisted to explore possible explanations to the issues encountered and at the same time contribute to broader debates on race, migration and intersectional research practices. Data analysis is a part of procedure for inspecting, cleansing, transforming and modelling information with goal of discovering

authentic evidence. The data analysis is divided into three parts, first; transforming and simplifying the data supported to focus and narrow down the relevant information. Second; data display section, the data is organised in categories, third and most important; conclusion and verification. This is done throughout the process of this research. Starting from building an image of a conclusion that leads to validity by proper case analysis

Data analysis is to interpret and assess gathered information regarding the subject. In simple words it can be said that data analysis is a procedure of evaluating information by using analytical and logical reasoning to examine each factors of the information given. There are various ways of data analysis such as thematic data analysis, descriptive data analysis, exploratory data analysis, predictive, casual etc. In the present study, researcher has adopted content analysis along with qualitative research technique. Regarding content analysis, researcher has used interview technique for data collection. The main reason behind to choose the content analysis approach is to help examining patterns in communication in a replicable and systematic manner. It assists to analyse social phenomena in non-invasive manner. To analyse the data, an interview guide is provided (Appendix 1). The interviews were analysed by qualitative content analysis. To gather more accurate results, the author used software; NVIVO that helps to compare the data with the given intersectional theory. In the past decades, there has been a rise in the use of computer software for qualitative data analysis. NVivo is one of the software that is preferred for data analysis when it comes to investigating information with multiple themes or dimensions (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2008). It has been observed that the results conducted by electronic software are more authentic and detailed than manual analysis (Bazeley, 2006). The author is using an intersectional lens to understand the multiple axes of a migrant student's identity. By using Nvivo, the author divided, explored and compared the intersectional data by different nodes in lesser time. Nodes can be classified as codes in the constant comparative analysis. The author, with some training from the university was able to understand and use Nvivo. It helped to understand and simplify multiple themes of this research as it facilitated the researcher to record, store, sort, and code the qualitative data (Morse & Richards, 2002).

However, there are some limitations to this approach, one of the main issues is that sometimes researchers overlook dataset and may ignore dependent/independent variables (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011). The author has tried to examine the data and all details systematically to minimize the risk of ignoring any significant information. Nevertheless, for this research with the critical intersectional approach, the author was able to identify and

merge multiple types of analyses, theories and variable relationships in an authentic manner.

Hence, intersectionality as a lens has been described above and how can it be used as a tool or a research approach for qualitative research. By conducting a literary review of the existing and past academic knowledge on intersectionality and its relation to methodologies, the author explored the main problem that emerged during the research process. Here, the author reflects on the research process itself in order to focus on questions of methodology. The author's experiences, interviews, observations, audio recordings, and notes during the use of NVIVO for data analysis research process assisted to identify the main themes. That simplified the analysis process, to find possible similarities during the work experience of these employees and the comparison with past literature with race, migration and intersectional perspective guided to explore the various themes under one lens or as a single entity. In conclusion, the author's experiences during the research process have provided the opportunity to point out the challenges that this type of research poses.

3.5) Ethical Considerations

Research ethics are impacted by ethical procedures, context and legal concerns (Wiles, 2012). The most common aspect of ethical consideration is regard for the participant's independence, value, respect and impartiality (Annink, 2017). The researchers are showing their interest in research ethics (Bell and Bryman 2007). The author has also given considered ethics for authentication of data as it provides better and more reliable information (Tinker and Coomber 2004), integrity, honesty, non-maleficence, dignity and confidentiality (Greenwood, 2016). Along with that, these research participants are given rights such as:

- Choose whether to participate in the research
- The participants are not disturbed
- The participant is informed about the research purpose

The research results are confidential Intellectual right ethics (Wiles, 2013):

- The work of others is acknowledged
- The data, research, and results are not published without permission
- The results are carefully monitored

- Social harm is prevented

This study discusses sensitive issues and negative results as exploitation, discrimination and racism. Hence, there is a need to address two forms of ethics. Also discussed by Marilys Guillemain and Lynn Gillam (2004). The first is procedural ethics; these are the rules formed by Institutional Review Board (IRB) committees. This ensures a fully informed agenda, adequate confidentiality, rights to privacy and protecting human subjects from any harm. The second form is ethics in practice, or situational ethics, the kind that deals with the unpredictable situations, often discriminating, yet ethically important situations that come up in the field (Goodwin, Pope, Mort, and Smith 2003). For example, what if someone discloses something harmful, asks for help, or voices discomfort with a question or her or his own response? (Ellis, 2007). There have been studies that has proved that by discussing the negative and stressful events may disturb the mood and stress level, but it returns to baseline again, during the interview. In fact, by discussing those disturbing events the participants feel relieved, helpful and improves wellbeing (Newman et al., 1997). This study discussed the emotional vulnerabilities of migrant student workers and the distress moments. It effected the mood at times but did not harm respondents (Susan et al., 2013). However, to avoid any risk the researcher did not discuss one's details with other participants and kept the anonymity a priority for this study.

The author has followed University research ethics policy to obtain accurate information and to conduct investigation in more valid and ethical manner. Researcher has not forced any respondent to participate in the research investigation process. Researcher gave complete freedom to respondents to express themselves, share their opinion, reviews and comments upon the questions that has been asked in the interview session. Along that above mentioned situational and procedural ethics were adopted to avoid any ethical issues in future. Furthermore, the author has tried to use only authentic and valid information regarding the subject. However, in the case of negative feedback, the employees and employers are informed of anonymous response, and nothing is added without their permission. The author made sure that the employees and employer signed the consent form provided by the University. The supervisor is informed about all the activities. The author assures that the name of the people and places involved are confidential and anonymous as it may cause legal obligations for the participants. No names of participants or firms will be mentioned. They are referred as A, B, C etc. and their interviews were not video recorded. There audio recordings will also not be used in any presentation or discussions to avoid voice recognition of any participant.

3.2) Validity and reliability:

Validity refers to the truth about the data collected and analysed (McNeil and Chapman, 2005). The validity is analysed when a theory, model, and concept depicts reality (Yin, 2003) in the case study it is incorporated in a complete sense (Gummesson, 2000). The interviewees were informed about the interviews, and a confidential letter was signed by the employer and employee, keeping the information authentication and privacy in mind. Finally, the reliability is checked by analysing the data from the interview guide by using prior studies and theories. “The emphasis is on making the same case study all over again and not by making a new case study. Along that to be able to manage to minimise errors and the biases in the study” (Yin, 2003).

The author before starting the pilot study got approval about the interview guide from the respected supervisors Dr Julie Davies, Dr James Brooks and the university’s ethical committee. Along that, the interview guide and abstract of this study were also sent to Michael Potter. He is the author of different articles regarding “migrant exploitation”. His articles have been discussed and been inspiring for this study as well. His generous response to the email helped to increase the validity of this research. He also contributed to reconstruct the interview questions before the pilot study (see appendix 8).

3.3) The role of researcher---Self reflection

Another aspect worth discussing here is reflective data, it is often omitted from literature, but these missing links reflect the research design (Weiner-Levy and Popper-Giveon 2013). A reflexive study depicts the research subject’s psychological, political and social impacts on the researcher’s life that has inspired him to generate the research question and queries (Tatli, 2011).

The author’s personal experience has also been an encouragement and inspiration to conduct this research. The author came to the UK for studies in January 2016 to study MSc in International Business management at Huddersfield University. Being a Pakistani woman, married and fulltime student, the journey was not easy (Lynch, 2008). Similar to any other business student, the author wanted to start the career associated with a large reputed firm. However, due to limited opportunities, the author joined a Pakistani takeaway with less than 20 employees to supplement full-time staff during peak times (see Taylor & Finley, 2010). Though, in that short span of one-month time. The author learned that vulnerable identity (culture, marital, immigrant and student) can easily be exploited, if you are dependent on the employer. The author like other migrant student was given lesser pay then the native-

born (Fertig & Schurer, 2007), less understood (Hofstede, 1991), discriminated (Fertig & Schurer, 2007) and was laid off from the job without any notice and had to struggle for weeks to get the pay. As a researcher, author's role is to build knowledge, to understand issues (Zapata et al., 2012), to prove lies and to support truth (Salas-Zapata et al., 2012) based on evidence-based practice (Kajikawa 2008). Being an international student, the author was not aware of the employee rights and undertook the job as an opportunity. All the above-mentioned experiences have also been discussed by different researchers in their journals and articles. This study is an attempt to compare the theoretical knowledge of past and present researchers with the practical experiences of migrant student employees, an attempt to increase awareness about some under researched intersecting themes e.g. identity of migrant student workers, co-ethnic exploitation with intersectional perspective.

Chapter 4

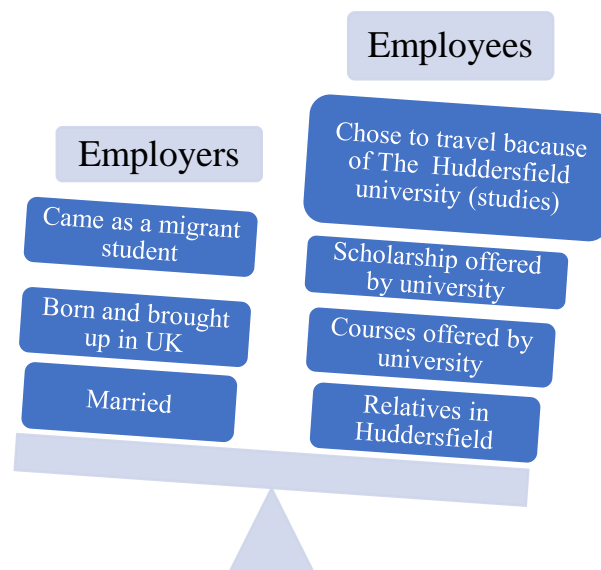
4) Results and findings

In this chapter the author will present the results derived from the interview analysis. The results are categorised according to the themes identified by using NVivo analysis of the transcribed interview data. The findings are divided into three parts to answer the research questions. The first part is to highlight migration decision of the migrant students (4.1). The second part is divided into themes showcasing the vulnerabilities and exploitations that migrant students experienced at their work places (4.2). The third part explains the perceptions that the interviewees (employer/employee) had about each other as it details different types of positive and negative work experiences that the interviewees had encountered from their own ethnic communities (4.3).

4.1) Factors underpinning migration of students to the United Kingdom

The respondents participated in one to one interview sessions. The semi-structured interviews are based on a range of questions (see appendix 1). The primary questions are to explore information about the student's and manager's motivations behind their decision to move to the UK specifically the reason to choose Huddersfield. Additional by identification of common themes mentioned by respondents, seven main categories of motivation have been determined. The detailed answers are also attached (Appendix 3).

Figure 5: Factors that motivated migration



Source: Author

4.1.1 Migrated to UK (Huddersfield) because of The University of Huddersfield:

As per the illustrated in the above diagram, students and one of the manager, migration is to a major extent underpinned by the study choice at the University of Huddersfield to get a British degree. The scholarships and the diverse range of courses offered by this university is a big attraction for students planning to study abroad, as 12 out of 26 respondents associate their migration decision with the University of Huddersfield.

a) Employer's responses

One of the employers also came to the UK for study purpose at the University of Huddersfield. As Employer Z (names changed to maintain anonymity) admits:

“[...] I came for studies in 2008 for Business Project Management from the University of Huddersfield [...]. Then I shifted here [...]. I started working seven years back. Now I have a small Japanese takeaway franchise at three different places of UK (Huddersfield, Leeds and Bradford).

However, he also mentioned the difficulties faced by him and other student employees who come to the UK to improve their quality of life. He explained the difficulties he had to face due to lack of support from the university. However, he believes that the university administration is much more supportive in the present years.

However, in most of the cases the employer participants did not pay attention to the student's academic level (students' perception will be discussed later). As well explained by an employer X:

“[...] I always have extra staff. I know they (student employees) are leaving, so it is never a problem. There is always enough supply of student workers [...]. Along with that, I have fixed staff for the kitchen that is local, and they are not going anywhere. So, the customer attendants keep on shuffling. Not a big problem. Along with that, the local people will not do these jobs. I have some local staff who are attendants, but they are fussy, and it is hard to deal with them. I always prefer international students. They are naïve and hardworking.”

This study shows many SMEs in the UK are owned by managers with British Asian background. As 3 out of 5 managers are brought up in the UK but has a family background of an Asian country (Pakistan, Indian/Nepali). The reason for opening an international SME is because of their strong roots in their native countries. As mentioned by Employer (1):

“[...] I am born and brought up here, but my parents are from Pakistan”.

The employer’s perception of the migrant students observed is not very encouraging regardless of the student’s educational achievements. One of the managers (X) also recalls:

“[...] if they are good in English, they are in front as a waiter or attendant but if they are not good in English than I hire them for cleaning and to be in the kitchen downstairs for cutting because communication skills are very important for this job [...].”

b) Migrant student employees’ responses:

Participant J admits (names changed to maintain anonymity):

“I came here to be a UK MBA graduate and the trust on UK education [...] and chose Huddersfield with the reason of affordable living costs, course fee, and scholarship offer.

The narrative participant emphasised the changing trend and value of a British degree. His decision was underpinned by a willingness to improve his educational status. Participant K also mentioned:

“Some of my friends came to Huddersfield in the past years. It was my dream to study in the UK because of the culture and the degree value. [...] My friends referred me to this university because they also studied at this university in 2013. I love this university. I also searched on google, and I was really impressed by the rating of this university and the fee factor [...].”

The students also explained the problems they must face. Different participants have different issues, but the level of job and time management is the most common problem observed:

“[...] to be a migrant and being a student is really hard. I was away from my family. It was hard to work, cook, wash and clean, along with managing studies. It is hard for me. Being homesick and managing studies is hard. I never worked before, and I started here as a shop assistant [...]. It started off quite demotivating, but I learned to adjust after the first semester [...].

The students who come here may achieve a good degree at the end, but the difficulties cannot be ignored, as almost all the student participants were not happy with the level of their jobs (see appendix 2) and pay scale (Appendix 4). One of the participant K described:

“[...] I applied for many jobs, but I did not get any job. So, this job came as a blessing because I was not getting any other job. As far as the level of job is concerned. If I were in my country, I would never have worked as a kitchen staff after getting my master’s degree because it is considered a low-level job with low-level pay [...]. However, here I and many students like me are happy working at these jobs because we need to meet our daily needs [...].”

The students often agree for jobs they do not like because they believe they have fewer opportunities than others. Participant C clarifies:

“I remember in 2011 there were a lot of students, as the visa system was quite flexible. Students of some college and university were not allowed to work at all [...]. So, students were turning to the Asian takeaways. As there are better chances to get a job with flexible circumstances [...].”

Another participant S added:

“[...] we study one year for master’s degree. When in most of the countries the master’s degree is for two years [...]. It is because when we get the degree, the UK government do not provide us placement or a chance to get work experience, but here we get the work experience by working as waiters or chefs at these takeaways or restaurants. The government and the university shall change the rules and should be more cooperative with the migrant students [...]. So, we can work with a proper company related to our studies. I did not know it will be this hard. Otherwise, I would not have paid £10,000 to work as a waiter [...].”

