Chinese restaurant workers in Sweden: policies, patterns and social consequences

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PREFACE

The International Organization for Migration (IOM)’s ‘Capacity Building for Migration Management in China’ (CBMM China) Project is a broad cooperation project designed to strengthen the development of Europe-China cooperation and exchange on migration management issues through the targeted exchange of personnel, expertise and information. From 2007 to 2010, CBMM China Phase I reached nearly 400 senior public officials and 1.5 million potential migrants. From 2011 to 2013, CBMM China Phase II aims to build on these achievements, and will prioritise the training of both central and provincial-level officials, conduct research in both China and Europe, as well as providing migration policy advice on emerging issues.

The project is managed by the IOM with the International Labour Organization (ILO) as its implementing partner. The €2 million project is principally funded by the European Commission with co-funding from IOM, the International Labour Organization, Italy and the United States. Key Chinese government partners include the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Public Security, Commerce and Civil Affairs. The project also has seven European Union Member State (EU MS) partners, who will lend their technical support. IOM’s EU partners are Italy, Hungary, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Czech Republic and Germany, as well as the EU’s Frontex Agency.

Since 2007 both the IOM and the ILO have carried out research on Chinese migration to Europe, working conditions of Chinese workers in Europe, and EU and Chinese rules and regulations affecting cross-border employment and migration. Further in-depth case studies are proposed under ‘Phase 2’ of the Project in two EU MS: Sweden and Hungary. The purpose of these studies is to provide additional information and insights on both irregular and regular Chinese migration to Europe, including the impact of the different migration channels on migrant working conditions, so as to contribute to more effective bilateral policy and management initiatives.

The research findings will serve as a knowledge base for dialogue between the Chinese authorities and those of destination countries on managing migration trends from China. The findings will also be used to promote cooperation between China and EU countries on reducing the vulnerability of migrants to forced labour and trafficking, as well as identifying future labour market needs for Chinese migration.
1. Introduction

In December 2008, Sweden passed one of the most liberal labour immigration policies among the OECD countries. Rising concerns about demographic forecasts and increasing labour shortages in specific sectors had prompted the Swedish government to reconsider its immigration policy. For a long time, family reunification and humanitarian migration had been the main immigration channels to Sweden (Cerna 2009). The aim of the new policy was thus to increase the volume of labour immigration into Sweden, which at the time was one of the lowest in the world (Ministry of Justice 2008; OECD 2011).

Sweden’s current labour immigration policy is uniquely liberal in two ways. First, unlike most OECD countries, Sweden does not impose skill requirements or numerical limits on labour immigration from countries outside the EU and EEA (OECD 2011, p. 67). This means that Sweden invites individuals from countries outside the EU and EEA to migrate to Sweden for work purposes regardless of their level of education. Only a valid work permit is needed in order to make a national of a country outside the EU and EEA eligible for work in Sweden. Secondly, after four years of working in Sweden, nationals of countries outside the EU and EEA may apply for a permanent residence permit.

While the effectiveness and impact of the policy reform on the Swedish labour market have been assessed (e.g. Cerna 2009; OECD 2011), little attention has been devoted to exploring in depth the employment and working conditions of the nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA who currently work in Sweden. In this report, we address this gap by focusing on Chinese migrant workers in the Swedish restaurant industry. This category of workers and this industry are of particular relevance for several reasons. First, the increasing number of Chinese migrant workers in the Swedish restaurant industry is representative of another trend in the Swedish labour market: the increasing flows of lower-skilled labour migration in certain low-wage industries. Secondly, outside the European Union, China is one of now the main countries of origin for labour migrants to Sweden. Thirdly, the majority of Chinese nationals who come to Sweden to work are employed in the restaurant industry.

The purpose of this report is to use a case study of Chinese migrant workers in the Swedish restaurant industry to examine recent trends in Chinese migration to Sweden and the working conditions of Chinese restaurant workers against the backdrop of the new labour immigration policy and Swedish labour and employment law. The first section of the report sets out Sweden’s new policy for labour immigration. Next, it discusses the patterns of Chinese migration to Sweden and the channels through which Chinese restaurant workers are recruited. The third section of the report outlines the key protection mechanisms provided by labour and employment law in Sweden. Thereafter, it analyses the working conditions of Chinese restaurant workers in Sweden. The analysis focuses on five themes: (1) working conditions, (2) taxation, (3) the permanent residence permit, (4) the relationship between employers and their employees and (5) the Chinese workers’ understanding of the “Swedish model” for industrial relations. Finally, we summarise the findings of the research and propose topics for policy consideration.
The report is based on a combination of methods. These include desk-top research on Sweden’s labour immigration framework and labour and employment law, register-based data, and an interview study with Chinese workers and employers. Sweden’s legislative framework was primarily explored through a review of legal and government documents and previous studies. The migration patterns from China to Sweden were explored using register-based data from Statistics Sweden and the longitudinal database PLACE. Interviews with Chinese restaurant workers and employers are drawn upon in order to further contextualise these migration patterns. Interview work, relevant previous research, official statistics and Internet sources in both Chinese and English were used to outline the geographic origins of Chinese chefs, the Chinese chefs’ motivations for migrating to Sweden and the recruitment channels involved. Working conditions in the Chinese restaurant industry were examined based on in-depth interviews with twelve Chinese workers, employed as chefs, and two female Chinese restaurant owners. In order to protect the interviewees, they have been anonymised and given random Chinese surnames in the report. The chefs interviewed were all male and between the ages of 28 and 46. They migrated to Sweden between 2008 and 2010 to work in Chinese restaurants. Seven of them work in Stockholm, three in Malmö, one in Gävle and one in Västerås. Additionally, the report draws upon interviews with the Hotel and Restaurant Union and the Swedish Migration Board,¹ and knowledge received from participation in discussions between migration experts consisting of both researchers and policy makers.

The interview sample of this study is rather small for several reasons. Finding migrant workers and employers willing to be interviewed and further establishing relationships of trust was both a big challenge and time-consuming. Given the sensitivity of most questions in the research, it was very difficult to reach interviewees by visiting Chinese restaurants. First of all, to reach the migrant workers who work in the kitchens required going through the employers, who were usually present in the restaurants, and no worker would accept an interview proposal in the presence of their employer. Secondly, migrant workers did not like to disclose their workplaces. Nearly all the interviewees refused to provide the names of their workplaces. Thirdly, employers, especially large employers, usually had no interest in being interviewed. Instead, one of our researchers found the interviewees through her private network and through contacting people on an e-forum for Chinese people in Sweden. Potential interviewees in large cities, especially Stockholm, were prioritised but those in smaller cities were not excluded. Given the aim of this report is to explore the impact of the new labour immigration policy, recent migrant workers arriving soon after the new policy started were focused on, which also limited the pool of potential interviewees. A few potential interviews could not be conducted in the end owing to sudden changes in the workers’ working schedules. Long working hours, uncertain times of weekly rest, collective living and accommodation in remote locations all posed challenges to arranging interviews. Finally, twelve migrant workers were interviewed. Most of the interviews were conducted in physical meetings in public places such as cafes but the three migrant workers in Malmö were interviewed on the phone due to the long distances they would have had to travel. The twelve interviewees were reached individually, were not related to one another and did not work in the same places. Snowball sampling in order to reach new interviewees was almost impossible because no interviewees except one would let their peers know they were being interviewed.

¹ The interview with the Swedish Migration Board was conducted within the project entitled “Grapes of Wrath? Mobilities, global value chains and social effects on rural labour markets within the berry industry”, led by Charlotta Hedberg.
Despite its small size, the sample includes interviewees from different parts of Sweden and both large cities, like Stockholm and Malmö, and small ones such as Västerås and Gävle are represented, which enables a better understanding of Chinese restaurant workers’ working conditions at a national level. The interviews were conducted in depth according to a list of key questions. Each interview lasted between one and two hours and the interviewees were given time to elaborate on their responses to mostly open questions. The interviewees were quite active during the interviews and a good level of trust guaranteed the quality of the interview results. We therefore believe the findings have produced diverse insights and a complex picture of what happens in the industry, which could provide a foundation for further research. However, since the workers who have been interviewed are chefs, i.e. those at the top of the hierarchy among workers in the restaurant industry, the results are based on the opinions of those workers who have a somewhat stronger position in Swedish society. Hence, the reader should be aware that the working conditions among other groups, such as kitchen helpers, could be worse. More vulnerable Chinese restaurant workers could not be reached for interviews during the time of this study and the researcher instead asked the chefs interviewed to comment on their working conditions.

2. Sweden’s labour immigration policy

In this section, the focus is on Sweden’s new labour immigration policy for the recruitment of nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA. The new policy came into force on 15 December 2008 after nearly a decade of policy discussions in Sweden. The new regime was the outcome of an agreement between the centre-right Swedish government and the Green Party (Miljöpartiet) regarding a number of amendments to the Aliens Act. The section is divided into three parts. The first part explores Sweden’s labour immigration policy reform. In the second part the focus is shifted to the procedures currently associated with obtaining a permit to work in Sweden. Finally, the recent introduction of more stringent requirements for employers in the restaurant industry is considered.

2.1. Sweden’s labour immigration policy reform

Immigration plays a significant role in Sweden. In 2011, foreign-born people accounted for 15 per cent of the Swedish population (Statistics Sweden u.d.). Between 1972 and 2008, however, Sweden had a very restrictive approach to labour immigration. According to the OECD (2011, p. 41), during that period, Sweden had one of the lowest levels of discretionary labour migration among the OECD countries relative to its population. Instead, family reunification and humanitarian migration were the main channels of immigration (see e.g. Cerna 2009).

Prior to the 2008 reform, two types of labour migration were most common in Sweden: short-term employment to cover temporary labour shortages and permanent status awarded to highly

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2 See Records of the proceedings of the Chamber (2008/09:26, 22 §); Act amending the Aliens Act (2005:716). The following sections were amended: 5 section 5, 10, 18, 23 §§, 6 section 2 §, 7 section 3 §. The following sections were added: 5 section 15 a §, 6 section 2 a §, 12 section 12 a § (Act amending the Aliens Act 2005:716).

