

Do Oppositional Identities Reduce Employment for Ethnic Minorities? Evidence from England.

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Ethnicity

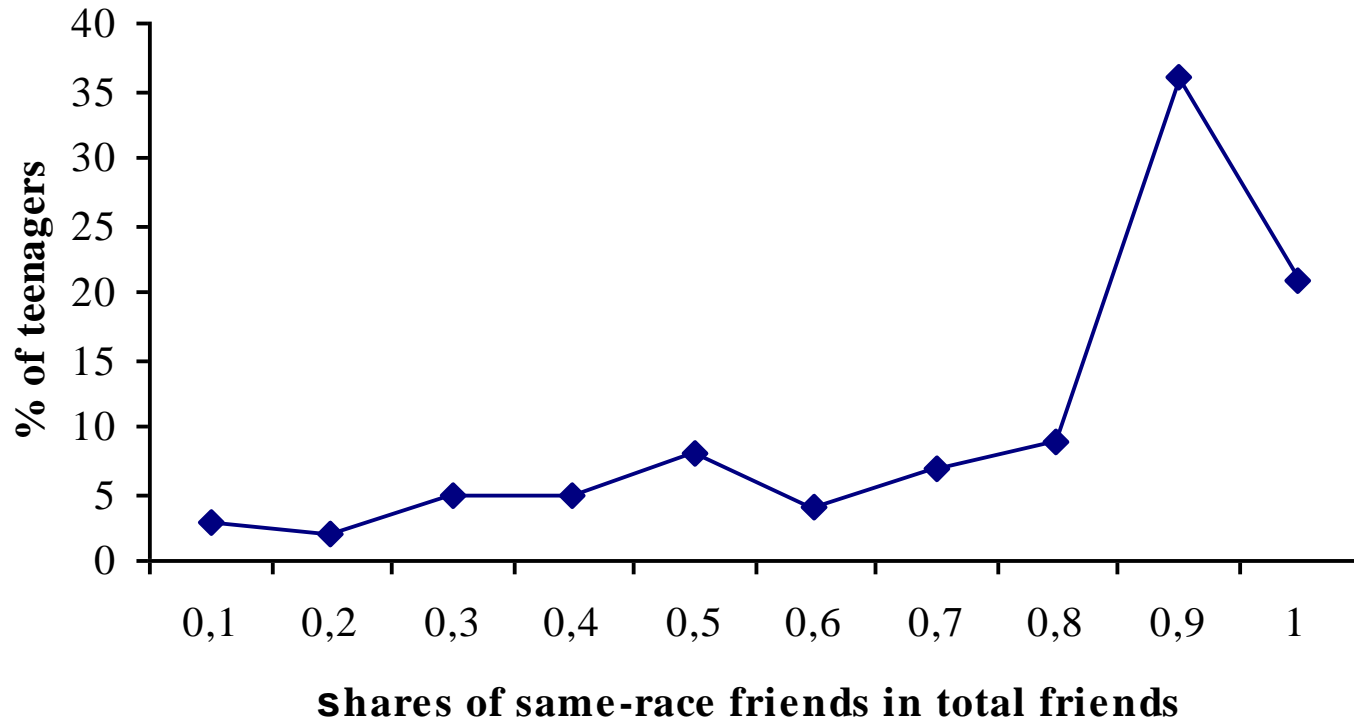
- April 1992: Rodney King, Race Riots
- Summer 2001: Ethnic riots in the north of England
- November 2005: Ethnic Riots in Paris' suburbs

- Issue of racial and ethnic identity: At the forefront of political debate in the United States and in Europe.