Another student’s motivations to migrate to the United Kingdom was interlinked with their family situation. As when the students decide to migrate for study. They often prefer to stay connected with their relatives. 4 out of 6 women participants had the same reason as participant L:

“I am married, and my in-laws are here [...].”

Migrant female students act actively seeking better lives not only for themselves but also for their kids.

Such perspective highlights the unfavourable treatment of student employees. As perceived, student’s migration is more often correlated with self-development initiatives whereas family tied students more often associated with their decision with the reunion and to keep the family ties strong.

4.2.) Vulnerabilities and exploitation based on being a migrant student worker

4.2.1) The significance and effect of NI number on student employees

As one of the research questions is to explore *what makes student workers vulnerable to exploitation?* The researcher believes NI here plays an important role to protect migrant student's rights in the UK. It is the personal number assigned for recording contributions and tax on pay. It is a legal obligation for employers in the UK to check the NI number of employees to make sure the international students are not working more than 20 hours in term time and are getting legal minimum wage (Gov.UK, 2018). Only one of the participants had a positive impact of NI on his job.

a) Employers responses

Two out of five employers agrees that having NI is necessary for recruitment decision. However, only one of them follow the rules and implications that comes with having NI number.

Employer Y explains:

“I pay more than minimum pay to the employees [...]. It is not cash in hand job. So having an NI number is important. They start at £7.50 to more than £8. [...] I increase the pay with the course of time and experience.”

Whereas, other employers did not consider NI important for employment.

Employer X argues:

“it is not important. I know the students will get the NI anytime. [...] Being an international student sometimes they are not aware of NI number but to keep it legal. They get the NI number and they can provide me later [...].”

Employer 2 adds:

“It is not required because I pay cash in hand”

Regardless of the rules and regulations. The participants of this study often seem to explain that having NI does not make any difference while working in an SME. All the participants in this study claim to have NI number but 3 out of 5 employer participants and 16 out of 21 student participants claim that NI does not have any positive impact on their pay scale or working hours (appendix 3).

b) Migrant student employee's responses

Participant K explains:

“[...] I was getting £6 before NI. [...] But they told it to me only because I was Kurdish, others were getting £5 [...], and I was getting £7.50 after NI. There were some other people working, and they were getting £5 because they never cared about NI.”

According to participant B, when he was asked about NI effect on job, he replied:

“Not really. I had it before I applied. So, I never had to think much about it, but I think being a student it does not matter because we work only 20 hours and our income is not taxable because we do not earn that much money [...].”

The participants were mostly getting cash in hand jobs and were working more than 20 hours. It was observed it did not matter much in ethnic minority business, as most of the recruitments were finalised on informal personal terms. Participant F also mentions:

“[...] Not required for cash in hand jobs. It matters when you work in the good organisation.”

Participant D argues:

“I do not agree with that policy. Being a student in a foreign country, we must support ourselves, and that is not possible by working only 20 hours [...]. I do not understand the restricted hours. We are already having so many restrictions from university, let’s say, the assignments, submissions, exams. The time frame is already restricted [...]. So why restriction at work as well. Other than university we shall be allowed to work. “

NI number keeps a check on contribution and tax on pay. However, unfortunately, it is not considered much in ethnic minority SMEs, as the employees work there more than 20 hours. In fact, one of the participants claimed that the restriction for working 20 hours gives the employers more chances to exploit employees. Explained by participant D:

“[...] the fee is quite high. Students who come here pay a lot of money, and after some time they want to earn money to manage the daily living [...]. Especially in our situation, our families are not here, and we must manage everything on our own, and I do not think 20 hours is enough [...]. In countries like Australia, students get to work 40 hours, and that should be the system here as well. I guess the hour restriction is the main reason students go to SMEs and agree to work for lesser pay [...].

However, there are different responses. Some students believe that having NI and restricted hour rule is positive for studies. One of the participants (K) argues:

“The UK government put this rule because it helps their people. They do not want us to work more hours because it will affect the working hours of the local people [...]. Having said that I also think it is positive because they want us to study and concentrate on work. If the government send you, like in my case, my government was giving me money, but I had to work because that was not enough [...]. So, 20-hour rule work for me but for other students who are self-funded. I am sure it is hard for them to manage the restricted hour work rule. However, the check is also required otherwise students will only focus on work and this will not be good for the university’s reputation [...].”

As discussed above different participants have different views about NI, tax system and working hour restriction. As observed, the employers are not paying much attention to the legal requirement because of the informal system. 4 out of 5 employers require NI only at entry level to keep as a proof of identity (appendix 3).

4.2.2) Cash in hand payment

As the research for answers continuous. The author tries to explore the legal compliance in ethnic minority SMEs to understand the factors that make students exploitable. One of the most common illegal factors observed in these EMSMEs is the cash in hand payments also known as “cash economy”. This research depicts only 10% of students are getting minimum wage, and the rest of them are getting less than minimum pay.

a) Employers perception:

Cash in hand payment is often used by employers to hide the taxable amount. When the employer tries to avoid their obligations by deducting tax and NIC to HMRC, to save money – it is also counted as under the table payment. It is wage exploitation that is common for migrant workers. The wages can be seen in appendix 4. The responses are not added here because the employers were not comfortable discussing cash economy. However, the employee’s responses has helped to identify the wage scenario.

b) Migrant student employees’ responses:

There are student participants who are getting minimum wage by the employer. One of the Participants (B) states:

“I am getting minimum wage [...]. If I am working for 4 to 5 shifts, it is like £1000 per month. But if I do only two then it is like £600- 700. I am happy with my wage [...].”

However, there are also students who are not getting minimum legal wage but are contended with their pay due to the currency value. Participant I' describe when asked if they are satisfied with their pay scale:

“[...] Students that come from overseas have more value for money because of the currency. For us, £5 is five times more than £5, as we are always comparing with our currency. [...] We do not spend easily. [...] There is nothing wrong in that.”

19 out of 21 student participants of this research claim that they are paid less than minimum pay because of the cash economy. Participants in this study have faced different experience. One of the participant E claims that:

“[...] the pay we get is 35 pounds and rest is covered by tips. No hourly system for us [...]. [...] Tips are always extra to appreciate the efforts of the waiters, but my employer counts that as pay as well. You work more than 10 hours, and you get 35 pounds [...]. If we take average its 3 or 3.5 per hour [...].”

Another employee D explains:

“[...] Most of the students get less than minimum wage. So, it is quite demotivating. You are lucky if you get good pay [...].”

Another participant Q added:

“[...] we are getting less money. So, we must work double. For example, if we need 100 pounds and you are getting 5 pounds. You will have to work 20-hours. Double then somebody getting minimum wage, but we do not have any choice [...]. If we go for the minimum, we will not get enough hours and the 20-hour job is not enough for a living. I have no choice. I am bound to do, and I am not happy. That is why they can exploit their own people because they know these students are not going anywhere [...]. They are here. They know that we cannot go to British companies because there we will get only a 20-hour job. If we want more money, we must stay here. So, we work more to get more money [...].”

The narrative highlights wage scale factor of participants. As observed, it is the most common form of exploitation for migrant workers. Also, most students find jobs easily at the initial level. However, the wage has been observed as the main challenge for them. Having said that the participants seem to continue working because of the incentives they were getting. The most common incentive has been observed is free food. The employees working in the food

sector get free food for dinner and to take home. As one of the student participant (H) explains:

“[...] In terms of my working condition I have no issues at work. They really treat me good. They give me free meals and then they also drop me after job [...]. My food is sorted. Everything else is also comfortable, no complaints. Sometimes I do not get the weekend off and less than minimum pay, but I am happy as my boss is very understanding [...].”

Another participant I added:

“[...] my employer treats me very well, so it does not matter that they pay me less money. I get free food end of my day. I am happy [...].”

The responses show that some employers compensate for the wage with food and positive behaviour. Another factor that keeps the student employees on their job despite less wage is language flexibility. Students do not face many issues with understanding English. However, some participants have faced issues with understanding the accents in the beginning. Participant F explains:

“[...] sometimes I did not understand English as well as my boss because of the accent. [...] Sometimes when we convey customer’s message to the boss there was a misunderstanding, but he helped me by using our local language. [...] but it gets better with time.”

The responses demonstrate that employers often try to compensate the less pay with their personal terms. As these ethnic minority managers share the same language, food and culture. That gives them a chance to exploit the employee’s vulnerable situation. Employee K explains:

“I was lucky my employer was kind enough to give me good pay. If he had told me to work for less pay, I would have worked even than because I respected him and had an informal relationship with him. [...] If I were working with an employer from the different background, the employee-employer relationship would have been more formal, and I would be expecting pay according to law [...].”

The responses verify the exploitation culture at wage level prevails more when employees work with managers of the same ethnicity. As the participants explained because of the informal relationship, they often agree to work for less wage.

4.2.3) Training period

This section highlights another common form of exploitation at work, as some of the participants revealed their experience of exploitation during their training periods. However, this was not always the case. As can be seen in the appendix (5) that clarifies the training period exploitation of participants. From the sample out of 21 employee participants, only 1 got proper training from an outsource company. As explained by employee participants, respondent H:

“[...] there was an option to go through a formal training program certified by law. They asked me if I am interested. It was for two days and they paid half amount and I paid half amount. I also got a certificate for that [...]. Now where ever I will go that certificate will show that I am a trained worker for the hospitality sector. The training did not happen in the restaurant. [...] I went to a different institute [...] for a health and safety certification. It was totally optional as one of my colleague did not take the training [...]”.

Some of the participants had their training sessions at the workplace. However, there are also participants who revealed some bad experiences when asked about the training session. As participant C explains:

“I had one week of training and they gave me just £20 [...]. When they had to give me £80 but as I was new and did not know many rules. [...] I accepted that and continued working there.”

Another participant at this issue revealed some insights about free training period. This participant (L) is working with a Pakistani employer and explained the unfair treatment of employees.

“[...] the day I went they told me I have to work for a one-week training period for free. The worse part was during the training period I worked each day for 12 hours [...]. It was the most horrible week of my life. [...] I am a vegetarian and I did not have anything to eat or drink the whole day because it was a fish and chips shop. I was not allowed to sit even for 1 minute [...]. When I went home, I decided not to work there, but somehow, I convinced myself that it is near to my house, and with time maybe things will get better [...] but it did not. I am still working there and it's terrible [...].

As the participant shared this information, she also specified that she did not know proper rules when she started the job. Subsequently, 4 out of 21 student participants did not get any payment during their training period.

4.3) Co-ethnic incentives

The last part of finding chapter is aimed to identify the core of this study, as the researcher aims to understand the role of the same race and ethnicity at workplaces. The participants were selected based on ethnic minority background. More specifically the students were selected who were working with managers with same or similar ethnicity. There were different answers as shown in the appendix (6). The author managed to identify some common incentives from the employee and employer perspective.

A major part of employee and employer respondents appreciate the importance of free food facility as an additional perk to keep the employees happy at the workplace. All the student employees from the research sample associated with the food industry are offered free food to take home. Along with that, employees also find it easy to get jobs with the same ethnicity employer. Further, students also find these jobs easy to manage because of fewer communication issues that they face in the beginning. It was also observed that the employee participants feel comfortable working with the known cultural environment. The experience and support they get from their employers in the beginning months after their immigration help them to adjust and understand the international culture, as can be observed in the below comments by different participants.

a) Employers responses

The employer often prefers migrant students. 5 out of 5 employer respondents showed an inclination towards employing migrant students and believe that migrants students are more hardworking. Mentioned by the employer (Z):

“[...] I prefer international students specifically. [...] As I said they work more seriously at a lesser wage. Along with that, the students also prefer these jobs because these jobs allow them to gain better experience about working in the UK. They learn about standards, laws and better communication skills. So, after some time they can apply for better jobs [...].”

Another employer (X) explained when asked about working experience with same ethnicity student employees, added:

“[...] they are more hardworking, less fussy and they obey, but sometimes it is just in the beginning [...] and they start troubling after some time, but students understand that they are dependent on us. Another benefit is the continuous supply because there are always students looking for jobs.”

He also added:

“[...] I have fixed staff for the kitchen that is local, and they are not going anywhere. So, the customer attendants keep on shuffling. [...] Not a big problem. Along with that, the local students will not do these jobs [...]. I have some local staff who are attendants, but they are fussy and it is hard to deal with them. I always prefer international students. They are naïve and hardworking [...].

b) Migrant student employees' responses

Participant K explained:

“[...] I love working here [...]. My boss is very nice and supporting. I respect him a lot. We are like family.”

Another participant (I) added:

“I think it is good because it is easy for Asian people to get a job with Asians because the local people here are not very open to working with Asians [...]. So, its good Asian businesses are out there, and they are willing to employ their own people [...]. “

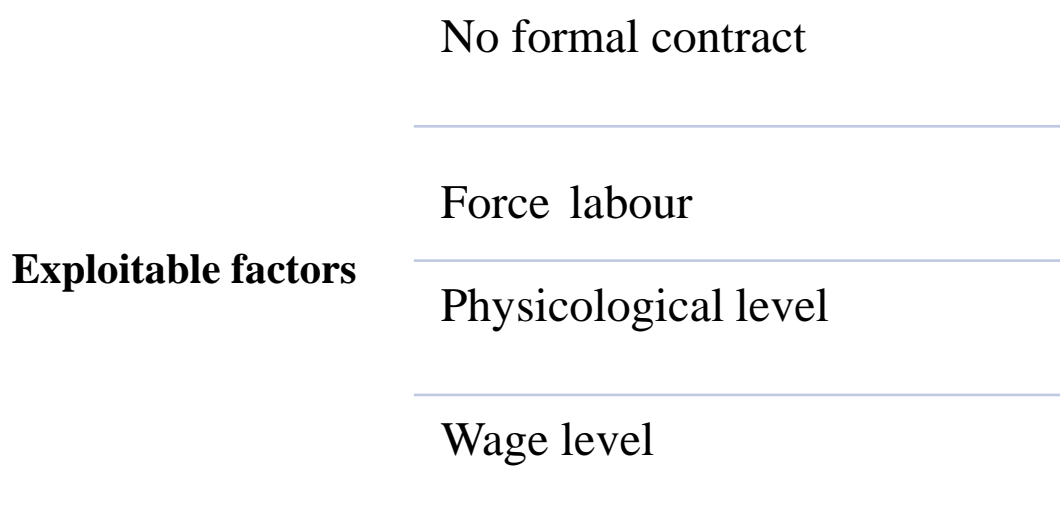
The narrative highlights the few preferences of employee migrant students at these jobs. For employers perceive the students more hardworking than the natives. The employers also seem to understand that the students need them as much as they need these migrant employees. However, due to the understanding vulnerability of these student employees, employers do not feel like exploiting these student employees, but they believe they are helping the students to survive. Despite the fact they are paying the student employees much lesser than the local staff or the assigned legal pay level.

4.3.1) Co-ethnic exploitation

The most discussed term in this study is to explore co-ethnic exploitation in SMEs, as the participants were asked questions. They were quite vocal about their working experience of working with managers of the same ethnicity as they discussed the incentives in the above question. They also discussed the other side of the picture explaining some unfortunate

circumstances, they had to face. The detailed answers are in the appendix (5). The graph below highlights some common themes uncovered during the interviews.