3 Discretionary labour migration refers to migration that is “subject to policy decisions, such as labour migration, or selective migration programmes, ranging from points-based recruitment to refugee resettlement or visas granted by lottery”. Non-discretionary labour migration, by contrast, refers to migration outside policy decisions and over which national governments have limited control, including migration within free-movement areas and migration of foreign family members of citizens (OECD 2011, p. 52).
specialised occupations (OECD 2011, p. 57). During this period, all decisions regarding labour migration were based on the Public Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen)’s assessment of the Swedish labour market. The Public Employment Service approved work permit applications only when labour already present in Sweden or in the EU/EEA could not cover labour shortages. Its guidelines for the evaluation of work permit applications specifically stated that work permits must not primarily be approved in sectors of the labour market where the difficulties in recruiting locally could be attributed to low wages or poor working environments. Furthermore, the Public Employment Service evaluated the offer of employment in order to make sure that the number of working hours would enable the employee to sustain a reasonable standard of living during their stay in Sweden, and that accommodation had been arranged. Similarly to the current system, an evaluation was also conducted by trade unions to ensure that the working conditions were in line with collective agreements or prevailing practice within the profession or sector. According to the government’s proposal for a new policy for labour immigration, the Public Employment Service would normally follow the recommendation of the trade union when evaluating applications (Government Bill 2007/08:147, pp.17, 19).

By the late 1990s, however, the Swedish government began to express concern about demographic forecasts and labour shortages in specific sectors. The Swedish Migration Board (Migrationsverket) and the National Labour Market Board (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen) were subsequently invited to investigate the possibilities of increasing the recruitment of specialists in IT, education and healthcare. Their joint report resulted in changes to the Aliens Act, which took effect on 1 April 2002. These changes allowed for exemptions from work permits in certain sectors for a maximum of one year.

Shortly thereafter, in February 2004, the then opposition – the centre-right parties, with support from the Green Party – appointed a Parliamentary Committee on migrant workers. The committee was charged with recommending a policy reform intended to increase labour migration to Sweden from outside the EU/EEA and Switzerland (OECD 2011, p. 61). The committee’s proposal was published in October 2006. It recommended that labour market shortages should continue to provide the basis for the assessment of applications. The committee also proposed that the previous housing requirement should be lifted and that a minimum wage requirement should be introduced (Swedish Government Official Reports SOU 2006:87).

After the 2006 election Sweden changed its government. The centre-right coalition, which had appointed the Parliamentary Committee on migrant workers two years earlier, replaced the Social Democratic minority government. In 2007, the new government presented a memorandum, which, in part, represented an alternative to the proposal presented by the Parliamentary Committee on migrant workers (Ministry of Justice, Ministry publications series Ds 2007:27). Later the same year a reform was introduced that incorporated many, but not all, of the committee’s recommendations.4

The amendments to the Aliens Act, which came into force on 15 December 2008, transformed Sweden’s labour immigration policy into an entirely demand-driven system. This means that the Public Employment Service’s evaluation of work permit applications – which was based upon an

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assessment of the labour market shortages – was terminated. Instead, each employer’s identification of a need to recruit labour from countries outside the EU and EEA represents the basis for the Swedish Migration Board’s evaluation of work permit applications (Government Bill 2007/08:147, p. 25). In practice this means that employers can now recruit workers in sectors of the labour market where unemployment is already high. According to a representative of the Hotel and Restaurant Union, the restaurant industry represents a sector of the Swedish labour market where unemployment rates are high – around ten per cent – but where workers are still recruited from countries outside the EU and EEA (Interview with the Hotel and Restaurant Union).

2.2. Current procedure in Sweden

The new policy allows the Swedish Migration Board to issue work permits for up to two years. During the first two years the permit is restricted to a specific occupation and employer. However, the worker whose employment is terminated or who decides to leave their employment may remain in Sweden for up to three months while searching for new employment with a similar job description provided that their work permit is still valid. Nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA may apply for an extension to the permit for a second period of two years. After having worked in Sweden for four years, the person may apply for a permanent residence permit (Government Bill 2007/08:147, pp. 28-32). As we shall see later, the residence status of migrant workers plays a key role as far as the individual worker’s capacity to negotiate earnings and working hours are concerned.

Under the new regime, there are no skill requirements and no caps or quotas to restrict the number of permits issued. Employers may recruit from countries outside the EU and EEA for any occupation provided that:

- the European Union’s Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) has been adhered to (Government Bill 2007/08:147, pp. 36-37),
- the terms of employment offered are in line with collective agreements or prevailing practice within the profession or sector in Sweden (Government Bill 2007/08:147, p. 26), and
- in practice, the employee is offered an income of approximately SEK 13,000 per month before tax (Swedish Migration Board 2012e), a sum well below that offered by the lowest collective agreement in Sweden (OECD 2011, p. 63).

In order to ensure that the working conditions, including the salary offered, are in line with the standards of the Swedish labour market, a statement from the trade union with which the employer has signed a collective agreement or, in the absence of a collective agreement, from the union that organises workers in the occupation concerned must be included with each application (Swedish Migration Board 2012e). Employers wanting to employ restaurant workers must obtain a statement from the Hotel and Restaurant Union (Hotell- och restaurangfacket). According to a union representative, in 2011, the Hotel and Restaurant Union received around 2,700 offers of

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5 Employers are asked to advertise the position for at least ten days on the Swedish job bank (Platsbanken) and/or the European Job Mobility Portal (EURES) in order to demonstrate that EU preference has been observed. However, a labour market test is not required if an employer takes on a previous employee for a second time or if the employee works for a temporary staffing agency (Swedish Migration Board 2012c).
employment \((\text{anställningserbjudande})\) from employers in Stockholm County who wished to employ labour from countries outside the EU and EEA. The union’s evaluation of the offer of employment focuses on the pay offered, whether the workplace is covered by a collective agreement and on the employer’s insurance policy. If the pay specified in the offer of employment is below the recommended wage in the industry – approximately SEK 18,000-20,000 for the hotel and restaurant industry, depending upon the type of work – or if there is no collective agreement, the union always recommends that the application be rejected. In such cases, it is not uncommon for employers who initially did not meet these requirements to get in contact with the union to renegotiate the employment conditions. If and when the union’s requirements are met, the Hotel and Restaurant Union will provide the employer with a statement that speaks in their favour (Interview with the Hotel and Restaurant Union).

Once an offer of employment and the trade union statement have been received, it is the worker who applies for the work permit. The application is filled in on the Swedish Migration Board’s webpage or at the relevant Swedish Embassy or General Consulate abroad. In addition to the offer of employment – which should contain information about the employer, the job, the wages and other conditions – the applicant should submit copies of the pages of their passport containing personal data, period of validity and permission to live abroad together with the trade union statement. Citizens of certain countries, including China, also need visas to enter Sweden (Government Offices of Sweden 2012). Visa applications should be submitted at the relevant Swedish mission abroad (Swedish Migration Board 2012b, 2012e). The worker generally pays the application fees at the beginning of the process. The fees are SEK 2,000 for a new work permit application and SEK 1,000 for an extension to a work permit (Swedish Migration Board 2012f).

2.3. More stringent requirements for employers of restaurant employees

A year or two after the new policy regime was introduced, the Swedish Migration Board concluded that the requirements regarding terms of employment and wage levels were being repeatedly violated in certain industries, especially in the berry picking industry. In 2011, the Swedish Migration Board subsequently decided to alter the application of the amended Aliens Act. The result was the introduction of more stringent requirements for employers in the berry picking industry (Interview with the Swedish Migration Board). On 16 January 2012, these requirements were extended to include the cleaning, hotel and restaurant, construction, trade, automobile repair, service, and temporary staffing industries (Swedish Migration Board 2012a).6

Employers in these industries must now demonstrate their ability to cover the employees’ wages for at least the first three months. Bank statements, previous and current income statements, and balance sheets may be used as verification. If the business has previously employed nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA, the employer must also provide their tax account statements for the past three months. Finally, if the employer’s business is registered in a country outside the European Union, the employer must register a branch with the Swedish Companies Registration \((\text{Bolagsverket})\) (Swedish Migration Board 2012a). The latter is to ensure that the business has representation in Sweden such that Swedish trade unions or individual employees may initiate

\[6\] industries with the following Swedish Standard Industrial Classification (SNI) codes are covered by more stringent requirements: 81290, 81210 (cleaning), 55101, 56 (hotels and restaurants), 41200, 421, 42990, 43 (construction), 471-478 (trade), 0113, 012, 02102 (agriculture and forestry), 452 (automobile repair), 9602, 9604 (service) and 782 (staffing) (Swedish Migration Board 2012a).
proceedings against an employer who fails to fulfil the terms specified in the offer of employment. In the past, the Swedish Migration Board had approved applications from temporary staffing companies registered in countries outside the European Union, especially in the berry picking industry. This made it more difficult for unions to assist underpaid workers.

No post-arrival verifications are conducted in Sweden in order to confirm that employers (and employees) comply with the terms that were specified in the offer of employment (Interview with the Swedish Migration Board). To be clear, it is only the offer of employment that is examined by trade unions and the Swedish Migration Board. In turn, this means that after entry it is Sweden’s labour and employment law that governs the relationship between employer and employees. This is discussed further in section 4 below.

3. Migration patterns and recruitment channels

This section describes the pattern of Chinese migration to Sweden. The first part includes a general description of the Chinese population in Sweden with numbers, locations and employment by industry. The second part, focusing only on the restaurant industry, presents the recruitment channels the migrants have used to come to Sweden.

3.1. Chinese migration to Sweden

Although small numbers of Chinese migrants have entered the country in the past, Chinese migration to Sweden should primarily be seen as a recent phenomenon (Figure 3.1). Within the Chinese population in Sweden in 2008, the vast majority of the migrants had immigrated in the mid-2000s. This was independent of whether they worked in the restaurant industry or belonged to other groups of migrants. The increase in Chinese migrants to Sweden at this time should be seen against the backdrop of increasing globalisation, where migration flows to Sweden have changed from primarily being based on refugees and accompanying family members to a more diversified mix of migration motives, including marriage, labour and student migration (Hedberg and Malmberg 2008). This diversification is reflected in the main flows of immigration into Sweden in 2011, where China features as the fifth largest country of immigration (Figure 3.2).

Source: Statistics Sweden, register data.
Figure 3.1: The Chinese population in Sweden by year of immigration.

Source: Statistics Sweden.

Figure 3.2: Flows of immigration into Sweden, 2011.