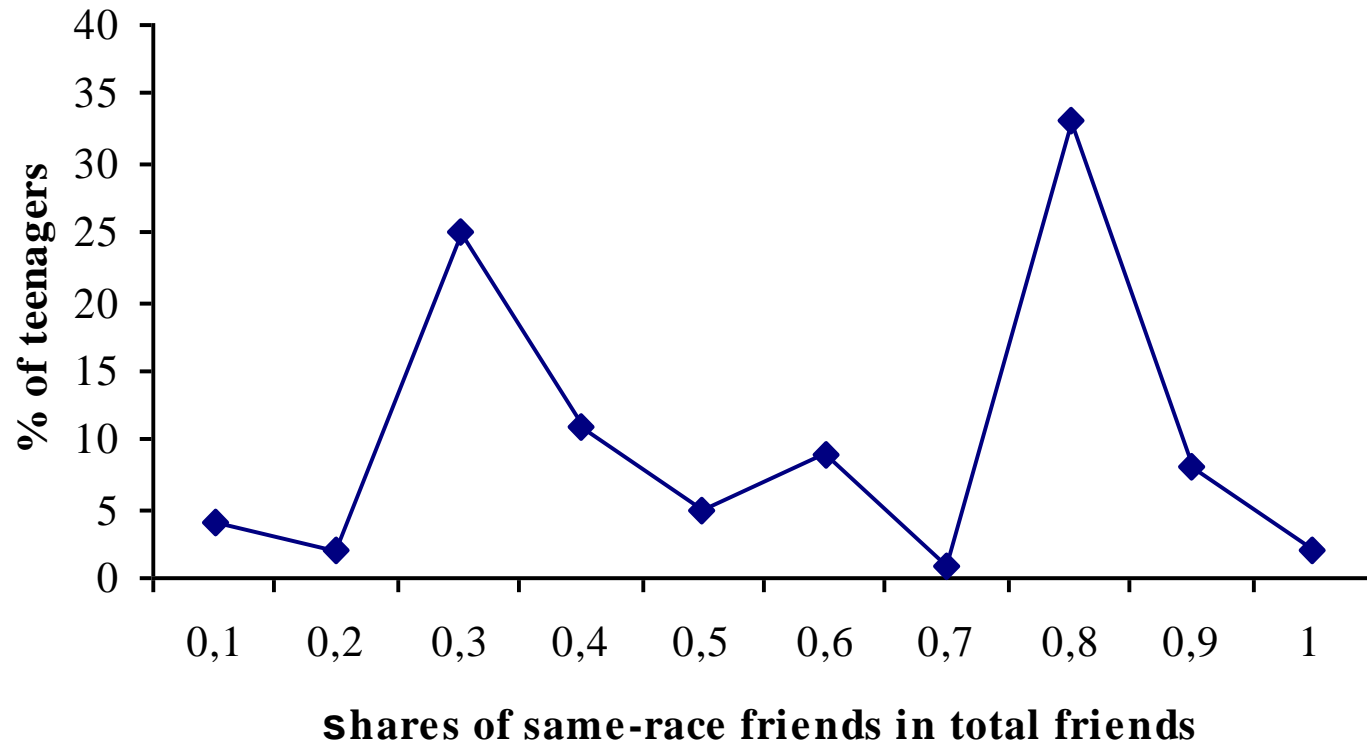
Ethnic identity

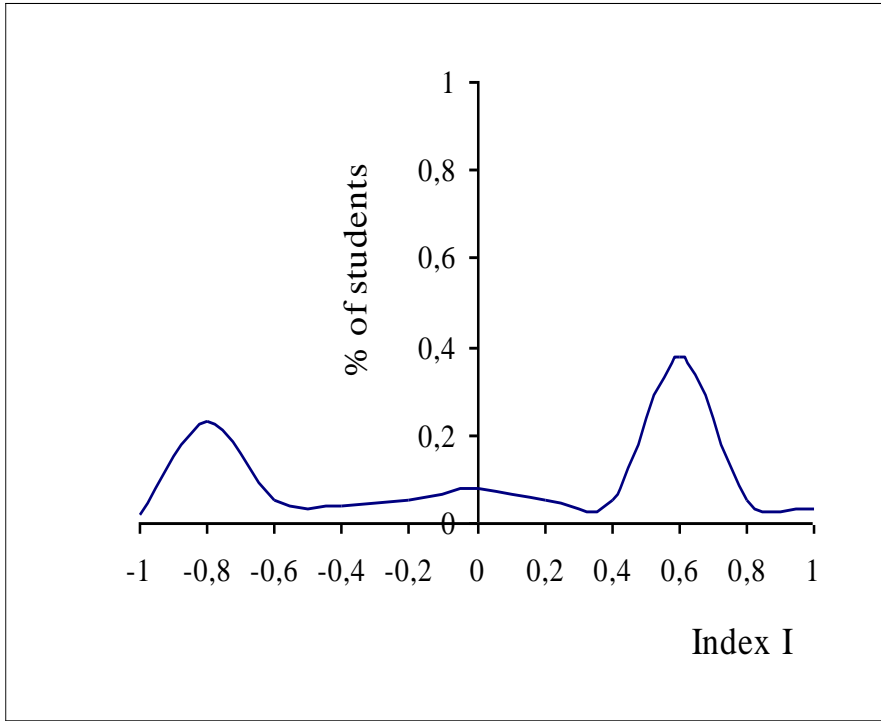
- Ethnicity: Long standing debate in the US, relatively new in Europe
- Ethnic identity: important