Figure 6: Exploitable themes



Source: Author

All the respondents were not provided with any legal contract. It shows no formal commitment from the employer side. Legally the employees are entitled to get the national minimum wage, i.e. the minimum pays per hour. However, this is not the case and wage exploitation are a common factor observed. Only 2 out of 21 employees were getting a legal minimum wage. Another common factor observed is exploitation at the psychological level.

a) Employers responses:

As explained by an employer Y:

“[...] it is a tricky situation. If you go to a Pakistani restaurant for the job [...], you will go, there because you need them because no one else employed you and you feel like a connection with them. At the same time, they will employ you not to exploit you but to provide you job because of your knowledge about the food and culture [...]. Yes, I agree sometimes they will give you less pay, but at least they are employing you, without them, you do not have any other opportunity. It is exploitation but it’s mutual. You need them, and they need you. It is exploitation as well as opportunity. [...] That is why they get lesser pay. No one can survive without each other. You get free food and flexible hours. At the end of the day, it is exploitation on both sides.”

Another employer (Z) added when asked about exploitation:

“It definitely exists, and it is on both sides. For instance, there was a student working for me. [...] He borrowed money and at the end of the visa, he just left. [...] Students are temporary workers. They can leave whenever they want [...]. Sometimes such incidents remind us that students cannot always be trusted [...] because they are migrants and will leave eventually. They can exploit us and can leave. I believe that an employer is not always on the bad side.”

b) Migrant student employees’ responses:

Some of the respondents explained, they are not able to complain, or demand better pay because of the informal terms with the employer. In the words of Participant C:

“I have friendly terms with my boss. He is like a family. My boss catered food at my wedding for free. So, I do not complain [...] but it is not fair. I got married during my training period for this job and the boss of this restaurant provided us food allowance [...]. It was a small gathering, but he helped me when I needed it and now, I feel like he is exploiting me. I am getting £6 per hour after working for more than a year and this is not enough, but I cannot do anything about it [...]. Unless he considers it himself”.

Another participant (M) shared her experience:

“[...] When I came here (Huddersfield) [...] one of my family friends suggested me a café for work. The owner of the shop was going to India [...]. So, my husband and I managed the place for a few months. [...] It was a simple job, but I worked quite enthusiastically because of the terms we had [...]. I did not discuss the wage in the beginning, as he was from my city and knew my family here [...]. When he came back, he gave us less money than we should get. He gave us a few gifts that he brought from India [...], as we had family terms with him. We did not say anything to him, but we left the job after some time.”

Also added by Participant C:

“[...] I came here in 2011. [...] I started working here because I did not find a job at any other good firm. I applied at Tesco, Primark but never got a positive response. [...]. That time there were a lot of students because the visa system was quite flexible. [...] They were giving students £3 in the beginning. Even I worked for £3 and then after some time, I started getting £3.50. My boss tells me every time that he will increase my pay eventually [...].”

As highlighted in the chart, some of the participants revealed their experience of working against their will (continuum exploitation). They also shared they are demotivated, but they cannot leave the job because they need money and in one case. The participant L explained that she wants to leave the job as she is extremely unhappy, but she must follow some rules of that job. As she added:

“[...] they told me about a £250 bond. They said I would get the £250 after I finish my training period, but then later they said this amount would be deducted from my pay every week. [...] I worked every day for 12 hours for one whole week (during unpaid training period). I could not leave the job after that. I had put in a lot of hard work in that. It has been 2.5 months and still, it has not covered my £250 bond [...]. They deduct £25 from weekly wage and it is not every week. It’s deducted once in two weeks. Now I must work as much as possible to cover my bond then I must give four weeks’ notice only then I can get my £250. [...] Just because of that I cannot leave the job [...].”

She also found out that this is the case for all other student employees working at that specific firm, as all of them are working under such circumstances to cover £250 bond. On the other hand, the employers believe that the employees exploit the employer because they share the same culture. The employees often take advantage of the employer.

Other than the wage, the employee participants also shared some experiences of being exploited and discriminated at different levels. Another participant (L) explained:

“[...] the owner is not available most of the time. He just comes to take money at night. He has cameras everywhere. Even right outside the bathroom. He sits home and keeps an eye on his employees. It is a breach of GDPR [...]. This is a serious offence, but no one cares. It means the boss knows everything how the manager is treating everyone. My boss behaves very nice with us and he is not asking anything from the manager who is rude most of the time. So, I can say it is a kind of a psychology game [...]. Along with that, I must reach at the job 15 minutes before and sometimes I stay more than half an hour extra, but I am never paid for that.”

She added:

“[...] I hate my job. I continuously face discrimination. My manager shouts at me a lot [...]. Sometimes the customers also have arguments with her because of her behaviour with me. [...] One of the customers scolded my manager and said that she treats her employees like slaves. My manager is British, and she does not allow anyone to speak

in their local language. Once a customer came [...] and I was speaking to her in the local language. My manager came, and she started shouting at me [...] that I am not allowed to talk in this language in this shop. The customer got furious and shouted back at the manager. My boss is a Pakistani. He knows everything but does not do anything about it [...]. It is a small firm, no HR person. We have no one to whom I can go to complain, whatever the manager says we have to do. We like it or not.”

Another interview presented the same working culture. As the participant U explained:

“I am an Indian and I work in a Pakistani takeaway [...]. I am a vegetarian, but the staff over there and the boss kept on telling me that I shall eat chicken. [...] They also told me to greet everyone with “Aslamualikum”, as it is a Pakistani takeaway. I tolerated, but things got worse because I was wearing a holy Hindu thread on my hand. The manager did not allow it. I was consistent that I will not take it off. So, I left the job after two days. I did not even get any money for working two days over there [...].”

Out of 26 responses collected through semi-structured interviews. All five employers and employees directly or indirectly referenced mutual exploitation. However, almost all participants agreed that the employers have a better chance of exploiting the employees, especially at the wage level.

4.4) Summary:

The responses of the participants are kept confidential. Each interview was assigned an alphabetical code to help ensure that personal identifiers are not revealed during the analysis and findings. The employees are referred to as participant A to U and employers are referred to as employer X, Y, Z, 1 or 2 to maintain anonymity. The above findings highlight several patterns. The participants are observed to choose the UK because of the British degree value and they decided to work in SMEs because the students need flexible working hours to cope with studies. Mainly the students find it hard to find employment at big firms. Hence, they agree to work at SMEs. They also revealed that getting employment is much easier at non-white, ethnic minority SMEs, especially with the similar cultural background. Secondly, the student migrants with the temporary stay and hour restrictions have been more likely to get jobs below their level of qualification than the fellow student workers with British or EU visa.

On the other hand, the employers seem to understand the vulnerability of students and due to the continuous arrival of new migrant students. They consider student employees as easily replaceable because there is always adequate supply. Employers also stated in the

interviews that migrant students *need* these jobs and in return, for providing them employment the employer believe it gives them the opportunity and justification to exploit them at physiological and wage level. Some employers are observed to make their own rules and commonly give lesser wage to students than allocated hourly national minimum wage. Hence, to improve this situation, emphasis on formal legal ways (formal contract and legal mode of payment) in non-white ethnic SMEs is important. Another common suggestion the students seem to agree on is, having better knowledge of their rights and support from the agents and universities can also change the situation.

Chapter 5

5) Discussion about the findings:

Based on the collected data through the semi-structured interviews and literature review. Along with the finding chapter, clarified enough the research questions and agenda. *This study examines the working experiences of migrant students in co-ethnic SMEs.* It is now possible to extend discussion about the aim of this study based on the past arguments.

This part assesses how migrant/ and student's/and ethnic minority understand privilege and oppression at their workplaces for it is important to understand the heterogeneity while accessing intersectionality (Alemán, 2018). As these student's study and work outside their home country. The intersectional analysis also helps to understand the experiences of these complex and interconnected heterogeneous subjectivities (Collins & Bilge, 2016). As discussed earlier, many students migrate every year to get a British university degree. According to a survey in the year 2016-17, a total number of students migrated to the UK were 442,375. Including 42% of students migrated only to study at postgraduate level (UKCISA, 2018). As most of the respondents of this research are also acquiring a higher degree (see appendix 2).

Despite that, they are working at low skilled jobs for meeting their needs. The reasons are also explained in the appendix (5) when asked about vulnerability. That shows some common responses as the respondents agreed on the same point that being a migrant student is much harder than just being a student *or* a migrant in a country. The migrant students come with the baggage of restriction from the legal system of a country as well as the study load of the university, as these diverse culture students try to manage their lives and end up working with their own communities under poor working conditions. Undertaking the intersectional perspective as also observed by the interviewed participants, Nyland et al. (2009) describes that a large share of international students are exploited by their employers due to the baggage of their status. Being a migrant student brings the restriction of tier 4 visa, university restrictions, unfamiliar legal knowledge, different race/culture and time management restrictions. Additionally, lack of experience and most importantly their temporary stay comes as a major hurdle in their way of professional jobs (appendix 5). The employers see migrant students easily replaceable as there are always new students entering the employment market (Mazzarol and Soutar, 2002). However, referring to research findings (see appendix 2) getting employed in the UK was not perceived as a big challenge for most

of the research participants of this study. They got themselves low or semi-skilled jobs in SMEs with similar work culture as their native country. However, migrants being incompetent to utilise education and skills negatively impacts the economy of the host country as well (Kaczmarczyk, 2010). Hence it is important to understand the ability of migrants for international economic success (Shinnaoui & Narchal, 2010) specifically in the case of postgraduate students. The employers from the sample observed to prefer migrant student workers as they are more hardworking and they agree to do jobs that the natives reject (Alemán, 2018) but due to the knowledge about their identity vulnerability as explained in the above points. The employers consider them easily exploitable at wage and working condition level.

The above argument commences the discussion about the most important objective of this research: *To understand if and how ethnic minority SMEs exploit the vulnerable factors and situation of migrant student workers on wage, working condition, security, flexibility and at physiological level in a foreign country.* Regardless of the employers' preference for employee migrant employee, the employers see the migrants as easily exploitable because of the vulnerability (as discussed above) for they know the fact that the students depend on them for jobs and finance (see appendix 5).

As observed in the findings, also supported by Findlay et al., (1994) students are more likely to work part-time in a foreign country during their study period than the native students, to meet the daily needs and to attain working experience. The work placement provided by the universities enhances the intellectual growth of students (Goodwin and Mbah, 2017). As a degree without a proper industrial experience may result in an unsuccessful future career. In the year of May 2016, BIS (Business, Innovation and Skills) published a study about 'success as a knowledge economy: Teaching excellence, social mobility and student choice'. That clearly states the significance of university support and guidance for the student's career prospects. It also encourages the universities and other institution to improve its role in providing better employability guidance and placement choices for graduates in the UK (BIS, 2016, p. 5). However, due to lack of support from universities the high degrees perhaps could not support the career choices of the interviewed students. As they have master's and bachelor's degree in business, engineering, medical. Still, they work at low skilled jobs in SMEs at much lower pay than the locals (appendix 2). Other than the wage level, there are some other factors on which the migrant employees are being exploited by employers. As listed below:

5.1) Sense of vulnerability

The interviews made it obvious that the student employees consider themselves vulnerable. They explained numerously that they face same problems on daily basis, and they feel helpless about it. Though they believe that being a migrant is enough reason to be exploited because it makes them dependent on their employers and they believe that this norm cannot be challenged. They also specified that they know the employers are giving less pay and are discriminating them but due to less opportunities outside our own communities and less knowledge about the laws. They find it hard to believe in the legal system of a foreign country. As also explained by Jokinen et al (2011) immigrant workers do not report against their employers because their lack of confidence in the authorities and the lengthy time span of the investigation. Some of the students also mentioned about language barriers and preferred working in their own communities to avoid any communication issues. The migrant students also expressed their concern regarding the time constrains that comes with their studies. Their need for flexible timing, language constrains and less opportunities make them feel vulnerable and exploitable.

5.2) No formal binding agreement:

Regardless of these SMEs political and economic significance, small is beautiful; point of view of amicable working connections in SMEs was challenged by scholars such as, Curran & Stanworth (1981), Rainnie (1989), Goss (1991) and Scase (1995), these researchers argued about the poor business conditions and practices in the small firms (Wapsott, 2015). The informal behaviour can be depicted in the form of casual business practices as well as limited formal written policies (Marlow et al., 2010). For example, the absence of a proper job description, written contract, and guide to employment rights and so forth. (Ram, 1994; Wapshott & Mallett, 2013). The interviewed employees have worked under poor working conditions, starting with the basics. The respondents made it clear that none of them had a formal contract with the employer. As the employers also expressed in the interviews that the migrant employees start off as naive and do not have proper knowledge about the laws.

Providing formal contract can be the first step by the employer to provide some legal knowledge and norms about the company and regulations of working in the UK. However, it is mostly eliminated in SMEs and the employers can mould the rules as they want for instance; less wage, cash in hand, extra working hours, bond system, no paid holidays are some issues that are common due to the absence of legal contracts. The participants of this

study repeatedly mentioned the lack of knowledge and awareness when they started their jobs and they agreed to all terms of the employer. Jokinen et al. (2011) also explained in one of his articles that unawareness of legal rights is one of the fundamental issues of migrants.

5.3) Forced labour:

As discussed earlier, employees often work under unfavourable working conditions. In such situations, they find it difficult to leave the job. In this case, 6 out of 21 employee participants wanted to leave the job at training level. The training in SMEs had been derived as informal, unplanned, reactive, and short-term oriented (Hill and Stewart, 2000). The SMEs are observed to prefer informal training and not often represented in the company's books (Kotey & Folker, 2007). It can be due to the resource poverty usually observed in such SMEs. Some researchers argue that employers hire co-ethnic employees to encourage culturally-specific entrepreneurial spirit (Basu, 1995; Ward, 1991) but most of the scholars argue that ethnic minority firms conceal exploitative atmosphere for people with similar ethnicity (Anthias, 1983). As can easily be understood in the finding chapter, four employees had unpaid training and one employee got less pay for one week of the training programme. Only one of them received proper certified training for the job. It was also discovered that during the training period they had more workload than others. One participant explained that she had a 12-hour shift every day without any break during her training period and she was not paid for that. Another employee also had faced a similar situation. She explained that the employer had secured some money in the form of a bond. Until that money is due the employees cannot leave the job. The employees also revealed they could not leave the job unless they give at least four weeks' prior notice to the employer and in the notice period there are more complaints received about unfair treatment by the employer, as the employer knows that the employee will leave. Meanwhile, the employer can terminate the employee anytime he wants. The interviews also revealed that the employees are often given extra work to do in less time, as some of the students revealed that they mostly work alone covering the shift of two workers. The employers often put extra workload on migrants. Such issues are common in non-white ethnic minority SMEs of UK (Basu, 1998).