The high increase in Chinese immigration into Sweden during the 2000s was in 2009-2010 (Figure 3.3). This has been followed by a smaller flow of emigration, probably consisting of both return migration to China and migration to other countries. As a result, there were a total of 25,000 Chinese-born individuals residing in Sweden in 2011. The majority of them, or 60 per cent, were women. Some of this difference can be explained by the fact that many Chinese women come to Sweden as adopted children. In this study, we are interested in migrants of working age, and hence we have only studied the population aged 15-65. In this age group the gender difference is smaller, but still shows a small majority of women.

Source: Statistics Sweden.

Figure 3.3: Flows of migration from China to Sweden 2000-2011.
3.1.1. The Chinese population in Sweden and restaurant workers

Chinese migrants in Sweden are mainly active in two segments of Swedish society: either they come to Sweden as students and later continue to reside in Sweden within highly-skilled professions, or they come to Sweden for work in the lower-skilled restaurant industry. As such, it is relevant to talk about two main categories of the Chinese population in Sweden.

The number of migrants coming to Sweden based on motives of labour increased in 2009, after the amendments to the Aliens Act had come into force (Figure 3.4). In total, the number of migrants increased substantially between 2008 and 2009. The highest number of migrants was found among migrants from China and Turkey, where a particularly high increase occurred between 2004 and 2011. However, Chinese immigration into Sweden is not limited to labour migration. The country is also the primary country for non-European students coming to Sweden (Figure 3.5). The rapid drop between 2010 and 2011 is explained by the introduction of student fees for non-European students in 2011. Until the introduction of student fees, however, the number of Chinese students was more than double that of Chinese labour migrants.
There is a considerable concentration of Chinese people involved in the restaurant industry, amounting to as many as one third of the Chinese working population (Figure 3.6). This overrepresentation of Chinese workers in the restaurant industry is particularly evident compared to the total Swedish population where less than five per cent worked in the industry. Others worked within education, science and other professions that require a higher educational level. The concentration of the Chinese population in the restaurant industry is particularly evident compared to the total Swedish population, where the main sectors of work are in healthcare, retail and manufacturing. A high proportion of those who were active in the restaurant industry were self-
employed (20 %) restaurant owners who also employ restaurant staff, compared to only ten per cent among the total Chinese population.

Source: Statistics Sweden, register data.

Figure 3.6: The Chinese-born population in Sweden by occupational sector, 2010.

Migrants generally tend to be young, and within the Chinese population in Sweden the majority were 20-30 years old. Although this also holds true for the restaurant industry, the age profile was flatter in this industry and, furthermore, there were more migrants who had come to Sweden in their 30s and 40s (Figure 3.7). Hence, migrants who work in restaurants tend to be older at the time of migration than the general migrant. They also tend to remain in Sweden longer. This also explains why a higher proportion of migrants in the restaurant industry is married and has established a family. The gender structure in the populations also differs. If the majority of Chinese migrants are women, then the opposite is true for workers in the restaurant industry, which is male-dominated. The level of education, which can be difficult to measure in immigrant populations, was high. However, the lowest proportion of highly educated individuals was found to be in the restaurant industry. Even so, as many as 40 per cent of the population involved in the restaurant industry, who had a registered education, had a university degree.
There is a wage gap between the foreign-born and the native-born population in Sweden, which at least to some degree has been referred to as discrimination against non-Western population groups (Le Grand and Szulkin, 2002). In accordance with this, the majority of Chinese workers (56%) belonged to the low income segment in Sweden. In the case of Chinese workers, however, the low wage is given to the workers by their ethnic Chinese employers, as we will show in section 5 below. Hence, the explanation for the low wages is far more complicated than it only being due to ethnic discrimination against this group. On a more detailed level, the lowest income group among the restaurant workers, when the total Chinese population is divided into percentiles, earned SEK 12,000 in 2010. The differences between the population groups grow larger in the higher percentile groups, where the restaurant industry has a relatively compressed income structure compared to the total Chinese population, and to the total Swedish population who earned almost twice as much as the richest income group within the Chinese restaurant population (Figure 3.8). Of course, these figures only show incomes that are reported to the Swedish tax register: there could be undocumented incomes that are higher than this. Still, it indicates that many Chinese workers, both in the general population and particularly in the restaurant industry, earn a considerably low income, which is consistent with the interview results that are presented later in this report. Also, it shows that opportunities to have a tenable socio-economic career within the restaurant industry are limited, at least as regards the income structure.

Source: Statistics Sweden, register data.

Figure 3.7: Age of arrival of the Chinese population in Sweden 2010.
Figure 3.8. Comparison of income based on percentiles of the population in Sweden, 2010.

The Chinese population is highly concentrated in large city regions and in medium-sized cities in Sweden (Figure 3.9). In 2010, more than one third of the Chinese population resided in one of the three largest cities, particularly in Stockholm, and was hence overrepresented here compared to the total Swedish population. This concentration in Stockholm and other large cities was even more evident among the restaurant population. The population in medium-sized cities, representing cities with a university, is probably dominated by Chinese students.

Figure 3.9: Chinese migrants’ place of residence in Sweden compared to the total Swedish population in 2010.
3.1.2 Changing flows after the amendments to the Aliens Act in 2008

In order to see whether the amendments to the Aliens Act that occurred in December 2008 affected the migrant population, two categories of migrants will now be compared (Table 3.2): on the one hand, the newly arrived cohort, consisting of those Chinese migrants who arrived after the new policy was introduced and, on the other hand, the early cohort, consisting of migrants arriving in the 2000s. When the two cohorts are compared, however, we must remember that a higher proportion of those arriving in the latter category has emigrated again (also to China) compared with the newly arrived Chinese migrants, where a large proportion of the individuals who will later return to China are still in the population.

Table 3.2: The two cohorts aged 15-65 investigated in the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohorts</th>
<th>Time of immigration</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newly arrived</td>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>6,017</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early cohort</td>
<td>2000-2008</td>
<td>8,955</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>14,972</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Sweden, register data.

The occupational pattern clearly differs between the newly arrived cohort and the early cohort, with the latter including a considerably higher proportion of workers (Figure 3.10). The city of residence in Sweden gives more insight into this, showing that as many as 44 per cent of the newly arrived Chinese migrants resided in university cities, compared with 33 per cent of the early cohort, who instead had a higher concentration in the Stockholm region. This implies that there was a higher proportion of students than workers in the newly arrived cohort (see also Figures 3.4 and 3.5). One interpretation is that student migration was high in the early cohort as well but that in 2010 they had either moved abroad or started to work in Sweden. However, it is also generally the case that mobility is higher among students, who move abroad after finishing their education, whereas Chinese workers are more stable and have stayed on in Sweden.

Source: Statistics Sweden, register data.

Figure 3.10: Early and newly arrived Chinese cohorts in Sweden by occupation, 2010.
The newly arrived Chinese migrants also had a higher propensity to work in the restaurant industry, and to some extent also in higher-skilled occupations, than the early cohort (Figure 3.11). Quite high numbers of migrants show low incomes from work in the newly arrived cohort compared to the early cohort (not shown). It thus seems that although many belong to the lowest income segment in Sweden, there is nonetheless income progression for some migrants over time.

Source: Statistics Sweden, register data.

Figure 3.11: Early and newly arrived Chinese cohorts in Sweden by work sector, 2010.

In the next section, we draw upon the interviews with Chinese chefs and employers, previous research and Internet sources in both Chinese and English in order to further contextualise these migration patterns.

3.2. Origins, motivations for emigration, and recruitment channels of Chinese chefs in Sweden

3.2.1. The origin of migrants in China
According to the Chinese chefs interviewed, the initial stage of Chinese migration to Sweden within the restaurant industry consisted of chefs who migrated to Sweden during the 1970s and 1980s to set up Chinese restaurants. They were mostly from the southern and eastern parts of China, in particular from the Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces. Today, however, the origins of Chinese chefs working in Sweden are becoming increasingly diverse. The twelve interviewees are not only from the traditional areas of migration such as Jiangsu, Anhui, Fujian and Guangdong, but also represent new areas of emigration: Liaoning, Shandong, Guangxi, Henan and Shaanxi. Moreover, emigration is increasingly from rural, rather than urban, areas, especially in southern China. The increasing diversity of Chinese migration patterns was previously noted by Gao and Poisson (2009) in their study of Chinese migration to France.
Our interviews suggest that a similar trend may be observed in Sweden. However, according to most interviewees, the Chinese restaurant industry in Stockholm is dominated by migrants from Qingtian county in Zhejiang province. Thus, in Stockholm, there is a much higher percentage of chefs from Qingtian county or, more broadly, from Zhejiang province than elsewhere in Sweden. Interviewee Deng suggests that in Malmö and Gothenburg, in contrast, there is a concentration of migrant workers from Guangxi.

### 3.2.2. Migrants’ motivations and choices of destination

In China, Sweden has come into focus as a possible country for overseas employment. This can be established by examining the recruitment agencies’ advertisements and the advertisements posted on e-forums by chefs in China, who are hoping to make contact with potential employers in Sweden or elsewhere. The recruitment agencies’ advertisements emphasise Sweden’s liberal immigration policy – in particular the possibility of applying for a permanent residence permit at the end of the first four years of working in Sweden – as one of the benefits of working in Sweden. Individual employers also use this argument in order to attract restaurant workers to Sweden on a long-term basis.

From the Chinese chefs’ point of view, the permanent residence permit – and the full access to social welfare that comes with it – has in itself become an incentive to migrate to Sweden, or to relocate to Sweden from another EU country. This is particularly important for interviewees with families, whereas single and younger interviewees suggested that curiosity about the world and the experiences that come with life overseas had motivated their decision to emigrate.

Interestingly, and in contradiction with the above statement that the liberal immigration policy has transformed Sweden into a desired destination, Sweden was not the first choice of migration destination for any of the interviewees. For chefs without previous overseas work experience, the information provided by friends about working conditions in different countries is of key importance to their choice of destination. Interviewee Hu, for instance, has friends who work as chefs in different countries. According to what he learned from these friends, he had ranked the United States higher than any European country including Sweden. Before he came to Sweden, Hu ranked industrial countries in Asia, such as Singapore, below both the United States and European countries. Rather than the destination per se or the social welfare system in the destination country, the chefs’ main motivation for looking for employment abroad was to earn more money (IOM 2013). Consequently, the pay offered was the deciding factor behind the decision to emigrate to Sweden, which suggests that, at present, Sweden is a competitive destination in terms of the availability of jobs and the pay offered.