Friendships for *white* teenagers in the US

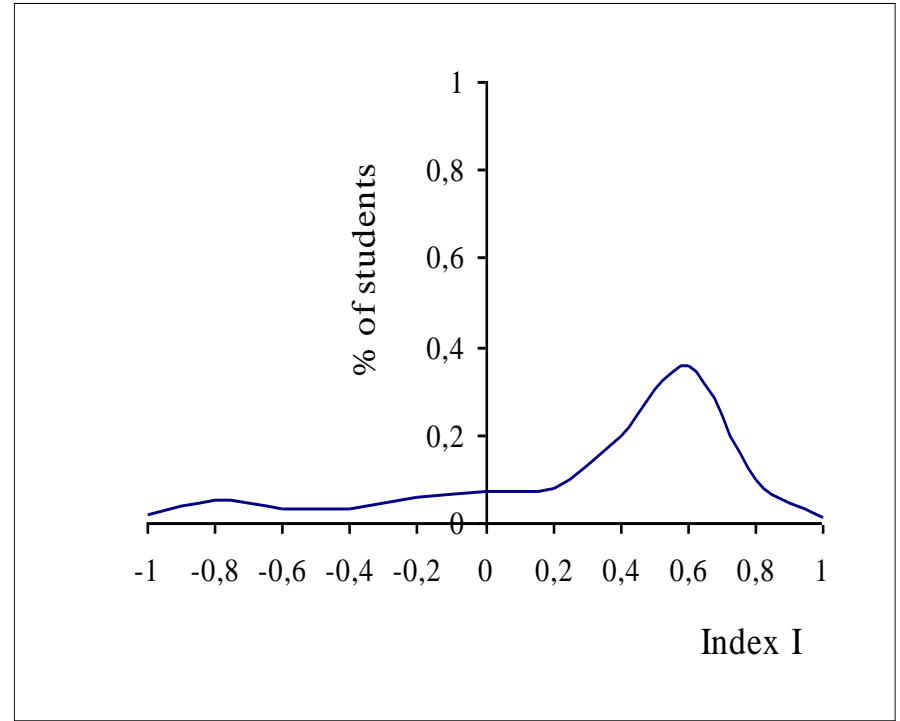


Friendships for *black* teenagers in the US



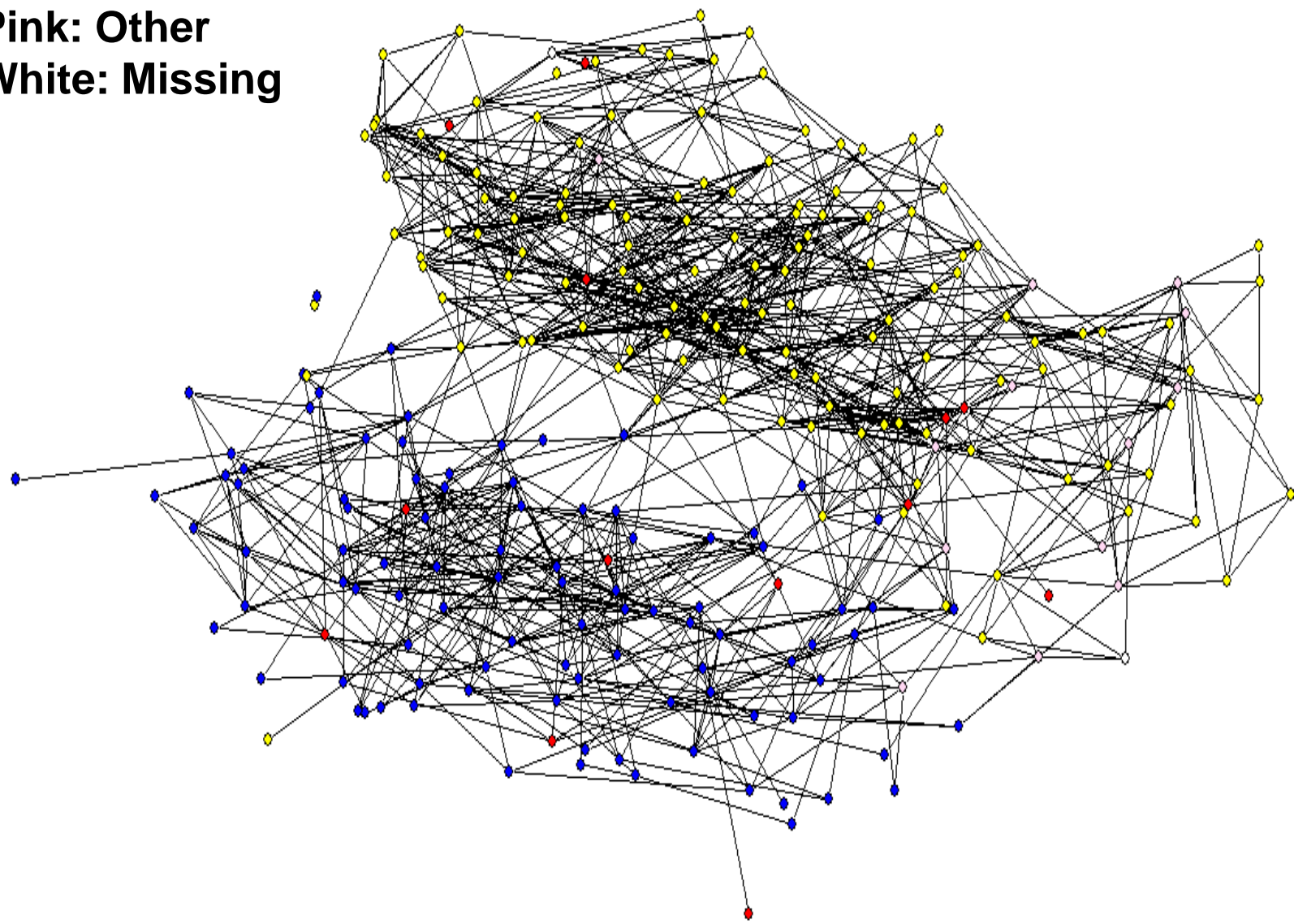


Blacks in integrated schools



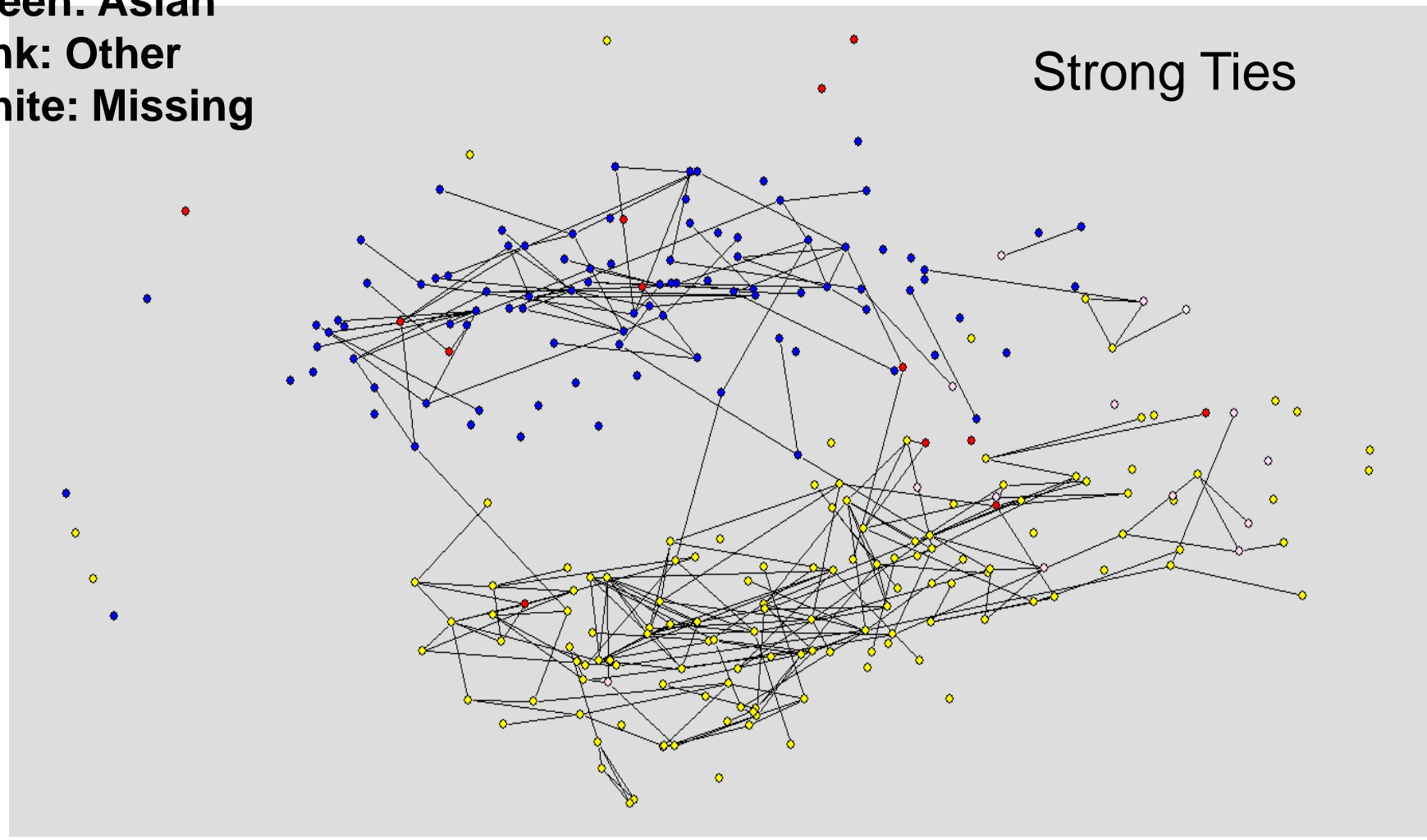
Whites in integrated schools

Yellow: Whites
Blue: Blacks
Reds: Hispanics
Green: Asian
Pink: Other
White: Missing



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Strong Ties



Construction of Acculturation Identity

To what degree do you feel affinity to Swedish culture?

Completely or Partially

Little or Not At All

To what degree do you feel affinity to your original background culture?

Little or Not At All Completely or Partially

Integrated	Separated
Assimilated	Marginalized

Oppositional identity

- Acting White: set of social interactions in which Black adolescents ridicule other black adolescents for investing in behaviors characteristic of whites