5.4) Unpaid extra working hours:

From the interviews, another aspect is revealed about the migrant students' experience. The employees often work extra hours without the pay. Most common situation observed by the interviews is when an employer demands from the employee to come for work at least 15

minutes earlier than the starting time, whereas they leave later than the assigned shift time. Especially in the case of more customers, the employer asks the employees to work extra without any payment. Legally, an employer is obligated to pay the employees for extra work and time (Gov.UK, 2018). The student respondents revealed that often they are asked to cover two shifts in a row without any prior notice and sometimes they had to work almost 12 hours a day without any break. Different scholars have also pointed out such issues stating, sometimes the employer takes advantage of employees' situation and avoid to pay for extra hours, extra work and in some cases weekend shifts, although it is counted as part of the other paid hours (Jokinen et al. 2011, 91).

5.5) Record of working hours:

SME's have come up with their unique and fascinating organisational structures, which comprise high liberation, simple organisational structures, resource access limitation, and informal relationships (Lepoutre & Heene 2006; Vyakarnam et al. 1997). That makes such organisations more complicated when it comes to handling the workforce in the absence of proper formal system. Also, can be perceived as another common experience from interviews is the informal system of records. There is no computerised system to record the start and ending time of work or shift. Hence it results in mismanagement. The employees often complain that they are paid less than the working hours because the employer or manager forgets to record some extra shifts. The students explained that they often remind the employer as the employers intentionally or unintentionally try to avoid some shifts and pay less wage rate for lesser hours than the actual shifts.

5.6) Favoritism:

The ethnic minority business often is family based, characterized by opportunistic behaviour and discrimination (Becker, 1981). The employee participants also revealed in the interviews that they have faced task and wage discrimination. They also added that the work environment is less favourable for them as the employers pays more to the family members and the native citizens. Although they work lesser than the migrant workers.

The employers also revealed in the interviews that they give preference to the native citizens because of their command on the language and their permanent residence. One of the employers stated that the migrant employees will leave at the end of the visa, but the native-born employees can work for more time period without the visa complication. He also added

that the native employees are aware of the employment rights and have more job opportunities as compared to the migrant employees making them less dependent on the employer. So, the employers deal with them with more leniency, better pay and less work tasks than a migrant worker (appendix 6).

5.7) Same race discrimination:

The research participants are selected based on their working experience in ethnic minority SMEs (similar ethnicity). Even though the employers prefer migrant students for work, the research participants commonly passed remarks about discrimination. The interviews revealed that regardless of the migrant workers and employers being from the same cultural background the migrant workers were paid lesser than the locals. The migrant student employees also explained that the locals work lesser and are paid more.

The employer also added to this scenario that the locals are the permanent staff whereas the migrant students are replaceable and temporary. The employers disclosed that the locals are hard to maintain as they know their rights and can have more opportunities than the migrant workers. Hence, they treat the local employees with more privileges, freedom and authority than the migrant workers. The migrants work more and sometimes the work of local employees as well which makes the migrant employees feel more uncomfortable and bullied at the workplace. In general, the context it can also be elaborated as a situation in which the superior or colleagues treat one person or more with a negative attitude and disrespect to make the other person feel inferior, vulnerable or exploited (Vartia, 2003, p. 10). Such actions made the other party feel uncomfortable, annoyed and feared (Brodsky, 1976). As also can be observed in the interviews of respondents of this study.

5.8) Mutual exploitation

The interviews clarified another interesting aspect of this study identified as mutual exploitation. Mutual exploitation has been discussed by every participant of the study. As all five employer participants believe that the employees exploit them on recruitment level because the employees join the co-ethnic SMEs because these student employees have limited job opportunities outside the co-ethnic networks and to get more hours than the legal 20 hours. While the 21 employee participants believe that the employers exploit them at pay scale level. The employer and employees also described the dependency on each other. One of the employers clearly stated that the employees might be exploited at wage level, but they

also know that without us they will not be able to get a job. The student employees have similar opinion and they find it normal to be exploited at this level because every student employee participant agreed that they need more than 20 hours to survive and these firms provide them the opportunity to earn as much as they want.

5.9) Wage exploitation:

Ethnic minority SMEs often has a different working culture than other SMEs. Their dependence on cultural resources is the main aspect of ethnic minority businesses. Such minority businesses are often being researched because of the exploitative behaviour towards its employees (Ram, 1997). A most common form of exploitation is at wage level. The interviewed students complained about their pay level, as it is much lower than the legal pay per hour, according to the UK law. This issue is quite common with ethnic minority SMEs. Some researchers argue that employees are exploited because they are unaware of their rights and fear to press any legal charges against their employer (McPhee, 2011). The employer takes advantage because of cultural background. As can be seen in appendix 2, the migrant workers are paid from 3.50 pounds to 7.50 maximum. The employers seem to be paying the employees as less as they want because of the cash economy. The wage is not paid through bank system to hide the employee's record from the government to save tax. The employees also seem to agree to this because they need extra flexible working hours. They also agree because they do not have enough job opportunities and they must follow the rules of employers. Some of the employees also agreed that they are not paid hourly, but for per day shift they were paid 35 pounds at restaurants. That comes to 3.5 pounds per hour. Whereas the minimum legal pay this time is 7.83 pounds per hour for workers aged above 25 (Gov.uk, 2018). However, the legal pay system is not very popular for the migrant student workers, specifically the workers working in Asian ethnic minority SMEs.

5.10) Summary; migrant students working in co-ethnic SMEs:

The ethnic minority student employees working in the cash economy needs to consider several aspects. One of the major aspects is recruitment. The window of opportunities is narrow for migrant students in the UK, but the migrant students get jobs easily with the same ethnicity employer. Aspinall (2009) describes ethnicity as a combined aspect of culture, religion, nationality and identity. As well defined by Hofstede et al. (1990) and Hofstede and Hofstede (1991) culture show the functioning of one's mind and understanding. That shapes the way families, organisations and countries develop. Ethnicity also affects one's

preferences and outcomes. Hofstede also described that intentionally or unintentionally people give more preference to individuals belonging to the same nationality and culture. The connection of the same culture, knowledge about the ethnicity, their willingness to work at less wage and the informal terms with the employer gives them the edge at the recruitment stage. Another imperative aspect is language. Most of the migrant workers consider language as a vital issue in an English-speaking country. However, in this study, the main participants are the students. Due to a better understanding of language compared to other migrants, the participants did not consider language as a big hurdle, but they found understanding the accent comparatively more difficult than the language. However, working with people from same ethnic background give students the time to understand and overcome such issues. Same is the case with foreign culture and laws. The time migrant students work with people of same ethnic background. It gives them time and support to explore the culture, laws and regulations. However, if the migrant students start by working with a foreign company, they will take more time and difficulty to understand the environment (Kariv et al., 2009).

However, it is observed in the findings that the ethnic minority employers of EMSMEs prefer the student workers from the same ethnicity for different reasons. The employers understand for the above reasons that migrant students will agree to work for less payment. In the limited period of student's stay sometimes they prefer to work as much as possible to earn money. The employer understands the circumstances and offers jobs at lesser per hour rate because of the harmony they share with co-ethnic student employees. The illegal cash in hand payment allows not only the employer but the employee as well to hide tax from the government. As the students are for a temporary stay, the continuous supply of students gives the employer the opportunity to exploit its own people because there is always someone else available to take the employee's place for the job. As also been revealed by the interviews. The migrant students shared the past and present experience of exploitation. They are working in a situation where they are paid less, not treated well, doing jobs for which they are overqualified, no paid incentives, treated inferior than the locals and worked hard for more hours than they should in return of getting a basic facility i.e. "paid job". The employer does not seek its people for co-ethnic exploitation, but they consider it as a good opportunity for themselves. Such exploitative behaviour by the employers often leads to a state of depression, low self-esteem and health issues for employees (Vartia, 2003).

Chapter 6

Conclusion:

The British government should embrace students from different parts of the world and must focus on bringing a change in visa policy by providing better work opportunities for migrant students in the UK' were the harsh remarks of London's mayor Sadiq Khan. Though, he is not the first London's mayor trying to persuade Britain minister to rethink student's working visa policies. In 2012, Boris Johnson was in Mumbai making an identical case about working facilities for students with a study visa (Harris, 2017). The question remains if such debates can have a real influence on migrant student's equal work rights in global economics or not? This study is also a thread to such queries.

This research discussed the interrelated theoretical implications: starting with intersectional understanding of migration and intersectional lens. As it assisted to analyse the intersectional axis of a migrant's identity on a student visa. Secondly, taking migrant students as sample. This study explored that the vulnerabilities of a migrant student's identity are making them exploitable at ethnic minority owned SMEs. These EMSMEs are identified as constituting networks of exploitation rather than resource networks. That is linked to the last and most important argument of this study, a research about labor market involving co-ethnics. A systematic consideration was paid to identify the migrant student and employer's interdependent relationship. As it is explored that there is mutual exploitation when they work in their own communities, challenging race theory and implicit bias framework in foreign country. More broadly, based on past literature and respondents' interviews, this study clarified the context within which ethnic minority owned SME networks became mechanisms for downgrading rather than platforms for upward advancement from a migrant student employees' perspective. This study has further defined below some theoretical implications identified by this research study.

Summarised; migration and its impact on ethnic minority communities in a foreign country

In the modern era, where people can easily travel around the world for a better lifestyle and work opportunities. It was estimated that over 2 million people migrated to the UK by the end of September 2017 (ONS, 2018). As per the increasing diversity in the UK, the headlines of a newspaper publication states "Britain is heading towards a colour coded

society” pointing out the raging trend of UK's whites and ethnic minorities choosing to live apart (Hope, 2013). These headlines are also confirmed during the research because the migrant students agreed to the fact that they get employment without any difficulty in their own communities.

Summarised; Intersectional understanding of migrant students’ vulnerabilities

The students have found themselves in a situation where they have felt helpless and vulnerable. During the interviews, the responses helped the researcher to discover that one can be easily exploited being a migrant. According to the semi-structured interview analysis, the main reason behind student’s vulnerability to exploitation is because an international student comes with the baggage of - migration, student status and different cultural background. This concept was additionally connected to various orders to comprehend the mistreatment and fairness structure, for example intersectional teaches about understudies to explore the connection between their own identities, social implications and its effect on intersecting oppressions. This examination contends that migrant student workers in EMSMEs are discriminated based on these intersecting personality dimensions making a student’s identity vulnerable in an international environment. These vulnerabilities make them easily exploitable because there is an informal relationship and because of the friendly networking, the employer can impose unfair rules. The student’s 20-hour work restriction and requirement to attend university during the daytime leaves the students to work in the evening. In the interviews, the student respondents seem to complain about the lack of support from the UK universities as well, as they find themselves isolated in the time of need. That leaves them dependent on the co-ethnic employers.

Summarised; mutual exploitation in form of employment opportunities

This scenario has been discussed by some scholars (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996; Wiklund, 1998; Lyon et al., 2000). However, there has not been enough research about employment opportunities in EMSMEs (Wang and Altinay, 2012). This research has been about employees as well as employer’s perspective about co-ethnics. Hence, it discovers that the reason behind the rise in co-ethnic employment opportunities is not only because of the compassion for same community members but because the employers find it hard to work with locals at low skilled and underpaid jobs (see finding chapter). Hence, the employers hire migrant students who accept the jobs rejected by the locals. In one line it can be

explained as “mutual exploitation.” The employers require these students for low-level jobs and the students exploit the situation because they have very limited opportunity window outside their communities. Although such a situation signifies the desperation of migrant students since they accept the jobs with unfavourable working conditions (Hopkins, 2012). Interestingly, majority of respondents revealed that getting jobs with co-ethnics is much simpler and feasible though the jobs are low and intermediate level with most commonly wage exploitation as part of it. Although, language was not a point of concern for majority of the respondents but the working hour flexibility to balance the study and work life play a significant role for student workers, such benefits are one of the reasons an international student join these EMSMEs.

Summarised; Co-ethnic exploitation

Based on the above discussion, it has been concluded that the vital factor observed through the interviews are the effects of cash economy on the student workers. They are asked to work extra at a lower wage because they fall into the exploitative “cash in hand” market (Yao, 2015). These EMSMEs are observed to have an informal working system. That allows the employers to hide its employees from the government by keeping them off the books. The employer helps the employee with job and support at the time of need, in return for the favour the employer takes full advantage of the situation. The interviewees also revealed that they do not have the courage to complain about the unfair treatment because of the personal terms with the employer and they feel that the lengthy legal process is not worth with no guarantee of justice and legal information (Jokinen et al., 2011). Although the students are only allowed to work for more than 20- hours a week (Gov. UK, 2018) but due to less per hour pay by the employer and flexibility to get extra hours, the students end up working for as many extra hours as possible. That has also been observed as one of the influential reasons for working student’s bad performance in studies around the world (Perna, 2010; Chen and Yao, 2015). It is crucial to realize that the research made on migrant workers in the UK, as well as currently existing conceptual framework mostly discuss gendered perspective and ignore specific groups as student migrants. There is a need to discuss different migrant groups and their insecurities. Hence, there shall be a great focus on providing the immigrants with their rights concerning accessible work. The employment experiences of these migrant student workers are observed as hostile and enforced. That sometimes results in frustration, disappointment and depression. However, it should be considered that this situation not only negatively influence the migrant employees but the

host country as well. However, this situation can get better if the British government and university play its role by providing the students with better work opportunities. In the form of work placement year, better career development guidance and by making sure that students have enough knowledge about their working rights before they come to a foreign country, the situation might get better in the future. But till now it can be perceived that regardless of the statistics and migrant protection rights, migrants are often subjected to challenging working conditions and unfair wage system. From centuries employers have been considering the cheap labor as an opportunity, but the question remains whether now the voices of those been exploited will be properly heard?

Research Limitations & Future Research

This study has several limitations. One of the major limitations is associated with time because researcher had limited time span of one year to set systematic schedule of entire research activities and function. This limitation caused several issues for the researcher.

Another limitation is related to the sample selection for research. However, the author used different methods to complete the study with valuable and richness of data. One of the methods was to consult and seek advice from the university research team. Their insight information and email facility helped the author to reach out to the student respondents. However, employer participants had been one of the major limitations throughout the study. The author had to contact them personally and convince them in the several meetings, as there was resistance in their participation and responses related to exploitation. The student employees were also resistant because the knowledge of their participation and their responses could have put them and their employer in legal trouble. Nevertheless, it was good opportunity to reach out to these students who were feeling isolated during their experiences. Yet another limitation was regarding the validity of data, there were some meetings in which the employer and employee provided different information about each other. The author had to confirm the validity of information based on observation and other fellow employees' responses. The author had to reject a major portion of information because it was not authentic. Another limitation is the intersectional approach. To understand this approach required understanding of different theories, empirically, and theoretically especially in understanding how ethnic minority groups incorporate into society. Here a limitation is that the author did not separate race theory in detail. A future study will be based on more detail about the different theories, especially when it comes to challenge race theory. Additionally, the author would like to further examine the experiences of the ethnic minority groups by

including additional interviews with this population. In the future study the author will compare the experiences of these migrants with different migrant laws and legal acts. The author chose the study to discuss the topics, such as mutual exploitation, ethnic minority SMEs and gaps in race theory. For further study, the author will present a more detailed study based on the experience from this research. The future study will help to explore more aspects of ethnic minority groups.