In several cases, the decision to migrate to Sweden was part of a broader migration strategy. Interviewee Yu, for example, first intended to work in Germany but, after his application was rejected in 2006, he applied for a work permit in Sweden. Several interviewees told similar stories. Interviewee Wu, for example, had worked in Germany and the United Kingdom for three years respectively before coming to Sweden in 2009. His decision to migrate to Sweden was based on the restrictions regarding the length of stay and number of entries allowed into Germany and the UK. Similarly, according to interviewees Liu, Yang and Xu, it is not uncommon that restaurant workers migrate from other European countries to Sweden. Due to the large number of Chinese restaurants and the large supply of Chinese restaurant workers in countries such as Germany and Italy,
competition is fierce and earnings are falling. These stories illustrate the fact that Chinese migrant workers are mobile within the European Union.

The two main channels for recruitment of Chinese migrant workers to Sweden identified by the interviewees are social networks and recruitment agencies. The twelve chefs interviewed were recruited through quite diversified channels: two were introduced to the employers by friends who already worked in Sweden; four were introduced by a friend of the employer in China; four came through different recruitment agencies in China; one who had previously resided in Germany came into contact with his employer via a recruitment advertisement in a Chinese-German newspaper; and yet another came through family reunification.

3.2.3. Recruitment through social networks

Social networks usually involve migration of single individuals and small groups. The social networks used by Chinese migrants to Sweden include family ties, friendship and being of the same origin (Tongxiang in Chinese). Despite the fact that many of the Chinese restaurant owners in Stockholm have lived in Sweden for a long time, they have maintained good connections with China, which enables them to recruit new staff through social networks.

Chefs who are already working in Sweden play the intermediary role between the employers in Sweden and the staff in China. They are asked by their employer to recommend new staff through their social networks in China, such as their former co-workers. At the same time, relatives and friends in China ask them to introduce them to potential employers in Sweden. This leads to chain migration in the recruitment of chefs. Additionally, offers of job opportunities often go to people of the same origin. Recruitment through social networks does not usually involve the payment of fees by the migrant if the migrant worker is skilled and the employer is in real need of a chef. Seven of the twelve interviewees came through social networks and of those two were introduced to their first employer by friends who were working as chefs in Sweden. Six were introduced through the employers’ friends in China, and one through family reunification.

Recruitment from Qingtian, the area in China from which most restaurant workers in Stockholm are recruited, seems to involve the payment of fees by the migrants. Another option is that the worker receives low wages in return for the employer’s offer of employment and assistance in the work permit application process. False arrangements, such as arranged marriages in order to bring migrant workers to Sweden, exist, but in that case they are arranged within the family. This is because the parties involved do not trust anyone outside the family. Interviewee Liu thinks that arranged marriages are a more common practice among migrants from southern China, in particular from Qingtian county in Zhejiang province, because such practices are socially accepted.

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7 According to the IOM (2013), there are three main labour migration channels: “contracted projects” where Chinese labour migrants are employed by Chinese companies on contracted projects overseas; “international labour cooperation” where Chinese labour migrants are placed by Chinese intermediaries (or recruitment agencies) to work in enterprises overseas; and “individual labour migration” where those individual labour migrants travel overseas for employment through informal networks. While the first category has been growing with the expansion of Chinese investment abroad, the expansion of the second category is a more recent development since the 1990s. Individual labour migration through informal channels occurs on a comparatively much smaller scale. However, as far as Chinese chefs in the Swedish restaurant industry are concerned, the informal channels are of paramount significance. According to the IOM (2013), these flows are less regulated in Chinese legislation than those through “contracted projects” or “international labour cooperation”. It should be noted that the importance of the second and third channels of migration in the case of Chinese chefs migrating to Sweden indicates that there are challenges that need to be addressed in Chinese migration policy and management.
Many of the migrant workers who were recruited through family ties were not trained as chefs, nor had they worked as chefs prior to their arrival in Sweden. Although a certificate stating that the applicant is a professional chef is not one of the required documents in work permit applications, according to interviewees Liu and Wu, aspiring migrants may easily purchase certificates from vocational training schools in China if they need to produce one. Instead, the chefs learned their profession after migrating to Sweden. This situation is said to be particularly common among migrant workers from Qingtian, the dominant group of Chinese restaurant workers in Stockholm. Interviewee Liu also believes that the verification of migrants’ professional qualifications has deteriorated since the introduction of the new labour immigration policy in Sweden. This is due to the fact that the entire application procedure may be conducted online, rather than through interviews at the Swedish embassy in China. According to interviewee Liu, 50 per cent of chefs currently working in Stockholm are not trained as chefs and have no prior working experience in this profession in China.

3.2.4. Recruitment through agencies

Recruitment agencies in China have been rapidly transformed from state-owned and institutionalised agencies to a boom of private recruitment agencies (Li 2010). As pointed out above, Sweden has become one of the countries that recruitment agencies market to chefs and other restaurant staff. For example, one recruitment agency – Qingdao Syndicate Recruitment Agency – located in Shandong province in China, visited Sweden in 2011 and 2012 to introduce its overseas chef recruitment business to Chinese restaurants in Sweden (Kinesiska Företagarförbundet i Sverige 2011, 2012). Another example is represented by the website China International Labor Net, where recruitment agencies in Jiangsu, Shandong, Liaoning and Fujian advertise recruitment positions for chefs to work in Sweden (China International Labor Net 2013).

Employers who have few social connections with China have to use agencies in China for recruiting new staff. Compared with employers who came from mainland China, employers from Hong Kong and Taiwan use recruitment agencies more often. Migrant workers with few overseas social networks also resort to agencies. Then the provision of job opportunities in Sweden is one of the services provided by the agencies. Four of the interviewees came through recruitment agencies in China. While recruitment through social networks usually involves the migration of single individuals and small groups, migration through recruitment agencies is often performed on a much larger scale. For example, interviewee Yang from Anhui came to Sweden through a recruitment agency in early 2009, together with 40 to 50 chefs of the same origin. It should be noted that several of the interviewees relied on both social networks and recruitment agencies in order to migrate to Sweden. The recruitment agency used by interviewee Yang, for instance, was located quite a long way from

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Although according to the information on SMB’s and the Swedish embassy’s websites a professional certificate is not one of the documents required when applying for a work permit, eight of the interviewees who came through the work permit for doing a chef job route all stated that they attached professional certificates to their applications to the Swedish embassy (or consulate) in China, no matter whether it was before or after the passing of the new labour law, and regardless of whether it was through a recruitment agency or social networks. However, interviewee Deng, who came through a recruitment agency, stated very firmly that he prepared the chef certificate document but found it was not needed when he submitted his application to the Swedish General Consulate in Shanghai.

A few examples of the Chinese agencies’ advertisements on recruiting chefs to work in Sweden are attached in Table 2, Annex 2. They highlight some characteristics that are relevant as to who is recruited and the working conditions. The target workers are between 20 and 40 years of age, male Chinese with at least two years’ work experience in the industry. The wages offered range widely between SEK 8,500 and 20,000, but the working hours are fairly uniform and amount to at least ten hours a day and six days a week.
where he lived in China. However, it was owned by a Chinese-German man, who knew one of Yang’s friends of the same origin after working with him in Germany. The friend shared his positive views of working in Sweden and introduced the agency to his friends of the same origin. This implies that social networks often impact upon the individual’s access to and choice of recruitment agency.

Recruitment through agencies involves payment of substantial fees by the migrant. Li’s (2010) research on the intermediaries involved in migration between China and Europe has shown that transnational brokerage fees varied depending on a variety of factors: the area of origin in China; the destination country; the type of work; the period of contract; and the expected levels of income. In our study, aspiring migrants had to pay fees as well, and these differed in size. Yang, who came to Sweden together with 40-50 other chefs in early 2009, paid around RMB 30,000 (Chinese currency, almost the same value as the Swedish currency) to the recruitment agency. Wu, by contrast, used a recruitment agency in Sichuan and paid RMB 50,000 in 2010. The same amount was paid to a recruitment agency in Guangxi by interviewee Hu in 2007 and to an agency in Jiangsu by interviewee Deng in 2008. All interviewees suggest that the brokerage fee has increased rapidly in the last few years. According to their accounts, the current level is between RMB 50,000 and 90,000. When compared with Li’s study, however, the levels of brokerage fees paid by our interviewees are lower.

4. Swedish labour law

In this section, the focus shifts to Swedish labour and employment law. The purpose is to highlight certain particularities of the Swedish model for industrial relations and to clarify how the Swedish labour market is regulated in order to contextualise the employment conditions of Chinese workers in the Swedish restaurant industry. The section begins by setting out some of the particularities of the Swedish model. Next, the key characteristics of Swedish labour and employment law are discussed. Finally, we analyse the collective agreement in the hotel and restaurant industry.

4.1. The “Swedish Model” for industrial relations

A distinctive feature of the Swedish labour market is the high degree of organisation of both labour and employers. In 2009, 71 per cent of the working population had union membership (Sigeman 2010, p. 21). Additionally, the level of organisation is not affected by size of company, geographical location or branch of industry (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 16).

Both private and public sector employees enjoy full freedom of association. This right is regulated in the Employment (Co-Determination in the Workplace) Act (Lagen om medbestämmande i arbetslivet) (1976:580). Freedom of association includes the right to establish a trade union or employers’ association, to belong to a trade union or employers’ association, to make use of that membership, and to work for the organisation. Employees are protected from discrimination based on union membership. Employers are not entitled to information about which of their employees are members of a trade union (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 28-29).
Only trade unions and employers’ organisations have the right to initiate industrial action. However, while all strikes initiated by individual employees are illegal, non-organised employers have the right to resort to industrial action. With very few exceptions, industrial action is illegal while a collective agreement is in force (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp.37, 39).

The social partners

There are three main trade union confederations in Sweden:

- the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (Landsorganisation i Sverige, LO) – the confederation for blue-collar employees
- the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (Tjänstemännens centralorganisation, TCO) – the confederation for white-collar employees, and
- the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (Sveriges akademikers centralorganisation, Saco) – the confederation for professionals.

On the employer side, private sector employees are organised under the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (Svenskt näringsliv). The Swedish Agency for Government Employers and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities represent central and local government in collective bargaining negotiations (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp.17-18).