- Oppositional identities: African Americans: some actively reject the dominant ethnic behavioral norms while others totally assimilate to it

Empirical literature

- Fryer and Torelli (2005): USA
- Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier, Zenou (2008): UK
- Constant and Zimmerman (2008): Germany (and many other papers)
- Pendakur and Pendakur (2005) : Canada
- Nekby and Rödén (2007) : Sweden

Data and Descriptive Statistics

- Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (FNSEM) collected in 1993/94 by the Policy Studies Institute (PSI).

Table 1: Unemployment rate

Ethnic group	Sample size	% of all ethnic groups	Unemployment rate
White	1918	-	0.107
Caribbean	934	0.220	0.263
Indian	1016	0.239	0.167
African Asian	610	0.144	0.126
Bangladeshi/Pakistani	1491	0.351	0.499
Bangladeshi	497	0.117	0.566
Pakistani	994	0.234	0.435
Chinese	195	0.046	0.056

Table 2: In many ways I think of myself as British (%)

	Caribbean	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Strongly agree	20.09	13.98	25.79	22.53	14.23	10.00
Agree	37.77	43.69	45.28	37.55	41.90	38.00
Neither	8.30	13.40	10.69	16.21	20.55	11.00
Disagree	24.02	23.30	16.04	15.22	18.58	33.00
Strongly disagree	9.83	5.63	2.20	8.50	4.74	8.00
N	458	515	318	506	253	100

Table 3: In many ways I think of myself as[Respondent's ethnic group] (%)

	Caribbean	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Strongly agree	49.89	39.81	43.71	44.36	49.61	53.00
Agree	34.06	47.57	42.14	41.78	44.09	40.00
Neither	6.50	7.18	8.80	9.70	2.75	1.00
Disagree	7.59	4.85	4.72	2.57	3.15	4.00
Strongly disagree	1.95	0.58	0.63	1.58	0.39	2.00
N	461	515	318	505	254	100

Table 4: If a close relative were to marry a white person (%)

	Caribbean	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Would not mind	82.43	51.87	66.25	38.61	49.60	84.69
Mind a little	6.51	10.02	11.04	11.09	9.20	6.12
Mind very much	8.24	27.89	13.56	36.83	33.20	7.14
Can't say	2.82	10.22	9.15	13.47	8.00	2.05
N	461	509	317	505	250	98

Table 5: How important is ethnicity in choosing a school? (%)