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Appendices:

Appendix 1. Semi-structured Interview schedule

Introduction: My name is Hira Younas. I am a research student at the University of Huddersfield. I am currently researching on employment experiences of migrant students working with the ethnic minority employers in Huddersfield, UK and will appreciate your input.

Semi-structured interview questions

Preliminary questions (demographic questions)

Migration/ educational history

1. Where are you from? When did you come here?
2. Where you are currently enrolled? What are your studies about? What is your level of qualification?
3. What is your current job?
 - The company deals with
 - Qualification required for this job
 - The basis of choosing the company/employee

Thank you very much! This concludes the demographic portion of the interview. Now we will begin the actual interview questions. Do you have any questions before we go any further? If not, then we are ready to begin. Thank you again for agreeing to participate

Primary questions (exploration of description) Migration and study Decisions:

4. Why did you decide and what motivated you to migrate and study in Huddersfield?
5. What made you decide to study at Huddersfield?
6. How would you rate your English language skills (speaking and understanding)?
7. Are you currently registered for payment of National insurance contributions?

Working decision:

8. Where are you working and what is it like?
9. What is your job title and main duties?
10. Are you paid worker? If yes, would you like to share how much you are paid per week?

£100 or less

-£101- £150

11. Is your current job temporary, permanent, seasonal, contract based?
12. Do you have written employment contract or job description?
13. What are your basic working hours?

Perceptions of exploitation and Discrimination:

14. What do you feel about being a migrant in a country like the UK?
15. What is it like for a migrant student to work in an SME? Do you find it challenging?
16. Is there any pay deduction based on accommodation, national insurance number, food and so forth.? If yes, would you like to share the information?
17. Have you felt discrimination, if so would you like to describe your experiences and how it affected you? (Analysis if they felt discrimination based on race, gender, migration, student, and so forth.)
18. What do you feel when someone mentions about racism in the UK? Please explain
19. Your opinion about

-rates of pay, hours availability

- the level of job

- the way you are treated by the employer/ the way employees treat you Intra-Ethnic

Relations:

20. How did you find your current job?

-friends/relatives, agency, website, contacted the employer personally after arriving in the UK

21. In your opinion is there a positive link between co-ethnic background and employment probabilities for immigrants in Huddersfield, UK?
22. Do you believe co-ethnic employment brings incentives or is there a divide between these groups? Please explain

Closing questions:

1. Is there anything else you will like to share?
2. In your opinion, did the questions seems clear or should I change anything?
3. Can I contact you in the future to clarify the shared information?
4. Do you know anyone who might be interested in sharing their story?

Appendix 2: Demographic characteristics of study participants to understand the co-ethnic perspective

Demographic details of respondents						
Respondents	Nationality of student	Nationality of employer	Level of education	Sector of employment	Level of job/Current position	Arrived in the UK
Participant A	Pakistani	Pakistani	MSC international business management	Pizza shop	Customer representative	2016
Participant B	Pakistani	Indian	Master's in engineering management	Fuel garage	Customer representative and Accountant	2017
Participant C	Pakistani	Pakistani	Higher national diploma in Business	Pakistani restaurant	Waiter	2011
Participant D	Bengali (Bangladesh)	Pakistani	MSC management with marketing	Pakistani restaurant	Waiter	2017
Participant E	Pakistani	Pakistani	Bachelor's in mechanical engineering G	Pakistani restaurant	Waiter	2015
Participant F	Pakistani	Indian	MSC Engineering and	Coffee shop	Customer dealing	2017

			management			
Participant G	Indian	Pakistani	Master's in nutrition and food Science	Pakistani restaurant	Waiter	2016
Participant H	Indian	Nepali/ Indian	Masters in fashion designing	Nepali restaurant	Waiter	2017
Participant I	Indian	Pakistani	Master's in nutrition and food science	Fast food takeaway	Customer dealing	2017
Participant J	Myanmar	Chinese	MBA	Fast food takeaway	Customer Representative	2018
Participant K	Kurdistan	Kurdistan	MSC international business management	Kurdish restaurant	Chef	2016
Participant L	Indian	Pakistani	Master's in human resource	Fish and chips	Customer Representative	2017
Participant M	Bengali (Bangladesh)	Pakistani	Master's in management and Marketing	Pakistani restaurant	Waiter	2017
Participant N	Indian	Indian	Bachelor's in electrical engineering	24-hour shop	Customer dealing	2018

Participant O	Indian	Pakistani	MSC international business management	Fast food takeaway	Customer representative	2016
Participant P	Indian	Pakistani	Bachelor's in mechanical engineering	Indian restaurant	Waiter	2018
participant Q	Indian	Indian	Master's in architecture	24-hour shop	Customer dealing	2015
participant R	Indian	Indian	Master's in architecture	24-hour shop	Customer dealing	2015
Participant S	Indian	Indian	MSC international business management	Fuel garage	Customer dealing	2016
Participant T	Indian	Pakistani	Masters by research in engineering	Pakistani takeaway	Delivery boy	2015
Participant U	Indian	Pakistani	MBA	Fast food restaurant	Customer Representative	2017
Employer X	Different nationality students work in this firm	Pakistani	NA	Pakistani restaurant	Co-manager	Born and brought up in the UK

Employer Y	Different nationality students work in this firm	Pakistani	NA	Pakistani restaurant	Co-manager	Came after marriage
Employer Z	Different nationality students work in this firm	Chinese	NA	Japanese takeaway	Single Owner	Came for studies in 2012
Employer 1	Different nationality students work in this firm	Pakistani	NA	Pakistani restaurant	Co-manager	Brought up in the UK
Employer 2	Different nationality students work in this firm	Nepali/ Indian	NA	Nepali restaurant	Single Owner	Brought up in the UK

Appendix 3. Factors underpinning migration decisions of Poles to the UK

Can you tell the motivations that underpinned your decision to study in Huddersfield, UK?		
Respondents	The main point of the answer	Evidence (Quotations from the interview transcripts)
#A	Family-related reasons- In-laws are in the UK	“I am married, and my in-laws are here. So, this place was my first option. [...] I researched this university and found it quite interesting. [...] The job rate and facilities shown in the prospectus were quite fascinating.”
#B	To acquire British higher education in UK university-	“I was impressed by the ranking of this university and the degree value [...]”
#C	Family-related reasons- wanted to spend more time with brother	“My elder brother lives here [...] with his family. I was living with him and he decided that I shall apply in this university for a better future [...].”
#D	Opportunity for better education	“In my country, the studies are quite usual about finance, accounts or marketing. [...] I did not find it appealing [...]. Not interesting. [...] I was interested in marketing and management and it was not available as one course in Bangladesh. So I searched and found this course at Huddersfield University.”

#E	Family pressure	“My father’s friend suggested that I shall study abroad [...] and I shall apply in Huddersfield. My father was quite persistent about it [...]”
#F	Impressed by the university ranking	“[...] University’s ranking and modules are quite impressive [...]”
#G	Financial aspects	“[...] It is the cost. The fee was better than other universities. As I was coming with my brother [...], I found it reasonable than other universities.”
#H	Willingness to develop skills associated with fashion designing and to take a break from work life	“I am married, and I was a working woman [...]. I have managed many fashion shows and had been travelling abroad for years. [...] I had visited Huddersfield a couple of times before, but that was just for enjoyment as I was attending fashion shows in London and Manchester. [...] So, I used to come here to relax for one or two days. I am from a very busy and big city of India [...]. I like this town it is a small place, quieter and not far from big cities like Manchester and Leeds. [...] Additionally, I liked the courses and got a good scholarship based on my past studies and work experience.”
#I	Willingness to learn the language and explore the food science courses	“I was very specific about the study course, so I narrowed down the list of universities that offer this course and quite a few universities were offering this course [...]. Later that, I narrowed down to Huddersfield after checking about the Campus, resources and infrastructure [...]”

#J	Low career perspectives for local graduates in Kurdistan, willingness to gain international experience I applied at this university	“I came to the UK to be a UK MBA graduate due to the current MBA trend back in my home country and the trust on UK education. [...] And chose Huddersfield because of affordable living costs, course fee, and scholarship offer [...].”
#K	Willingness to learn the language and explore the culture- Family reasons	“[...] Some of my friends came to Huddersfield in the past years. It was my dream to study in the UK because of the culture and the degree value. [...] My friends referred me to this university because they also studied at this university in 2013. I love this university. I also searched in google and I was impressed by the rating of this university and also the fee factor [...].”
#L	Chances to find a better higher degree, Fulfil dream to study abroad	“[...] Well, I am married, and my in-laws are here. I have written two papers and it is like a dream to do PhD from the UK. [...] Main reason to decide this university is the scholarship this university was offering me because of my experience and publications [...].”
#M	Opportunity for career and social life advancement	“The University of Huddersfield and the town is known for its student-friendly environment as stated by various annual student surveys [...] as well as good ranking for the institute itself, especially for its computing and engineering department. [...] The town is cheaper for an international student and not very big, this

		attracts people from all over the world to study here [..]. The diversity of students in the town is very impressive [...].”
#N	Poor personal and financial situation – willingness to provide a better life for myself	“My father wanted me to do the job after my interlevel education [...] because of the financial conditions, but I wanted to start my career from a high-level job. SO I searched for options and universities. [...] I was impressed by the town’s social life and of course the university ranking.”
#O	Possibility to complete studies in the UK	“[...] When I decided to study abroad. I applied at different institutes and I got the first reply from Huddersfield university [...] and that was it. “
#P	Financial aspects	“I was impressed by the scholarship offer by the university. So I decided to apply here [...].”
#Q	Willingness to develop skills and market value	“[...] I have good work experience and I wanted to enhance it by acquiring a British degree. [...] It improves market value, especially if you are an architect. [...] I searched for different universities and this was it. The course and degree value were the main reasons I decided to come here.”
#R	Friend motivated to travel	“[...] To be honest I did not give it much thought. My friend was coming here, so I decided to get along.”
#S	Family-related reasons	“Most of my relatives are here, because of which I decided to study in the UK. [...] Huddersfield was my first choice.”

#T	Willingness to a reunion with friends- better education opportunities	“[...] I knew people who were already here. [...] My friends from my city had positive feedback for this place. I wanted to do a PhD in engineering and I thought it would be good to go to a place where I know people already [...].”
#U	Financial aspects- Willingness to acquire British degree	“[...] To be honest the UK degree matters. [...] No matter which city is that. [...] The scholarship is quite appealing and I was pretty happy that I qualified for that [...] but after coming here, I got to know that maximum students who apply at this university get that scholarship [...].”

**Appendix 4. Respondent’s perception about working visa policy for migrant students.
To understand the significance of legal regulations in ethnic minority SMEs.**

NI effects on the pay scale and job level.			
This table shows the responses of respondents when asked ‘if having NI has any effect on job or pay level?’			
Respondents	Applied NI (national insurance) number	Effects of NI on job Matters/does not matter	Evidence (Quotations from the interview transcripts)
#A	Yes	No effect- The employer does not concern about NI in SMEs	“Yes, this was the first question asked if I have NI [...]. I did not have it at that time and applied later. [...] but for my current job. My employer did not care enough.”
#B	Yes	It does not matter- The pay is not enough to be taxable	“[...] I had NI number before I applied for the job. So, I never had to think much about it, but I think being a student it does not matter because we work for only 20 hours [...] and our income is not taxable because we do not earn that much amount.”
#C	Yes	Matters- The first requirement for a good job	“It is the first step to get a proper job. I did not get a decent job that’s another story.”
#D	Yes	Does not matter- Cash in hand job	“I do not think so having NI has any effect on anything. [...] I am getting my wage mostly in cash. So at my job, it does not matter.”

			“[...] Our families are not here, and we must manage everything on our own and I do not think 20 hours is enough [...]. I guess the hour restriction is the main reason students go to SMEs and agree to work for lesser pay [...].”
#E	Yes	Does not matter- Expenses are more than income, not taxable	“[...] It does not matter. The thing is even if I get average pay on 20 hours. I will only make 130 or 140 pounds and I am a student. [...] I go out with my friends, gym and other social circulars. This amount is not enough. Moreover, It will not be taxable. [...] There is no point of NI number.”
#F	Yes	Does not matter- Cash in hand job	“[...] Not required for cash in hand jobs. It matters when you work in the good organisation.”
#G	Yes	It matters- NI helps the student to balance study and work life	[...] NI allows students only to work 20 hours. It keeps the student on track. [...] As they cannot work more time. They spend their time studying. [...] Student get time for study and work.”
#H	Yes	It does not matter- Not required when working in SMEs	“[...] It definitely affects. It is like a first question asked when you apply for a job but a place where I work. It does not matter much. They asked me in the beginning and I said I have applied but have not got it yet [...] and they were fine with it. I would know for sure if I had not even applied even then it would not have mattered much at my job.”

#I	Yes	Does not matter- Personal links matter more when working with co-ethnics	“I do not think it matters at my job. Personal links matter more than legal requirements [...]”
#J	Yes	It matters with legal pay framework	“[...] Yes it matters, it has effects on pay scale due to tax deductions. [...] But, it is more secure to work under a legal framework.”
#K	Yes	Yes, it matters- Assures legal pay system	“I was getting £6 before NI but they told it to me only because I was Kurdish, others were getting £5 moreover, I was getting £7.50 after NI [...]. There were some other people working and they were getting 5£ because they never cared about NI.”
#L	Yes	Does not effect- The employer does not require as they do not follow legal rules	“[...] As I mentioned earlier, in the beginning, I told my boss that I would only work 20 hours and I want it legally. [...] Having NI gives us an opportunity to work according to the law, but it did not affect my job. [...] I am still getting cash in hand although I am working for only 20 hours. [...] They are not happy about it. They want me to work more hours, but I am determined that I will work only 20 hours.”
#M	Yes	It does not matter-	“[...] I do have a National Insurance number provided by Jobcentre Plus which contributes towards the contributions. [...] It affects my pay

		Pay is not enough to be taxable	scale if I am working more hours than the allowed threshold for the international students which is 20 hours. I am working only 20 hours and the pay is not enough to be taxable [...]"
#N	Yes	Does not matter	"My boss never cared about that, but NI makes you a legal worker [...]"
#O	Yes	Does not matter	"Boss did not require NI number."
#P	Yes	Does not matter	"NI does not matter in cash economy."
#Q	Yes	Does not matter	Cash economy
#R	Yes	Does not matter	Cash economy
#S	Yes	Does not matter	Cash economy
#T	Yes	It matters	"My boss said he could not hire me without NI. [...] For me it is the main requirement of the job."
#U	Yes	Does not matter	Cash economy
Employer's perception about legal system			
Employer X	NA	It does not matter much	"it is not important. I know the students will get the NI anytime. [...] Being an international student sometimes they are not aware of NI number but to keep it legal. They get the NI number and they can provide me later [...]"
Employer Y	NA	It matters because it is legal	"I pay more than minimum pay to the employees [...]. It is not cash in hand job. So having an NI number is important. They start at £7.50 to more than £8. [...] I increase the pay with the course of time and experience."
Employer Z	NA	It matters	"Yes, because NI makes it legal."
Employer 1	NA	Does not matter	No. Not here.