Another characteristic of industrial relations in Sweden is the tradition of self-regulation, cooperation and mutual understanding between trade unions and employer organisations, as well as long-standing continuity and a high level of trust in those relationships. The social partners in the labour market meet, bargain and seek to settle disputes in an orderly and peaceful fashion independently of the government (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 13-16). The right and duty to bargain is reciprocal. Conversely, all employers have the right to request that the labour union negotiate. Negotiations are conducted at local (company) and central (industry-wide) level (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 33).
4.2. Key characteristics of Swedish labour and employment law

In Sweden, labour and employment law covers all employees: Swedish or foreign, unionised or unaffiliated, private and public sector employees. Labour law is generally in favour of the employee and is binding upon employers in the sense that an agreement between an employer and an employee, which implies a lower level of rights for the employee than the law prescribes, is invalid (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 20-21). The principles of the compromise are still valid (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 13, 15, 21).

The 1938 Saltsjöbaden Basic Agreement completed the Swedish model for industrial relations. The agreement contains rules on industrial action and procedures for the handling of individual grievances in the private blue-collar sector. Yet its principles have been applied in all sectors of the labour market, especially since the agreement prompted a spirit of co-operation – known as the Saltsjöbaden spirit (Saltsjöbadsandan) – between the social partners in the Swedish labour market. The Swedish government accepts this framework for self-regulation, which now has a legislative, an executive and a judicial branch, and was, up until the 1970s, reluctant to intervene in the labour market (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 13; Sigeman 2010, p. 16-18).

The four pillars of Sweden’s statutory labour regulation are (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 24):

- the 1982 Employment Protection Act (Lag (1982:80) om anställningsskydd),
- the 1976 Employment (Co-Determination in the Workplace) Act (Lag (1976:580) om medbestämmande i arbetslivet),
- the 1977 Work Environment Act (Arbetsmiljölagen) (1977:1160) and

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10 There are a few exceptions to the general rule of parallel treatment in the public and private sectors specified in the 1994 Public Employment Act. The purpose of these exceptions is to maintain “the supremacy of political democracy over freedom of contract in employment matters and [...] the independence of the judiciary” (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 20).
11 Labour law is considered private law. There is no government agency to initiate legal proceedings and sanctions are confined to damages (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 21).
Given the high degree of organisation of labour and employers in Sweden and the tradition of self-regulation, many of the regulations impacting on the position of the individual worker are agreed upon collectively. The 1976 Co-Determination Act is the key collective labour law in Sweden. It regulates the rights and responsibilities of trade unions and employers as well as laying down the provisions concerning collective bargaining agreements and the prohibition against industrial action while a collective agreement is in force (Sigeman 2010, p.18).

### The collective agreement

According to Swedish law, a collective agreement is defined as “an agreement in writing between an employers' organisation or an employer and an employees’ organisation in respect of conditions of employment or otherwise about the relationship between employers and employees” (Section 23 of the Employment (Co-Determination in the Workplace) Act 1976:580).

The collective agreement has a special status in the Swedish labour market and in Swedish labour law. Given the high degree of organisation of employers and employees, the overwhelming majority of employees in the Swedish labour market are covered by a collective agreement. Industry-wide collective agreements are legally binding on all parties. Individual employers and employees may not agree upon terms and conditions that are inconsistent with the collective agreement. Both industry-wide and local collective agreements generally provide binding minimum standards but allow for improvements on the agreement in specific workplaces or concerning individual contracts (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 34-35).

Collective agreements are of particular significance regarding pay where they are more or less exclusive. This is because no specific legislation on minimum pay exists in Sweden (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 23, 73). This means that, in Sweden, minimum wages are only specified in collective agreements. In the absence of a collective agreement there is no minimum wage.

Anyone in breach of the agreement is liable for damages. On the employee side, both trade unions and members are entitled to damages. Equally, on the employers’ side, both employers’ organisations and employers are entitled to damages. Employees who are not members of the signatory union are not legally bound by the collective agreement. Even so, it is generally understood that employers provide the same benefits for non-member employees (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, pp. 35-36). However, only trade union members can claim based on the collective agreement and only members receive damages when disputes are settled. Nonetheless, the trade union generally intervenes if an employer violates the collective agreement, regardless of the membership status of the employee. This is to protect the collective agreement and prevent wage dumping in the industry (Interview with the Hotel and Restaurant Union). Moreover, collective agreements affect employers who have not signed them. According to Fahlbeck and Mulder (2009, p. 35), it is often held by Swedish courts that industry-wide collective agreements are applicable to all workplaces in the industry regardless of whether the employee has signed an agreement or not.

In addition to collective labour law, a number of individual labour laws govern the relationship between employer and employee. This means that, even in the absence of a collective agreement,
there are a number of individual labour laws that regulate working conditions, which contain employee rights and by which the employer, and the employee, are legally bound.

As noted earlier, the Employment Protection Act is the key individual labour law in Sweden. The law regulates employment contracts, specifically how employment contracts may be entered into and terminated. The employers’ previous prerogative to fire at will has been replaced by cause requirements (Fahlbeck and Mulder 2009, p. 22).

Furthermore, the employer’s right to decide when and how many hours an employee should work is restricted by provisions in the 1982 Working Hours Act (Arbetstidslagen) (1982:673). According to the act, regular working hours may not exceed 40 hours per week (Section 5 of The Working Hours Act 1982:673). Overtime may not amount to more than 200 hours per calendar year (Section 8 of the Working Hours Act 1982:673) and must be distributed across the year such that the aggregate working hours over a seven-day period do not exceed 48 hours (Section 10a of The Working Hours Act 1982:673). Employees are entitled to daily rest periods of at least eleven consecutive hours of free time for every period of 24 hours. Exemptions are only allowed in particular circumstances that could not be anticipated by the employer, and only if the employee is given corresponding compensatory leave (Section 13 of The Working Hours Act 1982:673). Employees are entitled to at least 36 consecutive hours of free time (weekly rest) within every seven-day period. As far as possible, weekly rest is to take place at weekends. Stand-by hours, during which an employee is permitted to stay away from the workplace but must remain at the employer’s disposal in order to carry out work should the need arise, are not to be included in weekly rest (Section 14 of The Working Hours Act 1982:673).

Additionally, the Annual Leave Act (Semesterledighetslagen) (1977:480) affects the total number of hours that an employee may work over the course of a year. According to section 4 of the act, employees are entitled to 25 days of annual leave in every annual leave year.\footnote{Annual leave year’ refers to the period from and including 1 April up to and including 31 March the following year (Section 3 of the Annual Leave Act 1977:480).} If the employment commenced after 31 August during the annual leave year, the employee is only entitled to five days of annual leave that year.

Finally, all workers in the Swedish labour market are covered by the Parental Leave Act (Föräldraledighetslagen) (1995:584), which entitles employees to full leave from their employment for the care of a child with or without parental benefit, and the Sick Pay Act (Lag 1991:1047 om sjuklön), which states that all employees are entitled to sick pay.

### 4.3. The collective agreement in the hotel and restaurant industry

The current collective agreement (Avtal om allmänna anställningsvillkor) between the Hotel and Restaurant Union and Visita – the trade and employer organisation for Sweden’s hospitality industry – lays down the terms of employment in the industry. This section does not cover the agreement in full. Instead, it focuses on some of the key paragraphs in the collective agreement, which are particularly relevant in relation to the interview study among Chinese chefs working in Sweden. These include employment contracts, earnings, deductions for meals and accommodation, and working hours (including overtime, annual leave and sick pay).
The agreement states that the employer shall provide an employment contract according to a set template no later than seven days after the employee has begun their employment (2 section 6 § of the Collective Agreement). Our interviews show that very few, if any, Chinese chefs receive an employment contract, a situation confirmed by the Hotel and Restaurant Union.

As noted above, there is no national minimum wage in Sweden. Minimum wages in the hotel and restaurant industry are specified in a separate agreement between the Hotel and Restaurant Union and Visita: Agreement on wages, etc. (Avtal om löner m.m.). According to the agreement, the minimum wage for qualified work – that is, work that requires professional training – is SEK 20,009 per month (SEK 115.70 per hour) before tax. If the employee has six years’ work experience or more, the minimum wage is SEK 21,393 per month or SEK 123.70 per hour before tax. Work that does not require professional training attracts a monthly minimum wage of SEK 18,774 (SEK 108.50 per hour) before tax. After a minimum of six years’ work experience the minimum wage is SEK 20,158 per month or SEK 116.50 per hour before tax (5 § of Agreement on wages, etc.). Salaries are to be paid each month on a set date. The employer who fails to pay salaries on the set date may be liable for damages to the employee and to the union (6 section 20 § of the Collective Agreement).

The employer has the right to deduct SEK 40 per day from the employee’s earnings to cover costs for a hot meal, coffee and a snack. If the employee prefers not to eat at work due to medical or other reasons, the employer and the employee may come to an agreement that the employee is exempted from the deduction (5 section 16 § of the Collective Agreement). As far as accommodation is concerned, the agreement states that a contract, on which the rent should be specified, must be signed by both parties if the employer provides an employee with accommodation (7 section 26 § of the Collective Agreement).

Regarding working hours the agreement states that the two parties have agreed to follow the Working Hours Act with some amendments. The regular working hours in the hotel and restaurant industry are 40 hours per week. However, the employer and the trade union may negotiate an exemption from this paragraph in order to meet the specific needs of a business. Exemptions from regular working hours are subject to regulation. For every period of 24 hours, the working hours may not exceed ten hours. Furthermore, employees may not work ten-hour shifts more than three times in every 14-day period unless the employer and the union have agreed on an exemption in a local negotiation. All agreements on exemptions from the 40-hour working week should specify the employee’s compensatory leave (3 section 8 § of the Collective Agreement).

The collective agreement further states that employees are entitled to two days of weekly rest within every seven-day period. As far as possible, weekly rest shall comprise two consecutive days of free time. Weekly rest shall take place on Friday-Saturday, Saturday-Sunday or Sunday-Monday at least once within every 14-day period (3 section 8 § of the Collective Agreement). An employee who works unsocial hours\(^{13}\) is entitled to extra pay (3 section 12 § of the Collective Agreement).

At the request of the employer, employees must work overtime to the extent permitted by the Working Hours Act (that is, the act permits eight hours of overtime over a seven-day period).