	Caribbean	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Very important	15.94	6.81	8.44	12.06	16.21	3.03
Fairly important	20.74	16.15	15.31	16.60	18.58	7.07
Not very important	16.16	13.42	10.31	15.02	16.21	15.15
No influence	44.32	57.78	59.06	47.23	38.34	73.74
Can't say	2.84	5.84	6.88	9.09	10.67	1.01
N	458	514	320	506	253	99

Table 6: What proportion of one's ethnic group would you like in your children's school? (%)

	Caribbean	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Fewer than half	16.67	11.07	14.42	9.49	14.17	23.23
About half	35.06	18.83	20.06	28.06	30.31	7.07
More than half	4.11	1.55	1.57	5.14	5.12	1.01
No preference	40.69	63.11	56.11	48.62	40.94	68.69
Can't say	3.46	5.44	7.84	8.70	9.45	0.00
N	462	515	319	506	254	99

Table 7: Oppositional identity variables

Variable	Description	Mean	Std. Dev.
Nbrit	1 if strongly disagree that in many ways I think of myself as British, 0 if neither agree or disagree, agree, disagree, strongly agree and can't say.	0.067	0.250
Oethnic	1 if strongly agree that in many ways I think of myself as being of the original ethnic group (e.g. Indian, Pakistani etc), 0 if neither agree nor disagree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree and can't say.	0.456	0.498
Smind	1 if mind very much if a relative marries a white person, 0 if does not mind, mind very little and can't say.	0.190	0.392
Schcon	1 if prefers school for children with half or more of the pupils being from his or her own ethnic group.	0.288	0.453
Opid	1 if extremely oppositional (at least two of nbrit, oethnic, smind or schcon equal to one), 0 otherwise	0.0867	0.2815

Empirical strategy

- Two stages.
- First, by focusing on our ethnic groups, we will try to decipher the types of factors that drive the strength of identity for non-whites.
- Second, we will try and gauge the impact of this identity strength on the probability of being employed.

Instrumental variables

- The strength of an individual's identity may be endogenous.
- A lack of success in the labor market may induce or encourage some to adopt identities that are out of kilter with majority values.
- Two-stage instrumental variable estimation:
 - First stage we estimate a set of oppositional identity probit equations with appropriate instruments.
 - Second stage, we insert the predicted values into the employment probit.

Instrumental variables

- The preference's equation is identified with a set of appropriate instruments that capture the influence of prior experiences or preferences.
- The instruments include whether individuals have experienced racial harassment (Rharra), if their parents made the decision in choosing their wife or husband (Arrmar) and if they prefer a school of their own religion for their children (Schrelig).

What determines an oppositional identity?

- Having experienced racial harassment leads ethnic individuals to strongly reject British culture and all that is associated with it (interracial marriage, school mixing, etc.)
- Those who prefer a school of their own religion are consistently more likely to be oppositional.
- Having experienced an arranged marriage is positively related to an oppositional stance.

What determines an oppositional identity?

- Attachments to the culture of origin (language, religion,) and social environment (family, friends, neighbors) are key factors.
- Being fluent in English indicates less of an oppositional identity.
- Language fluency helps individuals adopt mainstream values.
- Being UK born is associated with a less oppositional stance.
- The longer an individual has been in the UK, the less hostile they are to being British and the less they emphasize their own ethnic group.

What determines an oppositional identity?

- Living in a high ethnic concentration area (over a third of the population in your area is from your own ethnic group) seems to reinforce any oppositional stance since this makes it more likely that individuals will strongly disagree with being British and raises the probability that individuals strongly align themselves with their own ethnic group.
- Being married to someone from another ethnic group suggests that individuals choose to adopt the white's norm and, in particular, to strongly agree with being British.

What are the effects on employment?

- Non-whites who strongly disagree with the notion of being British are less likely to be employed (by around 7%).
- Those who strongly disagree with inter-marriages incur an employment probability penalty of around 6.5%.

What are the effects on employment?

- Linguistic advantage for those who are fluent in English.
- The longer non-whites have been in the UK, the more likely they are to work.
- Living in an ethnically concentrated neighborhood reduces the probability of being in employment (endogeneity problem)

What are the effects on employment?

- Being married either within ones own group or outside is associated with a higher probability of being in employment relative to being single and the effect is larger for those who marry outwith their own community (20% as opposed to 13-15%).

What are the effects on employment?

- Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, who are both overwhelmingly Muslim, are less likely to be employed relative to Indians