Employer 2	NA	Does not matter	It is not required because I pay cash in Hand
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Appendix 5: Common aspects of student migrant’s pay scale, working hours and mode of payment to understand exploitation

Mode of payment and wage level			
Respondents	Mode of payment	Wage per hour	Working hours (more or less than 20 hours per week)
#A	Cash in hand	£4.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#B	Cash in hand	£6.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#C	Cash in hand	£3.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#D	Cash in hand	£5.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#E	Cash in hand	£4.50 per hour (£35 per day)	More than 20-hours per week
#F	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#G	Cash in hand	£4.50 per hour (£35 per day)	More than 20-hours per week
#H	Cash in hand	£6.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#I	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#J	Bank account	£7.50 per hour	20-hours per week
#K	Bank account	£7.50 per hour	20-hours per week
#L	Cash in hand	£5.50 per hour	20-hours per week
#M	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week

#N	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#O	Cash in hand	£5.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#P	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	20-hours per week
#Q	Cash in hand	£6.50 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#R	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#S	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#T	Cash in hand	£6 per hour	More than 20-hours per week
#U	Cash in hand	£5 per hour	More than 20-hours per week

Appendix 6: This table will highlight the respondent’s reaction and their experiences about co-ethnic discrimination/exploitation. Also, the factors they consider making them vulnerable to exploitation.

Co-ethnic exploitation and factors for being vulnerable to exploitation			
Respondent s	Co-ethnic discrimination /exploitation	Explanation (Quotation from the interview transcripts)	Reasons (why vulnerable to exploitation)
#A	Wage exploitation, no written contracts, less favourable conditions, unpaid training period for two weeks	<p>“[...] I have never met my boss till now. All I get is his messages through other employees and he seems not to be much interested in his employees. I am getting less than minimum pay. So, it is quite demotivating.”</p> <p>“[...] I mostly work with another employee and he is British. He just stands to take orders because of his fluency in English [...]. While I do most of the work, he is getting more pay and [...]. He is mostly rude to me [...].”</p> <p>“[...] I had two weeks of training and I was not paid for that [...].”</p>	<p>“<i>Visa restrictions</i> for working hours is the main reason students tend to such SMEs. Just to get flexible hours [...].”</p> <p>“[...] when I complained about my colleague’s bad behaviour. [...] I was told that they cannot lose him as he will stay, and <i>I will have to leave</i> eventually after my course ends”.</p> <p>“When I started the job. [...] <i>I did not have enough knowledge of the migrant and labour rights</i>. [...]. So, I accepted the job, but it was the worst time of my life [...].”</p>

#B	No formal contract, bad working conditions, wage exploitation	<p>“[...] My boss calls me to cover shifts when others are not available. He does not care if even it is my exams or assignments. [...] I have to go when he calls because if I do not, he gets angry and stops giving me enough shifts [...].”</p> <p>“My boss believes he is doing some kind of favour on me [...] He keeps on telling me that students come and go. It is easy to replace them because here he gives £6.5 [...] more than many other places. So when the students know this they leave the jobs, they are working on and come here [...].”</p>	<p>“[...] I think the main issue is the <i>status difference (student Visa)</i> Because the employer knows we will leave eventually. So, he does not bother much about us [...].”</p>

#C	<p>No formal contract, wage exploitation, less paid during the training period,</p>	<p>“[...] when I started my job for one week of training, they gave me just £20. [...] When they actually had to give me £80. [...] On arguing they said take this, or you have a choice you can leave. Others do not even get this. [...] So, I took that and continued working.”</p> <p>“I came here in 2011. That time there were a lot of students because the visa system was quite flexible [...] They were giving students £3 in the beginning. Even I worked for £3 and then after some time, I started getting £3.50. My boss tells me every time that he will increase my pay eventually [...]”</p> <p>“[...] Sometimes working at night [...] boys come and start abusing telling us Pakis go back. [...] They are mostly drunk [...]. We ask them to leave but its normal here.”</p> <p>“[...] rates of pay are the worst factor. Its exploitation as they were making us work so much and, in the end, we were getting just £3. [...] Also the level of the job. I am a migrant student and jobs for me are limited to the waiter and or as kitchen staff.”</p>	<p>“[...] I was new and <i>did not know many rules</i>. I thought I am lucky to get £20 for training [...] because I believed my boss when he told me no one gets paid training here [...]”</p> <p>“[...] I do not know if I will leave this job, I will get a job with food facility and flexible hours as here. That is why I am not leaving the job. [...] There <i>are not enough opportunities</i> for international students here.”</p> <p>“[...] As a matter of fact, <i>we depend on them</i>. Being an <i>international student</i> managing work with <i>20-hour worker restrictions</i> gets hard. We cannot work at day so we go to such takeaways for the job and they do not leave a chance to exploit us.”</p>
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#D	No formal contract, wage exploitation, bad working conditions, discrimination	<p>“[...] If you work with Asians, they will stay with you and will care for you [...] only if you are beneficial for them. If you are a student and you are allowed fewer hours and you want more work hours [...], they will behave as they are doing favour [...] and they will not consider about the less wage factor. So, I guess the pros are not as much compared to cons.”</p>	<p>“[...] The only reason I understand for this behaviour is probably that the employer thinks that the local people are going to stay for a longer period, but for us <i>we are temporary.</i>”</p> <p>“[...] it is really hard not only for me but for every international student working here. [...] Honestly speaking I <i>do not have financial</i></p>
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		<p>support from my family. I am a student and I am not getting a minimum wage. So, it is quite demotivating. You are lucky if you get good pay [...]”</p> <p>“[...] It is not satisfying, just Ok now. It is like to ends meet. To be honest, I often feel discriminated [...] because at my workplace some British nationals are getting a double pay as I get and I am doing more work. [...] I do not understand why they exploit us when we are more hardworking than the locals.”</p> <p>“I am doing Masters and I do not feel good being a waiter but I have no choice. Its ok but not my level of job [...]”</p>	<p>because of the classes during the daytime. This is the only reason I agreed to work here[..].”</p>
#E	No formal contract, wage exploitation	“[...] My employer or any other Asian	“The reason I work here is that I was

		<p>employer here want to save taxes. [...] No one wants to give that money. So they hide the employees. They prefer cash in hand and show lesser employees in books. In this way, they can give less wage to employees and can save taxes from the government as well. [...] It is a lot of money it is so tempting.”</p> <p>“[...] The pay we get is 35 pounds and rest is covered by tips. No hourly system for us. Tips are always extra to appreciate the efforts of the waiter but my employer count that as pay as well. [...] We work more than 10 hours and we get 35 pounds. If we take average it is 3 or 3.5 per hour.”</p>	<p>rejected from some good proper job because of <i>working hour restrictions</i>. Recently, I applied for Vodafone retail manager post and the only reason I was rejected was that they wanted me to work 40 hours and I could only work <i>20 hours</i>. So I had to let go of that opportunity and started working here after a few rejections [...]”</p>
#F	No formal contract, wage exploitation, physiological exploitation	“[...] I started working here because I knew the manager for a long time. He is like a family friend, but	“I have friendly terms with my boss. He is like a family. My boss catered food at my

		<p>now I feel like it was a big mistake [..]. I am paid less. My boss takes me for granted. He makes me work extra and I am not paid for that. I cannot say anything because of the personal terms.“</p>	<p>wedding for free. So, I do not complain [...] but it is not fair. I got married during my training period of this job and the boss of this restaurant provided us food allowance [...]. It was a small gathering, but he helped me when I needed it and now I feel like he is exploiting me. I am getting £6 per hour after working for more than a year and this is not enough, but I cannot do anything about it [...]. Unless he considers it himself”.</p>
#G	No formal contract, wage exploitation, bad working conditions	<p>“[...] It is not a good place to work. The manager did not treat me well.”</p> <p>“[...] I worked the first day then I went home</p>	<p>“I started working here because [...]I had no other option.”</p> <p>“[...] To be frank we have limited options</p>

		<p>and called my dad. I told him I could not work. [...] It was too much hard work, but I had no other option. So I had to work. [...] I never worked in my life before. That was my first day and they made me work so much and the most demotivating part is the pay. They paid me very less [...] £35 per day means an average of £4-4.5 per hour [...] because it is not an NI job, but later I adjusted as I had no other option. I could not ask for more money from home. They already paid my fee. So I kept on working.”</p>	<p>here. I used to think I shall leave this job but I need them. I was not happy with the level of the job. [...] I paid a lot of fees and came here. Not for this job. Anything is better than working at a desi (Asian) restaurant.</p>
#H	No formal contract, Wage exploitation	<p>“I do not have many complaints here [...], however, it is really hard to find a job outside your circle.”</p> <p>“I am paid worker but I do not want to mention</p>	<p>“[...] It is hard being a student, working and being a wife as well. I try to manage my time so I may give some time to my husband and my studies as well [...]</p>

		<p>my pay. [...] It is less than the minimum that's all I can tell. It is recording so I do not want to share this information.”</p> <p>“I defiantly believe that co-ethnic discrimination exists. Not only on the side of the employer but [...] Asian customers often come here and I feel like they look down on me and they treat the local waiters with more respect.”</p> <p>“[...] My boss treats me very well, so it does not matter that they pay me less money. I get a free ride home at the end of my day and food. I am happy.”</p>	<p>but one thing is there we being <i>migrant students do not get equal opportunities as others</i>. So we accept the job we get even if it has flaws.”</p>
#1	No formal contract, wage exploitation	<p>“He takes good care for us morally and he is a good friend. I am not getting minimum pay, but I do not feel I am exploited. “</p> <p>“[...] The locals do not want to employ</p>	<p>“[...] People prefer to employ their own people. I will not say it is fair, but I understand why it is happening. <i>They will not employ people who will go away eventually</i> [...].”</p>

		<p>someone who does not know how to communicate with local people and who do not understand the culture and etiquettes behind the business and British community [...]. So obviously they employ their own people.”</p>	
#J	<p>No formal contract, discrimination</p>	<p>“[...] The system here is unfair. Mostly discriminated [...] because the qualifications, experiences, hardworking spirits of Asian/ Eastern migrants will be all-time higher than Western citizens, but employers only care about the fluency of English[...] even though the employers also have the same background. [...] and also where we are from, and how long we can be here and be available for them”.</p>	<p>“[...] it will be better to get a chance of being employed by a company or MNC because these experiences will support in our future career ladder. [...]. <i>Unfortunately, those opportunities are not for us. Working in SME as blue-collar labour is just for a short-term in order to earn enough to survive daily in a foreign land.</i>”</p>

#K	No formal contract,	“If I were in my country, I would never have worked as a kitchen staff after getting my Master’s degree [...] because it is considered as a low-level job.”	“I was lucky to get minimum wage. [...] If my boss had told me to work for less pay I would have worked even then because I respected him and had an <i>informal relationship</i> with him. [...] If I were working with an employer from the different background the employee, Employer relationship would be more formal and I would be expecting pay according to law. That is minimum wage.”
#L	No formal contract, wage exploitation, free training period, discrimination, bond system, forced labour, Psychological exploitation, continuum exploitation	“[...] The owner of the shop was going to India [...] So, my husband and I managed the place for a few months. [...] because of the terms we had [...]. I did not discuss the wage in the beginning, as he was from my city [...]. When he came back, he gave us less money as	“[...] We had <i>family terms</i> with him. We did not say anything to him, but we left the job and started working in a Pakistani take away.” “My boss is a Pakistani. [...] He knows everything

		<p>we should get. He gave us a few gifts that he brought from India [...]. As we had family terms with him, we did not say anything to him but we left the job after some time.”</p> <p>“The day I started my job they told me I have to work for a one-week training period for free. [...] I worked each day for 12 hours. It was the most horrible week of my life. [...] I am a vegetarian, and I did not have anything to eat or drink the whole day. I was not allowed to sit even for 1 minute. When I went home, I decided not to work there, but somehow I convinced myself that it is near to my house, and with time maybe things will get better but it did not. I am still working there, and it is terrible.”</p>	<p>but does not do anything about it. It’s a small firm, no HR person. We have no one to whom I can go to complain, whatever the manager says we have to do. We like it or not.”</p> <p>[...] My manager always says that you people cannot speak our language properly. She also says that the people like you exploit the facilities of NHS and she always tells me why you people come here because of people like you we (British) do not get all the facilities. I cannot say anything because I depend on her for the job. She can fire me anytime. There are no rules on her end.”</p>
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		<p>“They told me about a £250 bond. They said I would get the £250 after I finish my training period, but then later they said an amount would be deducted from my pay every week. [...] I could not leave the job after that. I had put in much hard work in that. It’s been 2.5 months, and still, it has not covered my £250 bond. They deduct £25 from weekly wage and it is not every week. Its deducted once in two weeks. Now I have to work as much to cover my bond [...] then I have to give four weeks’ notice only then I can get my £250. [...] Just because of that I cannot leave the job.”</p> <p>“The owner is never there. He comes to take money at night. He has cameras everywhere, even right outside the</p>
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		<p>bathroom. [...] He sits at home and keeps an eye on his employees. It is a breach of GDPR. This is a serious offence, but no one cares. It means the boss knows everything how the manager is treating everyone. My boss behaves very nice to us and he is not asking anything from the manager. So I can say it is a kind of a psychological game.”</p> <p>“I hate my job. [...] The manager shouts at me a lot. Sometimes the customers also have arguments with her because of her behaviour with me. One of the customers scolded my manager and said that she treats her employees like slaves[.]”</p>	
#M	No formal contract, wage exploitation, informal system	“[...]Cash in hand job has no rules. You do not get equivalent pay and they make you	“[...]for migrant students the <i>opportunities are quite restricted and</i>

		<p>work a lot more than required. [...] Time management is not good. They do not give you fix shift time. It keeps on changing. [...] It is not good for students.”</p> <p>“[...] Sometimes they deduct pay when there is a misunderstanding about job hours because everything is so unorganised and informal. [...] Sometimes we forget and sometimes they forget our extra hours. So a few times I had to face that as they had no proof. [...] There is no check and balance in these firms[...].”</p>	<p><i>limited.</i> The big companies prefer their own people for the higher level job. So we do not have much chance there. “British locals will prefer locals and Asian will prefer Asian. [...] Although students prefer British employers, but we hardly get that job. We are <i>decimated at recruitment level</i> [...]”</p>
#N	No formal contract, wage exploitation	<p>“Students mostly get odd jobs. [...] We only manage to live and learn time management skill. There should be better opportunities for migrant students. That can give them a better practical experience</p>	<p>“The employers do not care about the employees’ qualification. [...] Getting a job here is very difficult. It is sad to say that only low skilled jobs are available for migrant</p>