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\(^{13}\) Monday to Friday from 8 p.m. until 6 a.m. the following day, Saturdays, Midsummer, Christmas and New Year’s Eve from 4 p.m. until 6 a.m. the following day, or Sundays and public holidays from 6 a.m. until 6 a.m. the following day.
Overtime is generally compensated through extra pay (3 section 10, 11 §§ of the Collective Agreement).

According to the collective agreement, employees are entitled to annual leave in accordance with the Annual Leave Act. Annual leave pay is paid at 12.72 per cent (4 section 15 § of the Collective Agreement). Equally, all employees are entitled to sick pay in accordance with the 1991 Sick Pay Act (Lag (1991:1047) om sjuklön) and parental pay: that is, 10.5 per cent of monthly earnings each month in addition to the parental benefit paid by the state (4 section 18, 19 §§ of the Collective Agreement).

Given the special status of the collective agreement in the Swedish labour market and the high degree of organisation of employers and employees, the overwhelming majority of workplaces in Sweden and the hotel and restaurant industry are covered by collective agreements. Furthermore, and as noted above, even in the absence of a collective agreement, there are individual labour laws that protect the employee in the Swedish labour market. However, the conditions under which Chinese restaurant workers work, as we shall see in the next section, rarely comply with the industry’s collective agreement or with individual labour law.
5. Working conditions of Chinese workers in the Swedish restaurant industry

“Sometimes migrant workers complain among themselves that they work for a long time and get little money, but they have no choice.”

- Interviewee Zhu (Male, 29 years of age)

“We come as labourers; [our working conditions] cannot be compared to the Swedes’.”

- Interviewee Yang (Male, 40 years of age)

In this section, the focus is on the working conditions of Chinese workers in the Swedish restaurant industry, including earnings, working hours, living conditions, taxation, residence status and the relationship with the employer. The interviewees’ understanding of the “Swedish model” for industrial relations is also explored. First, however, the Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden is outlined and discussed.

5.1. The Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden

While, as pointed out earlier, large-scale Chinese migration to Sweden is a relatively new phenomenon, people have migrated from China to work in the Swedish restaurant industry at least since the 1970s. Many of the pioneers who were involved in setting up the Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden during the 1970s and 1980s look upon the recent changes to the Aliens Act as an opportunity to invite their co-ethnics to work in Sweden. At the same time, the composition of owners in the Chinese restaurant industry is changing. Several of the pioneers involved in setting up the Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden are now retiring and there is limited interest among the younger generation to take over the family business. Instead, the restaurant owners are tending to sell their businesses, either to former employees or to newly immigrated businesspeople from mainland China. The latter represent a new flow of Chinese migrants to Sweden, who immigrate in the hope of attaining permanent residence status. This group does not necessarily have a background in the restaurant industry. For them the restaurant industry represents more a form of investment.

Most staff in Chinese restaurants in Sweden are male, especially the chefs, who are nearly all men. This is due to the great physical demands of the work and the long working hours. Most of the workers are between 20 and 45 years of age. According to the interviewees, work at a Chinese restaurant can be classified into three types: waiting staff (Paotang in Chinese), chefs (Chushi in Chinese) and kitchen helpers (Zagong in Chinese). Within the chef category there are further divisions of labour according to specialisation and skill levels. For example, the head chef is generally responsible for cooking the main dishes, while the assistant chef is responsible for preparing starters and desserts, and for preparing the food. All categories of work are performed mainly by ethnic Chinese, although other immigrant groups such as Mongolians are increasingly being recruited as well. Head chefs are mainly recruited directly from China because of their skills. Assistant chefs may be recruited in China or Sweden. Unskilled kitchen helpers, in contrast, are primarily recruited in Sweden, except in cases when the kitchen helper is related to the owner. Since Swedish language
skills are required in order to work as a waiter/waitress, such employees are usually recruited in Sweden.

Not all of the interviewees came to Sweden on a work permit that allowed them to perform restaurant work. Interviewee Zhan, for instance, came to Sweden in 2008, right before the introduction of the new labour immigration policy, to work as a masseur. However, the business closed after two years and he ended up working in a restaurant. The restaurant industry is known for its low entry barriers and kitchen work is especially accessible for Chinese migrants without Swedish language skills. In this way, it may absorb unemployed Chinese migrants who are already in Sweden. Equally, two of the chefs interviewed started out as kitchen helpers and trained to become chefs after working in Sweden for some years.

5.2. Working conditions
The following section first presents the interviewees’ earnings and how they change over time. It then looks at the working hours in the Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden. Finally, it discusses the living conditions of the Chinese chefs.

5.2.1 Earnings
The interviewees’ earnings vary significantly. As can be noted in Table 3.1, some of the interviewees earned as little as SEK 5,000 per month when they first arrived in Sweden. At the other end of the spectrum were the skilled chefs whose monthly earnings were SEK 13,000-15,000 after tax. On top of their earnings, the restaurant workers are generally provided with accommodation. This will be discussed further below.

Table 5.1: The interviewees’ earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Interviewee</th>
<th>Year of immigration</th>
<th>After-tax salary upon arrival (Unit: SEK)</th>
<th>After-tax salary in 2012/2013 (Unit: SEK)</th>
<th>Collective accommodation status in 2012/2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>10,000-11,000</td>
<td>13,000-14,000</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>2008</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhan(^{14})</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li</td>
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<td>Deng</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<td>18,000</td>
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<td>8,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
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<td>Zhou</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Interview study between October 2012 and February 2013

\(^{14}\) Although interviewee Zhan came to Sweden in 2008, he only started to work as a chef in early 2012. His after-tax salary upon arrival refers to his earnings when he started working as a chef.
In terms of earnings, the interviews suggest that there are three categories of Chinese restaurant workers in Sweden:

- **Unskilled kitchen helpers migrating through family ties.** According to the chefs interviewed, this category of restaurant workers earns very little: around SEK 3,000-5,000 per month after tax. It is important to note that, according to the interviewees, the earnings of this category of restaurant workers will not increase over time. Moreover, it is very unlikely that they will be allowed to change jobs while in Sweden. Changing jobs is a common strategy among other categories of restaurant workers in order to increase one’s pay.

- **All categories of restaurant workers in their first employment in Sweden.** Based on the interviewees’ earnings in their first employment, one low-paid group of Chinese chefs migrating through social networks earns between SEK 5,000 and 6,000 per month after tax. In contrast, Chinese chefs who used recruitment agencies earned between SEK 8,000 and 13,000 after tax (see Table 5.1, also see Annex 1). Although there may be an increase in salary in the course of the first employment, it takes time and the level of rise is very limited. After working in Sweden for some time, usually six months to a year, the chefs all changed jobs in order to increase their monthly earnings.

- **Chefs in their second employment or who hold a permanent residence permit.** Based on our limited sample, the earnings in this category appear to vary significantly: from SEK 8,000-9,000 to SEK 20,000 per month after tax. It appears that when accommodation and free meals are taken into account, the majority of chefs in the hotel and restaurant industry earn the recommended wage or more.\(^{15}\)

Based on the above, it can be asserted that low earnings represent a significant problem in one of the categories: the unskilled kitchen helpers migrating through family ties. Furthermore, most restaurant workers have to endure a first employment in Sweden with monthly earnings below the recommended wage. However, the chefs who earned SEK 11,000 after tax or above during their first employment in Sweden actually earned close to the recommended wage if their accommodation, meals and income tax are added to the amount. Thus, in order to understand the issue of payments and whether the workers are paid below minimum wage levels in the industry, we need to carefully consider which category of restaurant worker is the focus.

It is important to note, however, that the interviewees included in this study are chefs, which means that they represent the upper segment of the Chinese restaurant industry. Additionally, several of them had been recruited through agencies rather than social networks and they had changed jobs at least once (see Annex 1). According to the interviewees, to change jobs is the most efficient way to increase one’s earnings. Chinese chefs in Sweden depend upon social networks within the industry, Chinese e-forums in Sweden, the bulletin boards in Chinese supermarkets and overseas Chinese newspapers such as the Huashang newspaper (based in Germany) in order to find a new job in Sweden. After working in Sweden for about six months, the Chinese chefs would have learned that

\(^{15}\) The minimum wage in the hotel and restaurant industry is SEK 20,009 per month before tax. Yang, for example, earns SEK 12,000 per month after tax. In addition to the SEK 12,000, Yang’s employer provides him with accommodation and hot meals. If the costs of accommodation, meals and tax are added to Yang’s SEK 12,000, his monthly earnings before tax are in the region of SEK 20,000.
co-workers or friends in the industry earned more than they did and they would usually request a higher salary. In most cases, the employer raised the monthly salary but only by a few hundred Swedish kronor. Regarding the difficulty of negotiating wages with employers, interviewee Liu commented that: “negotiation of wages is almost impossible with the first employer. Employers usually see themselves as the gods of the employees for recruiting them from China to work in Sweden. They think employees should be grateful enough for such a generous offer.”

Indeed, all the interviewees were of the opinion that they were underpaid, or that they were underpaid during the first years they worked in Sweden. In their view, chefs’ salaries are kept at a low level in Sweden. However, looking at the situation from the employer’s point of view, some interviewees showed an understanding about the costs of running a restaurant business in Sweden, which is very high, and that this impacts on their earnings.

In addition, there are issues related to the collective accommodation provided by many employers, which will be discussed below. In general, all chefs interviewed are of the opinion that very few migrant workers in the restaurant industry earn the recommended wage during the first four years they work in Sweden. However, several of the interviewees stated that other groups working in the industry, in particular the kitchen helpers, who often are related to the restaurant owner, earned considerably less. Some kitchen helpers earned as little as SEK 3,000-5,000 per month after tax. To clarify, the skill level of the employee, as well as the employee’s relationship with the employer, both have a significant impact upon their monthly earnings. Head chefs and assistant chefs earn more than kitchen helpers, and employees recruited by agencies often earn more than staff working for their relatives. Furthermore, in times when business was bad, employers would sometimes not pay the workers in order to convince them to leave. For example, interviewee Li did not receive his salary for several months without any explanation. Finally, he was forced to hand in his notice in order to look for a new job. At the time of the interview, he was still unemployed.