		<p>regarding their students because degrees.” we are <i>students and we are here on a temporary basis</i> and just serving[...].”</p> <p>“I am not happy sitting and just serving[...].”</p> <p>customers. I do not like this job. I am studying engineering and there is nothing I can do.”</p>
#O	No formal contract, Wage exploitation	<p>“Asian people here have a different attitude than managers in my country. When Asians come here, they behave differently. [...] My boss does not have a good attitude with me, but after a month I adjusted [...]. Not talking much and only doing our job. So it got better. [...] I am not doing a professional job, so it is fine, but the system shall get better for students, as we are not workers. [...] They treat us like we are some kind of low-level workers.”</p> <p>“We are <i>dependent on these employers because outside the Asian circle we do not get jobs. We rely on flexible timing</i> because we have to <i>manage studies and work at the same time. [...]</i> The employers know this and consider it as a favour. They do not mind exploiting us [...]”</p>

#P	No formal contract, wage exploitation. Bad working conditions	<p>“My boss calls me whenever he wants. They only see their convenience. [.] They will try that you work extra hours if its busy, even though that specific day’s shift is over. [.] They are also not worried about legal working hours. They never bother about the law or my study schedule. They call me with their convenience. I will never recommend anyone cash in hand job[.]. “</p>	<p>“They understand being a <i>student we are vulnerable</i>. I started this job because I <i>did not have enough knowledge</i> of the rules and rights. [.] I accepted the pay but after staying here for some time. [...] I realised that this is not the way an employer can treat his employees.”</p>
#Q	No formal contract, wage exploitation,	<p>“We are getting less money. So we have to work double. [.] For example, if you need 100 pounds and [...] you are getting 50 pounds. You will have to work 20-hours. [.] Double somebody getting minimum wage, but we do not have any other choice. [.] If we go for minimum wage, we will not get enough</p>	<p>“[...] They know they <i>can exploit their own people</i> as they are aware that we <i>cannot go to British companies</i> [...]. For there we will get only a 20-<i>hour job</i>. If we want more money, we have to stay here. So we work more to get more money.”</p>

		hours and the 20-hour job is not enough for a living. I have no choice. I am bound to do this job, and I am not happy.”	
#R	No formal contract, wage exploitation	“I went to the employability office of the university in the beginning, but I was really disappointed by the response. [...] They did not pay much attention to us. [...] Before coming here in the prospectus the university highlight a high percentage of employment but sadly it is not true. At least for the international students. [...] I remember I was taking the last class of my session and my tutor announced that students with British or EU visa stay in the class after the lecture to discuss placement options. [...] I asked	“In my case when I started my first semester I <i>did not know what to do</i> or where to go. [...] I am used to of exams. I struggled a lot with my assignments [...] with <i>no support from the university</i> . We <i>are not given much freedom of speech or work choices</i> . [...] They should know that we are Masters students. The work and academic experience will affect my whole life, but they did not help me with anything. [...]In the UK sometimes <i>students are not getting much support as much as they need</i> .”

		<p>them what about us and he said because of the visa restrictions the university cannot help much with employment.</p> <p>Whereas other students have visa facility and it's easy for them to work. I remember arguing with him that international students need more support for career choice and placement because we do not know where to start and he conveniently said. I cannot do anything [...]”</p> <p>“[...] It is heart-breaking the way university treats us and do not show much support. [...] So we have to go to our communities for jobs and they exploit this situation.”</p>	
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#S	No formal contract, wage exploitation	<p>“I have faced same race discrimination or exploitation [...] whatever you want to call this. We are alone here. No support from anywhere, we have no place to complain. [...] The students work with their own people because it is easy to get a job, but at the same time the fact cannot be denied that they give us job because they know they can take advantage later [...]”</p> <p>“[...] we get the work experience by working as waiters or chefs at these takeaways or restaurants. The government and the university shall change the rules and should be more cooperative with the migrant students [...]. I did not know it will be this hard. Otherwise, I would</p>	<p>“when you come from a <i>similar community</i>, you <i>understand each other’s struggle</i> and it is easy to <i>exploit</i>. A British does not know the week points and he will be fair with us but an Indian knows the needs and he <i>knows that we are vulnerable</i>. I can see why it is common.”</p>
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		not have paid£10,000 to work as a waiter [...]"	
#T	No formal contract, wage exploitation,	<p>"[...] I am doing Masters by Research in engineering. I have one another master's degree, and this is my second-high level degree. I am planning to do PhD and I am a delivery boy. Pretty disheartening [...]"</p> <p>isn't it."</p> <p>"[...] I do not have many complaints from my boss other than less wage and sometimes not enough shifts. [...]"</p> <p>He provided me with a job when I was quite desperate. So, I am thankful but to be honest, I am unhappy and I do not think that at this stage I shall be doing this job".</p>	<p>"[...] I am overqualified for this job and I do not think such jobs will help me with my career advancements, but <i>I do not have a choice</i> [...]"</p> <p>"I am not getting any other job even though I tried. [...] I feel like employers <i>do not take students seriously</i>. We all hear about placements but sadly none of my friend or I have got that choice. [...] Everyone I know is working at low-level jobs. I think the <i>placements are available only when you are either British, EU citizen or a slight chance if you are at bachelor level</i> because no company is ready to invest in</p>

			you with <i>limited term visa</i> .”
#U	No formal contract, wage exploitation	<p>“I was not told that it is international cash in hand job or bank student in the UK is salary. After one week not as pleasant as it they told me it is cash in seems. We must hand job. I had an struggle a lot and argument with them [...] it is like that I wanted a bank isolation. We do salary for only 20 not know the hours’ job because I am <i>proper rules</i> when a student [...] but they we come here and said no. They said It to be honest I still could work as much as cannot figure out I want. I did not know where to go with what to do.”</p> <p>complaints. [..] It is frustrating.”</p> <p>“I am an Indian and I work in a Pakistani takeaway [...]. I am a vegetarian, but the staff over there and the boss kept on telling me that I shall eat chicken. [...] They also told me to greet everyone with “Aslamualikum”, as it is a Pakistani takeaway. I tolerated, but things got worse because I was wearing a holy Hindu thread in my</p>	

		hand and the manager did not allow it. I was insistent that I would not take it off. So I left the job after two days. I did not even get any money for working two days over there [...].”	
Employer’s perception of co-ethnic exploitation			
Employer X	Mutual exploitation	<p>“[...] The employees have to provide the papers but we do not give anything in writing. We keep the record of their Ni number, passport and bills.”</p> <p>“[...] It is just a small restaurant. Jobs are simple anyone can learn in some time. [...] I always have extra staff because I know the students are leaving as it is never a problem [...]. There is always enough supply of student workers. Along with that, I have fixed staff for the kitchen that</p>	<p>“[...] I always prefer international students for work. They are <i>naïve and hardworking</i> [...].”</p> <p>“[...] The employer gives less wage because we know they are <i>dependent</i> on us.”</p>

		<p>is local, and they are not going anywhere. [...], So the customer attendants keep on shuffling. Not a big problem [...]. The local people will not do these jobs. I have some local staff attendants, but they are fussy and it is hard to deal with them”.</p> <p>“I guess the exploitation is both sided. [...] The employer gives less wage because we know they are dependent on us. [...] However, these jobs are convenient for them as it is near the university. They can work flexible hours and they get the food facility. It saves a lot of their living cost. So, I guess there is mutual exploitation.”</p>	
Employer Y	Mutual exploitation	<p>“[...] We take documents from the students, but we do not have any formal contract.”</p>	<p>“[...] You need them, and they need you. It is as well an opportunity. The students need to</p>

		<p>understand there</p> <p>“[...] It is a tricky situation. If you are Pakistani and you go to a Pakistani restaurant for the job you will go there because you need them [...] because no one else employed you and you feel like a connection with them. [...] At the same time, they will employ you not to exploit you but to provide you job because of your knowledge about the food and culture. Yes, I agree sometimes they will give you less pay, but at least they are employing you, without them, you do not have any opportunity. It is exploitation but its mutual.”</p> <p>“[...] You get free food and flexible hours. At the end of the day, it is exploitation on both sides.”</p>	<p>are more supply and less demand for international student workers. That is why they get lesser pay. No one can survive without each other.”</p>
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Employer Z	Mutual exploitation	<p>“[...] We take documents from the work with local students, but we do not have any written contract.”</p>	<p>“[...] I used to work with local staff but not anymore. Locals are hard to manage. They leave whenever they want because they know their rights. They know they can go to social security. Whereas the <i>students rely on these jobs</i> [...].”</p>
Employer 1	Mutual exploitation	<p>“[...] My employees can use cell phones, chat and relax but if they are not doing their job properly. I must take strict actions. They know they will be fired if I do not like them [...]. For me, my customers come first, as the money comes from them. I can change the employees, but I need the customers. [...] The employee must remember that we must keep the customer</p>	<p>“[...] The employees need me. <i>Students look for these jobs when they do not get help from anywhere else. This is like their last option</i> [...]. For employers’ student employees are always better because <i>we know they need us more than we need them.</i> So they work according to us [...].”</p>

		and me (boss) happy [...].”	
Employer 2	Mutual exploitation	<p>“[...] Exploitation is on both sides. For instance, a student was working for me. He borrowed money and at the end of the visa, he just left [...]. Students are temporary workers. They can leave whenever they want. They can exploit us and can leave [...]. However, such cases are rare and more chances are employers exploiting students at wage level.”</p>	<p>“[...] Sometimes such incidents remind us that students cannot always be trusted because they are <i>migrants and will leave eventually</i> [...]”</p>

Appendix 7: This table will highlight the incentives migrant student employees enjoy working with co-ethnics.

Co-ethnic incentives		
Respondents	Co-ethnic incentives	Explanation
#A	Easy recruitment	“[...] I went with my CV personally at different takeaways and someone suggested me this place. We had a small meeting of 10 minutes and I was hired instantly.”
#B	Easy recruitment, overcome language issues	“My friend was working at the same place [...]. He referred me for the job and I got it straight away.” “My boss helped me to understand and overcome my language issues and offered me a job. [...] On the other hand as a Pakistani they also exploited me. It is positive and negative both.”
#C	Easy recruitment, food facility	“[...] Most of the time I was getting free food to eat during the shift and to take out.” “[...] I popped in with my CV and they hired me.”
#D	Easy recruitment, same cultural background, same religious beliefs	“[...] Some positive things are there working with co-ethnics. Like me and my boss have a similar background. My boss is a Muslim. So, he understands my needs and believes [...] he gives me free time for prayer.”
#E	Easy recruitment	“ [...] The only co-ethnic incentive in my eyes is that my boss gave me a job because of my ethnicity and I am glad for that [...]”
#F	Recruitment, overcome language barrier	“I think when you are looking for a job it does not matter which community is this but as I said before with similar community, there are some benefits. [...] When I came

		here, I did not know the system and had difficulty with the accents. So, my boss helped me a lot at that stage.”
#G	Flexible hours	“[...] We need flexible hours and by working at these places we get that. Some days we work more some days less. It depends on us. [...] As we always say ‘something is better than nothing. “
#H	Food facility, understanding, good working conditions	“[...] One of the best parts of working at Asian takeaways is the food facility. The dinner is free. We sometimes also used to get starters.” “In terms of my working conditions I have no issues at work. They really treat me good. [...] They give me free meals and then they also drop me after a job. My food is sorted. Everything else is also comfortable. No complaints [...]. I get less pay, but everything else compensates for that.”
#I	Good working conditions, friendly relations	“[...] I am extremely happy with my job. Not only because I am earning money but because of the people over there [...]. My boss and the way he runs that place. He is very particular about his business and he also takes very good care of his employees. [...] That does not mean he is lenient. He is very strict with the work, but he treats his employees like his family. So if it was just about money, I would never have felt this motivated to work because I am not paid enough. [...] but he is such a good person and he takes good care of people over there. So it is ok.”

#J	Mutual beneficial, understanding	<p>“[...] As far as my employer is concerned. We both share a similar background and it has been proven very good for me. I have heard stories that some employers exploit their employees, but my boss is very nice and understanding.”</p> <p>“[...] Working with co-ethnic employer makes me not feel discriminated plus makes me feel like participating in family business, family workloads [...].”</p>
#K	Legal pay, family terms, understanding, proper payment system	<p>“My boss was giving me £6, but they told it to me only because I was Kurdish. [...] others were getting £5 moreover, I was getting £7.50 after NI.”</p> <p>“My boss is very nice and supportive. I respect him a lot. We are like a family. They are also organised when I come and leave from my work. I sign my name at the register to keep a proper check on working hours. It is not very formal as large firms but still better than nothing. [...] Every week they count my hours and transfer the money to my bank account.”</p>
#L	Easy recruitment	<p>“I got a job easily just after my first meeting. [...] No other incentive.”</p>
#M	Easy recruitment	<p>“[...] This job came as a blessing because I was not getting any other job. As far as the level of job is concerned. If I were in my country, I would never have worked as a kitchen staff after getting my master’s degree because it is considered a low-level job with low-level pay.”</p>
#N	Easy recruitment	<p>“No other incentive working with a co-ethnic employer other than he provided me employment.”</p>
#O	Easy employment	<p>“it is easy for Asian people to get a job with Asians because the local people here are not very open to working with Asians. [...] So its good Asian businesses are out there and they are willing to employ their own people.”</p>

#P	No incentives	-----
#Q	Easy employment	“[...] got a job easily. Nothing else.”
#R	Easy recruitment	“[...] my friend referred me and I got the job. [...] I am not sure if co-ethnicity has to do something with this or they know only Asians will work at a low-level wage.”
#S	Easy recruitment	“[...] I applied at a couple of places online like Primark, Pound land but didn't get the job. [...] So, I came here, met my boss and they offered me the job after a small meeting.”
#T	Flexible hours	“We get to cash in hand. So we can get good shifts if we have spare time from studies. That is the only incentive for me.”
#U	No incentives	“They do not give us a job because of co-ethnicity or same culture. They want someone vulnerable and sadly migrant students are vulnerable.”
Employer's perception		
Employer X	Food facility	“They can eat and take food with them as well. I believe this is the biggest incentive for working here. It saves the main cost of students.”
Employer Y	Minimum pay scale, mutually beneficial	<p>“I pay them more than minimum. It is not cash in hand job. [...]. They start at £7.50 to more than £8. I increase the pay with the course of time and experience. I would rather pay this money to my people than others.”</p> <p>“International students are more hardworking. If your employee local people after some time they will quit for no reason. You cannot run a business with local staff. So in a way, we need them as much they need me [...].”</p>
Employer Z	Free food facility, flexible hours	“[...] I give them shifts as much as they need because I understand they need money to survive here. If they want more work, I do not mind offering that.”

		“We offer free food.”
Employer 1	Better employment and language learning opportunity	“[...] The students also prefer these jobs because these jobs allow them to gain better experience about working in the UK. The standards, laws and better communication skills. So after some time, they can apply for better jobs.”
Employer 2	Cultural understanding	“[...] I have students who are Indians. [...] On our religious occasions I invite them and I try to make them feel at home.”

Appendix 8: Email feedback regarding the interview guide

8/9/2018

Mail – Hira.Younas@hud.ac.uk

RE: Humble request for feedback

Michael Potter <mpotter02@qub.ac.uk>

Tue 17/04/2018 14:25

To: Hira Younas (Researcher) <Hira.Younas@hud.ac.uk>;

Dear Hira

Thank you for your email. Your research looks interesting and I am sure will be beneficial.