All interviewees had negotiated their earnings before their work permit application was submitted. The migrant workers who were recruited through social networks generally entered into a verbal agreement with their employer-to-be and never received any written documentation. In these cases, the employer handled the entire procedure associated with the work permit application. In contrast, the chefs who used recruitment agencies were generally offered a contract stating a pre-tax monthly salary not far below the SEK 18,000-20,000 monthly recommended wage in the Swedish hotel and restaurant industry. However, while the monthly earnings before tax stated in interviewee Yang’s contract, for example, were SEK 18,000, upon signing the contract he was informed by the agency that he would receive a monthly salary of SEK 8,000 after tax. The SEK 18,000 on the contract was to ensure that the Swedish authorities would grant the work permit — something which, according to the interviewees, is common practice in the industry. This is further illustrated by Zhan’s story. According to Zhan, one of his work permit applications was denied after the Hotel and Restaurant Union had pointed out that the monthly earnings of SEK 13,500 before tax stated in the offer of employment was in fact too low. Once his employer had increased the salary to SEK 18,000 his work permit was granted by the Swedish Migration Board. The lower monthly earnings, such as the SEK 8,000 accepted by Yang, are usually agreed upon verbally, and are consequently not found in offers of employment or employment contracts. All interviewees received the agreed amount when they started working in Sweden. Given the wage gap between Sweden and China, workers were still willing to accept a lower income. Many aspiring migrants are willing to accept low earnings during an
initial stage because they believe that this increases the likelihood of their obtaining employment in Sweden.

From the point of view of the Hotel and Restaurant Union, however, the monthly earnings among nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA in the industry are low.\textsuperscript{16} As was pointed out earlier, work permits are granted or denied based on the contents of the offer of employment. No post-arrival verifications are conducted in order to confirm that the actual working conditions comply with the terms that were specified in the initial offer of employment. Therefore the union decided to examine the working conditions of the nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA in its industry.\textsuperscript{17} The investigation was based upon a random sample of 100 of the offers of employment, which the union had been asked to review. The union does not follow up on whether the Swedish Migration Board actually grants or denies each application. Consequently the sample included some employers whose work permit application had been denied. It also included a few cases where the employee had never turned up at the workplace or, alternatively, where the employee had worked there for some time before changing jobs. In yet other cases, the person who had been granted the work permit was still in employment. The latter cases were scrutinised further. The union thus requested that the employer submit the employment contract. According to the union representative, such contracts rarely existed but tended to be produced when the union pointed out that not to provide employees with employment contracts represented a breach of the collective agreement. Upon receiving the employment contracts, the union established that the monthly earnings on the contracts were generally lower than what had been stated in the initial offer of employment. The union’s next move was to request pay slips. These, in turn, suggested that the monthly earnings of the employees were lower than the amount stated in the employment contract. In some cases, the union was able to talk to the employees. According to the union representative, these investigations revealed that the employees had never earned the amount specified in the employment contract. In fact, they had earned an amount even lower than that specified on the pay slip (Interview with Hotel and Restaurant Union).

### 5.2.2 Working hours

If the problems associated with earnings vary with the category of worker, when it comes to the working hours of Chinese restaurant workers there are problems across the board. During the first four years the chefs interviewed worked in Sweden, their average working hours were ten to 13 hours per day, six days per week. Interviewee Liu, for example, works 13 hours per day, six and a half days per week. On the other hand, chefs who hold permanent residence permits only work five days per week. According to interviewee Zhan, the minimum working hours in the industry are 50 to 60 hours per week, which by far exceed the maximum working hours permitted under the Working Hours Act. The interviewees receive no extra pay or compensatory leave for the extra hours of work.

Each employee’s weekly rest is negotiated between employers and co-workers. This means that employees are expected to be flexible in terms of when they go on their weekly rest such that the needs of the business and co-workers are catered for. Additionally, several employers own more than one restaurant. In such cases, employees may be kept on stand-by during their weekly day of

\textsuperscript{16} The Hotel and Restaurant Union’s statements refer to the situation in the restaurant industry in Stockholm county in general and is not only specific to Chinese-owned restaurants.

\textsuperscript{17} It should be noted that the union’s investigation was not limited to workers of Chinese origin but included all nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA.
rest. If one of the employer’s restaurants becomes very busy, the employee may have to help the other employees at that restaurant.

The Chinese chefs working in Sweden are generally not entitled to annual leave, which is in violation of the Annual Leave Act. However, some head chefs had been able to negotiate unpaid annual leave with their employer.

The interviewees all express that the working environment in Sweden is more demanding compared to the work they had previously done in China. Not only are the working hours generally longer, but they are allowed fewer breaks during the working day, and the intensity of the work is higher. Liu, for example, said that compared with his former job in China the work intensity at the restaurant in Sweden is considerably higher. This is due to the fact that the same amount of work is divided between fewer employees. Furthermore, interviewee Li described the working environment as more stressful in Sweden because the employer did not allow the co-workers to have breaks and chat with one another during working hours. Head chefs such as Wu, by contrast, are able to negotiate an afternoon break with their employers.

All the interviewees had been made aware of the working hours before coming to Sweden. Interviewees who migrated through social networks were informed by their employers about the working hours. The interviewees who came through recruitment agencies were in a slightly different situation. The recruitment contract, which was signed between the migrant worker and the recruitment agency, stated that the regular working hours were 40 hours per week. However, the interviewees were informed verbally about the actual working hours.

Sick leave is very uncommon among the Chinese chefs in Sweden simply because the employers generally do not allow it. Employees who had been away from work due to illness testified that they had to work additional hours when they returned to make up for their absence. When interviewee Yang became seriously ill, he was forced to leave his job and return to China for medical treatment.

Even so, it should be noted that few interviewees complained about the working hours. They all stated that they were prepared to accept the long hours in order to come to work in Sweden.

5.2.3. Living conditions
It is common practice in the Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden for the employer to provide free meals and accommodation. Employers usually rent a flat or part of a house to collectively house all workers from the same workplace. In Stockholm, the collective accommodation is usually located in the suburbs. This means that many of the chefs travel for up to an hour to get to work every day. Furthermore, the quality of the accommodation is often low and sometimes up to six restaurant workers share a flat.

It is important to note that their being housed collectively, combined with the long working hours, means that migrant workers are unable to interact with people outside the workplace. Their interaction with Swedish society is very limited. Additionally, collective housing arrangements enable the employers to control which letters reach their employees.

Despite these issues associated with collective accommodation, all interviewees prefer the fact that accommodation is provided, especially when they first arrive in Sweden, in view of the language barrier and their lack of knowledge about how the housing market works.
A further problem with collective accommodation, which relates to employees’ earnings, is the fact that the restaurant workers monthly earnings are actually reduced if they decide not to live in the collective accommodation. To be clear, earlier it was argued that the cost of accommodation could be added on to the employee’s monthly earnings after tax such that the employee who at first glance appeared to receive a low salary actually earned close to or above the recommended wage in the restaurant industry. However, if the employee instead chooses to live elsewhere, that salary may no longer suffice. Li was given SEK 1,500 per month as compensation from his employer when he had to move and find a pace to live by himself due to the expiration of the recent contract for the collective accommodation. Li, however, felt that this was far too little to cover his accommodation costs.

Earnings are also linked to two important policy issues: taxation and the permanent resident permit. These are discussed in the next two sections.

5.3. Taxation

The interviewees explained that as far as the renewal of work permits and future applications for permanent residence permits were concerned, keeping a good tax record was key. To elaborate, as stated above, Chinese chefs working in the Swedish restaurant industry are generally paid less than the amount specified in the offer of employment, the document sent to the Swedish authorities. However, in the view of the authorities, only the worker who has paid enough income tax – that is, around 30 per cent of the amount specified in the offer of employment – would receive an extension to their work permit or be granted a permanent residence permit. Interviewee Hu stated that he believed that his employer had paid an appropriate amount of tax on his account since he had never experienced any problems renewing his work permit, and since he had recently obtained a permanent residence permit. Other interviewees, such as Yang, for example, only learned that their first employer had paid a much lower level of tax on their behalf when they received their annual tax return form.

In general, the payment of income tax is negotiated between the employer and the employee. Due to language barriers and a lack of knowledge about Swedish tax legislation, most workers are dependent upon maintaining a good relationship with their employer in order for the “right” income tax to be paid. A good tax record is of paramount importance as far as applications for work permit extensions are concerned.

It follows from the statement above that any worker hoping to stay in Sweden long-term would want to maintain a good tax record. This issue is generally resolved as follows: the employer will pay to the Swedish tax authority an amount corresponding to around 30 per cent of the amount specified in the offer of employment, while still paying the worker the lower salary agreed upon prior to arrival.

Interestingly, despite the importance attributed by the interviewees to the issue of taxation, several of the interviewees did not have a very clear idea about how much income tax was actually paid to the Swedish tax authority. This is due to the lack of pay slips and other forms of written documentation, to the fact that employers in some cases tend to keep mail from the Swedish authorities from their employees, and that the employee is often unable to understand the information, which is in Swedish. It also has to do with the fact that earnings are discussed in different terms in China and Sweden. According to interviewee Liu, unlike in Sweden where employment contracts commonly set out the monthly earnings before tax, in China it is common
practice to agree on the amount the worker will receive after tax. Only after working in Sweden for some time did the chefs learn about the difference between earnings before and after tax.

5.4. Residence status
The possibility of applying for a permanent residence permit after four years of working in Sweden has had a significant impact upon the Chinese chefs’ working conditions in the restaurant industry. As noted earlier, the possibility of obtaining a permanent residence permit has transformed Sweden into one of the more sought-after destinations for Chinese chefs looking for overseas employment. At the same time, interviewee Hu suggests that many employers use this possibility in order to persuade migrant workers to accept low incomes.

There are several reasons why this is important to the interviewees. First of all, a permanent residence permit is a guarantee that one can stay in Sweden for as long as one wishes, something which also implies that the worker may earn more than in China. Secondly, the permanent residence permit gives migrant workers increased mobility, including the possibility of returning to China temporarily. Furthermore, as was mentioned earlier, the workers’ families are entitled to benefit from the Swedish social welfare system.

Residence status has a significant impact upon employees’ working conditions in a number of ways. First, there is an improvement in the employee’s earnings. Employers tend to pay workers without a permanent residence permit less than those who have a permit. It was stated that skilled chefs without a permanent residence permit earn between SEK 8,000 and 12,000 whereas those who possessed a permanent residence permit earn around SEK 20,000 after tax.