The questions look fine - they cover the key points regarding the issues. Just a few suggestions:

1. Questions 4 + 5 are very similar and could be asked as the same question
2. Question 6: you might want to offer a scale of language ability, so you can measure proficiency
3. Question 15: I would remove the last sentence, to keep the question open and not lead the participant
4. Question 16: Let's assume that the participant is willing to share the information
5. Question 20: I would leave out the prompt, as you might get some answers that are more interesting
6. Question 22: this is key to your research - I would leave this question open, rather than give two alternatives.

Regards

Michael

Michael Potter
Visiting Research Fellow
School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics
Queen's University Belfast

From: Hira Younas (Researcher) [Hira.Younas@hud.ac.uk]

Sent: 17 April 2018 10:11

To: Michael Potter

Subject: Humble request for feedback

Dear Professor

I hope this email finds you well

I am Hira Younas, a MRe student at University of Huddersfield. The aim of my research is to explore exploitation behavior towards migrant students working in co-ethnic SMEs. I will collect the data for my research through semi-structured interviews and document secondary data. The sample of my research are the students working in SMEs owned or managed by ethnic minorities.

I am getting in touch to ask if you can give me some feedback about the questions that I have prepared for the interviews. I would greatly appreciate it if you kindly give me this opportunity.

I have attached the interview questionnaire with this email. I have also attached a file includes brief aim, objectives and abstract of my research as I have relied on them to develop my interviews' questionnaire. I have read your work and its inspirational. Getting your feedback will boost my confidence and will count a lot for my work's validity.

I look forward to hearing from you.

All good wishes,

<https://outlook.office365.com/owa/?realm=unimail.hud.ac.uk>

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Appendix 9: Ethical form

THE UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD
Business School Research Ethics Committee

POSTGRADATE RESEARCH STUDENT ETHICAL REVIEW FORM

SECTION A: TO BE COMPLETED BY THE APPLICANT

Researcher(s) details	Hira Younas Student number: u1652189 Email: hira.younas@hud.ac.uk
Project title	The true cost of cheap labour: An intersectional study to understand exploitation towards immigrant students working in co ethnic SMEs
Award	Masters by research
Supervisor details	Dr Julie Davies Dr James Brooks
Project start date	11/05/17

SECTION B: PROJECT OUTLINE

<p>Issue</p>	<p>To fill the literature gap regarding migrant student employees and employer and to understand co-ethnic exploitation in SMEs using the intersectionality lens.</p>
<p>Aims and objectives of the study</p>	<p>Critically examining intersectionality for analysing exploitation of vulnerable migrant student Employee's and to understand the ideology of equality and discrimination in co ethnic SMEs.</p> <p>Research objectives:</p> <p>Objective 1: To explore the intersectional axis that makes a migrant student's identity vulnerable and exploitable based on gender, student/ migrant status, race/ethnicity, legal/illegal, temporary/permanent and sexual orientation. Objective 2: To understand the nature and extent to which SMEs exploit the vulnerable factors and situation of migrant student workers on wage, working condition, security, flexibility and at physiological level in an unfamiliar environment. Objective 3: Significance of race for migrants working in co-ethnic firms</p>
<p>Brief overview of research methodology</p>	<p>The nature of this study is exploratory. As this explorative study aims to provide some insight into the experience of the migrant employees.</p> <p>Qualitative approach will be used to collect data by semi structured interviews from a panel of migrant students and managers who have a range of experience in working in ethnic minority SMEs.</p> <p>Intersectional theory is used to identify develop and interconnect themes. The research will be</p>

	<p>concluded based on semi structured interviews, observations, and past literature. The data will be saved in the form of recordings, documents, observations and physical artefacts. The motive of using multiple sources is to compile a non-questionable finding and conclusion (Alam, 2005). To analyse the data, an interview guide will be provided. The interviews will be analysed by qualitative content analysis. To gather the more accurate results the author will use software; NVIVO.</p>
<p>Does your study require any permissions for study?</p>	<p>Not from the organisation or senior facility.</p>
<p>Participants</p>	<p>The selection will base on their immigrants with tier 4 student visa studying in college or university of Huddersfield, aged 19- 35. Along that male and female employers from ethnic minority SMEs. The interviews will be about 40-50 minutes. They will be provided one day or at least few hours earlier with the consent form and other information for appointment.</p>
<p>Access to participants</p>	<p>The participants (employees and employers) will be accessed on the bases of peer relations. Researcher being a student has easy access to students. The university email facility will also help to identify the research participants. The employers will also be accessed personally by visiting the SMEs and explaining the study.</p>
<p>How will your data be recorded and stored?</p>	<p>The interview will be audio recorded with some hand-written notes by interviewer and the interview</p>

	<p>will last approximately less than one hour.</p> <p>Interviews will later be transcribed into word documents. Participants will have the right not to be audio recorded. Audio recordings are recommended as it allows the researcher to capture the participants' words exactly as they were stated. No names of participants or firms will be mentioned. The information collected in a transcribed and analysed form will be kept in secure conditions for a period of 3 years at the University of Huddersfield.</p>
<p>Informed consent.</p>	<p>The employees and employers involved in this study will be provided with consent letter with the clear aims and objectives of this study. The letter will be explained verbally as well where required. The participants who will not sign the consent letter will not proceed with the project. As by signing this letter means that they understand the objectives and the terms of the study.</p>
<p>Right to withdraw</p>	<p>The participants will be informed through the written consent letter and before starting the interview that they have right to leave if it's not convenient or uncomfortable. If they disconnect with the interview there previously recorded information will also be excluded. As this research will discuss some sensitive issues. The participants will have complete freedom to withdraw at any point. Along that for this study before submitting the final research. The participants will be informed again about the information used. In case they feel uncomfortable the information will be changed,</p>

	rephrased or excluded to save the researcher or related authorities from any future inconvenience.
Confidentiality	The researcher will inform the employees and employer that no names of the participants or the SME will be mentioned in the final research paper. The participants will be informed, explained and assured the confidentiality personally and in written consent forms. Nothing will be used against any certain firm or participant now or in future. No names of participants or firms will be mentioned.
Anonymity	The participants will be referred as A, B, C etc. There interviews will not be video recorded, but it will be in form of audio. There audio recordings will also not be used in any presentation or discussions to avoid voice recognition of any participant.
Harm	This study will be discussing the emotional vulnerabilities of migrant student workers. As it will be a discussion about the distress moments can affect the mood but does not harm respondents (Susan et al., 2013). However, there have been studies that has proved that by discussing the negative and stressful events may disturb the mood and stress level, but it returns to bassline again, during the interview. In fact, by discussing those disturbing events the participants feel relieved, helpful and improves wellbeing (Newman et al., 1997). However, to avoid any risk the researcher will not discuss one’s details with other participants and will keep the anonymity a priority for this study.

Retrospective applications. No

SECTION C – SUMMARY OF ETHICAL ISSUES

Please give a summary of the ethical issues and any action that will be taken to address the issue(s).

Research ethics are impacted by ethical procedures, context and legal concerns (Wiles, 2012). The most common aspect of ethical consideration is regard for participant's independence, value, respect and impartiality (Annink, 2017). Along that, the participants will be given rights such as:

- Choose whether to participate in the research
- The participate will not be disturbed
- The participant will be informed about the research purpose
- The research results will be confidential if promised Intellectual right ethics (Wiles, 2013):
- The work of others will be acknowledged
- The data, research, and results will not be published without permission
- The results will be carefully monitored
- Social harm will be prevented.

Procedural ethics, these are the rules formed by Institutional Review Board (IRB) committees. This ensures fully informed agenda, adequately confidentiality, rights to privacy and protecting human subjects from any kind of harm. The second form is ethics in practice, or situational ethics, the kind that deals with the unpredictable situations, often discriminating,

yet ethically important situations that come up in the field (Goodwin, Pope, Mort, & Smith, 2003). In this research, all these situational ethics will be considered along with procedural. The points mentioned above will also be considered. However, in the case of negative feedback, the employees and employers will be informed of anonymous response and nothing will be added without their permission. The author will make sure that the employees and employer will sign the authentic form provided by the University. Their privacy will be considered. The supervisor will be informed about all the activities and the author will assure that the name of the people and places involved are confidential and anonymous. The ethical decisions will be under careful supervisor's management. Although, in case of any inconvenience the researcher will take complete responsibility.

Section D – additional documents checklist

I have included the following documents

Information sheet	Yes
Consent form	Yes
Letters	Yes
Questionnaire	Yes
Interview schedule	Yes

SECTION E – STATEMENT BY APPLICANT

I confirm that the information I have given in this form on ethical issues is correct.

and (for PGR students only)

Affirmation by Supervisor (where applicable)

I can confirm that, to the best of my understanding, the information presented by the applicant is correct and appropriate to allow an informed judgement on whether further ethical approval is required

Supervisor name/signature:

Date:

Name of applicant (electronic is acceptable)

Date

Information sheet

The true cost of cheap labour: An intersectional study to understand exploitation towards immigrant students working in co ethnic SMEs

Introduction

My name is Hira Younas and I am student of the University of Huddersfield. This research is about working experiences of migrant students working and studying in Huddersfield. To gain better understanding about this group's working experiences in co ethnic SMEs and their employer's perspective towards them.

You were selected to participate in this research study because you are a migrant student in Huddersfield and you are working in a SME. The purpose of this study is to understand the truth behind how and to what extent exploitation towards students is common or if the scenario is reverse.

What will I be asked to do?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked questions about your Working experiences and your personal background influence in ethnic SMEs.

The interview will be audio recorded with some hand-written notes by interviewer and will last approximately less than one hour. Interviews will later be transcribed into word documents. You have the right not to be audio recorded. Audio recordings are recommended as it allows the researcher to capture the participants' words exactly as they were stated. If you do not want to be recorded that is perfectly fine and the interview will proceed with only hand-written notes.

What are the risks involved in this study?

The risks associated with this study are minimal. However, there will be sensitive topics discussed throughout the interview, like migration experience, equality, and study and work life and discrimination experiences in the United Kingdom.

What are the possible benefits of this study?

You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study; however, your stories can bring the issues of migrant students into light. Along that the reality about working in co ethnic SMEs will be understood better. Also, your participation will help better address some of the current issues on two stimulating debated topics, like immigration and student workers in a

foreign country.

Do I have to participate?

No. Your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate or to withdraw at any time.

Who will know about my participation in this research study?

This study is confidential. Your name and the firm's identity will not be released. The records of this study will be kept private. No information linking you to the study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. If you decide to participate, you can refuse to answer any of the questions that may make you uncomfortable.

If you choose to participate in this study, you have the right to choose to be audio recorded. The audio recordings and transcriptions will be stored securely and only my supervisors will have access to the records. Any recordings will be kept for 5 years and then erased.

Whom do I contact with questions about the research?

You can contact me Hira Younas at 07488484468, hira.younas@hud.ac.uk, with any questions or concerns.

Participation

Please be sure you have read the above information, asked questions and received answers to your satisfaction. If you would like to be in the study, then the interviewer will schedule a time and place to meet. The interview questions are easy to understand and unbiased. I will be recording our conversation, but it will be highly confidential and nothing without your permission will be included. You will be free to leave the interview at any point.

If you would like more information regarding this research or the interview, please contact Hira Younas 07488484468.

Interviewee name:

Business

Job title

Date of interview

Interviewer name

Language of interview

Interview guide

Preliminary questions (demographic questions)

Migration/ educational history

1. Where are you from? When did you come here?
2. Where you are currently enrolled? What is your studies about? What is your level of qualification?
3. What is your current job?
 - The company deals with
 - Qualification required for this job
 - The basis of choosing the company/employee

Thank you very much! This concludes the demographic portion of the interview. Now we will begin the actual interview questions. Do you have any questions before we go any further? If not, then we are ready to begin. Thank you again for agreeing to participate

Primary questions (exploration of description) Migration and study Decisions:

4. Why did you decide and what motivated you to migrate and study in Huddersfield?
5. What made you decide to study in Huddersfield?
6. How would you rate your English language skills (speaking and understanding)?
7. Are you currently registered for payment of National insurance contributions?

Working decision:

8. Where you working and what are is it like?
 9. What is your job title and main duties?
 10. Are you paid worker? If yes, would you like to share how much you are paid per week?
£100 or less
-£101- £150
 11. Is your current job temporary, permanent, seasonal, contract based?
 12. Do you have written employment contract or job description?
 13. What are your basic working hours?
- Perceptions of exploitation and Discrimination:
14. What do you feel about being migrant in a country like UK?

15. What is it like for a migrant student to work in a SME? Do you find it challenging?
 16. Is there any pay deduction based on accommodation, national insurance number, food etc.? If yes, would you like to share the information?
 17. Have you felt discrimination, if so would you like to describe your experiences and how it affected you? (Analysis if they felt discrimination based on race, gender, migration, student, etc.)
 18. What do you feel when someone mentions about racism in UK? Please explain
 19. Your opinion about
 - rates of pay
 - Hours availability -
 - level of job
 - the way you are treated by employer/ the way employees treat you Intra-Ethnic Relations:
 20. How did you find your current job?
 - a. -friends/relatives, agency, website, contacted the employer personally after arriving UK
 21. In your opinion is there a positive link between co ethnic background and employment probabilities for immigrants in Huddersfield, UK?
 22. Do you believe co ethnic employment brings incentives or is there a divide between these groups? Please explain
- Closing questions**
23. Is there anything else you will like to share?
 24. In your opinion, did the questions seems clear or should I change anything?
 25. Can I contact you in future to clarify the shared information?
 26. Do you know anyone who might be interesting sharing their story?

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: The true cost of cheap labour: An intersectional study to understand exploitation towards immigrant students working in co ethnic SMEs

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this study as outlined in the information sheet version X, dated 00:00:00	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to taking part in this the study	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research	<input type="checkbox"/>
I give permission for my words to be quoted	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that the information collected will be in kept secure conditions for a period of 3 years at the University of Huddersfield	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that no person other than the researcher will have access to the information provided	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will be included in any report	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project, please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

<p>Signature of Participant:</p> <hr/> <p>Print:</p> <hr/> <p>Date:</p> <hr/>	<p>Signature of Researcher:</p> <hr/> <p>Print:</p> <hr/> <p>Date:</p> <hr/>
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Invitation Letter - Qualitative study

Invitation to participate in the research project titled:

The true cost of cheap labour: An intersectional study to understand exploitation towards Immigrant students working in co ethnic SMEs

Dear (fellow student),

We are conducting interviews as part of a research study to increase our understanding about the experiences of migrant students working in SMEs. As a student you are in an ideal position to give us valuable first-hand information from your own perspective. The interview takes around 40-50 minutes and is very informal. We are simply trying to capture your thoughts and perspectives on being a student worker. Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential. Each interview will be assigned a number code to help ensure that personal identifiers are not revealed during the analysis and write up of findings. There is no compensation for participating in this study. However, your participation will be a valuable addition to our research and findings could lead to greater understanding about employee treatment in SMEs. If you are willing to participate please suggest a day and time that suits you and I'll do my best to be available.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

Thank you very much for reading this letter,

Yours sincerely,

Hira Younas

The University of Huddersfield