Secondly, the differences in residence status impact upon the relationship between the employer and the employee. Interviewee Zhan stated that employers treat holders of permanent residence permits better than workers who lack permanent residence in terms of earnings and working hours, and allocation of workload. Equally, for interviewees Liu, Zhan and Hu, the permanent residence permit does not only have an economic meaning. It has a social meaning in the sense that it earns them more respect at work. Several interviewees described verbal abuse by the employer as one of the most negative aspects of working in Sweden. However, employers tend to respect workers who have a permanent residence permit.

Thus, in terms of working conditions, it could be argued that two categories of Chinese restaurant workers now exist in the Swedish labour market: those with a permanent residence permit and those without. The first category of restaurant workers earns more than second, they are able to negotiate better working conditions and they are respected by their employers.

However, obtaining a permanent residence permit comes with a certain degree of risk. For example, interviewee Liu’s employment was terminated once he had received his permanent residence permit. According to Liu, the same thing has happened to about half of his friends with permanent residence permits. They are now unemployed and many of them find it difficult to find new stable jobs, something which used to be very unusual among Chinese chefs during the previous Swedish immigration regime. According to Liu, the reason behind this change is that the employers are aware that chefs with a permanent residence permit will demand higher salaries and shorter working hours, which would increase costs for the employers significantly. For Liu, after receiving his permanent residence permit, his employment became more temporary and unstable. On the other hand, he is
now eligible for social welfare in Sweden. At the time of the interview, Liu received unemployment benefits and participated in Swedish language classes, something he had never found the time to do while still in employment owing to the long working hours.

Accordingly, Sweden’s open policy on labour immigration has changed the recruitment structure of Chinese chefs. Employers increasingly prefer to bring new migrant workers from China rather than to recruit among chefs with a permanent residence permit in Sweden. Hence, there is a tendency to replace workers when they receive their permanent residence permit with new migrant workers. The reason is that workers with a permanent residence permit usually increase their knowledge about rules and policy, which makes it harder for the employer to manipulate their employment conditions.

To the interviewees, the permanent residence permit also represents compensation for the hard life they have endured in Sweden. In addition, it earns them a certain amount of respect in the workplace. For example, interviewee Li said he did not want to stay in Sweden permanently but felt that he was not ‘reconciled’ (bu gan xin in Chinese) if he left without applying for a permanent residence permit. In his view, he had spent the best years of his life working hard in Sweden and should therefore be entitled to a permanent residence permit. Equally, the changes to the Aliens Act have given those chefs interviewed with families the opportunity to plan for a family life in Sweden. For interviewee Deng, for example, the desire to obtain permanent residence status is an important reason behind his decision to stay in Sweden to work. He obtained his permanent residence permit after working in Sweden for four years, and soon thereafter, in 2012, his wife and two children joined him from China.

However, many interviewees said that they understood that some migrant workers in the industry had obtained permanent residence permits but that it seemed to be becoming more difficult to obtain such permits. Here, however, we must remember that the new immigration rules, which entitle a worker to apply for a permanent resident permit after four years, only became valid in December 2008. So for most workers it still remains to be seen whether they will qualify for a permanent residence permit.

For most of the interviewees, applying for a permanent residence permit remained a strong goal and in order to apply for one, the interviewees relied on professional services. For example, Liu became acquainted with a Swedish lawyer through a friend. The lawyer helped Liu with preparing the documents needed in order to apply for a permanent residence permit at a cost of SEK 30,000. Interviewee Zhan also authorised a lawyer to represent him in the application process. Yet others relied on their employers to assist them in applying for a permanent residence permit. According to interviewee Miao, some migrant workers would even accept to be paid less if the employer agreed to assist them in the application procedure. The Chinese restaurant workers’ relationship with their employers is the focus of the next section.

5.5. The relationship with the employer

In general, the Chinese chefs interviewed are very dependent on their employers. The reasons for this are many. The workers lack language skills, family support, information and assistance. Also, the intensity of the work is high and the isolation from Swedish society contributes to a high degree of dependency on the employers. In this section, we focus on the two areas where the employee is particularly dependent on their employer: work permit renewals and permanent residence permit applications.
Employees are generally more vulnerable around the time when a work permit is about to expire. This is because they need an employer in order to apply for an extension to their work permit. Thus, the need to renew their work permit after two years, or less if the contract was shorter, impacts upon the chefs’ relationship with their employers and, by extension, upon their working conditions. For example, interviewee Zhou’s employer told him that he would have to leave Sweden if he was fired and consequently Zhou is careful to work hard in order to keep the employer satisfied. This also means that workers who are employed on a short-term basis are vulnerable and have limited prospects in terms of influencing their working conditions.

When a work permit is about to expire, the Chinese chefs commonly resort to two strategies: they either attempt to maintain a good relationship with their current employer, which entails not complaining about the long working hours or asking for a pay rise, or they actively seek out a potential new employer. The latter can be seen on the e-forums such as ‘Kina. Chinese Community in Europe’, where workers whose work permits are about to expire are searching for new employers who will engage in the application process with them. To quote interviewee Miao: “A wise migrant worker would usually start to look for another employer before the current permit expires”.

Equally, many of the employees are totally dependent upon the employer to prepare all the documents and to assist them through the procedures that are associated with applying for a permanent residence permit. This is due to the employee’s lack of language skills and difficulties understanding the application system, as well as the fact that the employer may decide not to renew the offer of employment. The dependency upon the employer when applying for a permanent residence permit means that migrant workers without permanent residence are less likely to enter into a conflict with their employer. As mentioned above, chefs who already have a permanent residence permit are more likely to leave and change jobs, or become unemployed, when conflicts cannot be resolved. Workers without a permanent residence permit, by contrast, tend to accept the conditions offered by the employer because they fear that they will lose their job, which would mean that they would have to return to China. This category of workers would only confront their current employer if they had already found a new place of work.

Another tactic, which is practised by some employers, is to promise the workers assistance in the application process in order to keep the employees at the workplace. At the same time, however, the employer would then suggest that the employees pay for having that favour done for them.

### 5.6. The Chinese chefs and the “Swedish model” for industrial relations

According to the interviewees, very few Chinese migrant workers are members of the Hotel and Restaurant Union. All the workers interviewed were aware of the existence of trade unions but their level of knowledge about their function in Swedish society differed substantially among them. Despite that, they all emphasised the difficulties for migrant workers in accessing information on trade unions and the language barrier preventing them from communicating about any problems. In addition, they believe that an employer who learns that an employee has joined the union would take this as an attempt to disrupt the peaceful relationship between employer and employee. For these reasons no employee would dare to join the union. They also fear that union membership might result in unemployment and, at the time of extension to their work permit, to their deportation to China. This view is shared by the trade union representative, who suggested that widespread fear among nationals of countries outside the EU and EEA employed in the industry that
their employers will disapprove of union membership makes it difficult to approach this category of workers. At the time of the interview, the union representative did not know of any restaurant worker of Chinese origin who was a member of the Stockholm branch of the Hotel and Restaurant Union.

A common view among the Chinese chefs interviewed is that restaurant workers who do not plan to stay in Sweden on a long-term basis are only interested in earning as much money as possible. Seen from this perspective, joining the trade union would not be helpful, because these workers, who lack a permanent residence permit, would not remain in Sweden long enough to see out the long procedure that is associated with conflict resolution. The interviewees who have obtained permanent residence permits, on the other hand, are more eager to learn about the trade union, including the services it provides and the costs of membership. Moreover, co-workers are afraid of talking to one another much at work, since they fear that this would antagonise the employer. Consequently, Chinese restaurant workers generally do not tend to join the trade union in order to protect their rights at work either. The interviewees think that the best way to resolve conflicts with their employers is to accept the conditions offered. In interviewee Yang’s words: “We are here to work, not to make trouble”. Instead, as mentioned before, conflicts are resolved by changing jobs.

Interestingly, though, two of the interviewees mentioned a protest, which took place in 2009 among chefs at the Golden Dragon restaurant in Stockholm (SVT 2009a, 2009b). Interviewee Zhan suggested that in this particular case the chefs had resorted to an extreme solution – protest – because the employer had paid very little tax for them. Moreover, the employer had no intention of applying for an extension to their work permits on their behalf, when the previous one had expired. In other words, the employer had broken the verbal agreement between the workers and the employer, which had stated that the employer would pay the appropriate amount of income tax and assist the workers with their work permit extension applications. However, when going on the protest the chefs chose to frame the issue differently, which is why the Swedish news media never mentioned either the lack of income tax paid or the refusal to help with obtaining work permit extensions. Instead, the workers framed their complaint along the lines of the official discourse in Sweden: that their decision to protest was in response to low wages and exploitation (SVT 2009c). Yet, another interviewee, Zhu, ascribed the blame to the chefs. According to him, the employer did not break his agreement with the chefs despite the fact that the wages were low. Instead, he claimed that the chefs were jealous of the high wages that are paid to other chefs in Sweden and that they had not been grateful to the employer for taking them to Sweden.
6. Summary and conclusions

In December 2008, the direction of Swedish immigration policy changed fundamentally when the Swedish Parliament amended certain sections of the Aliens Act. This decision opened the Swedish labour market for workers from outside the European Union. Following the amendments, Sweden’s policy on labour immigration, which used to be one of the most restrictive, became one of the most liberal immigration policies among the OECD countries. Unlike most countries in the European Union, Sweden is now open to immigration of both higher- and lower-skilled labour. Furthermore, nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA are eligible to apply for a permanent residence permit after they have worked in Sweden for two plus two years. Swedish labour and employment law protects all workers in the Swedish labour market, including migrant workers, who are guaranteed the same rights as workers with permanent residence permits and Swedish citizens. However, during the first four years (two plus two) of working in Sweden, nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA are restricted to a specific occupation and employer.

Since the introduction of the new policy, China has been the main country of origin for workers from countries outside the EU and EEA. The majority of Chinese workers are employed in the restaurant industry. Yet this group of workers has been largely overlooked in the increasingly intense Swedish debate on the new labour immigration policy. To examine this group, this report focuses on Chinese migrant workers in the Swedish restaurant industry, based on descriptive statistics and in-depth interviews with Chinese workers and employers. The interviews were performed with chefs, who represent the top of the hierarchy among restaurant workers. The focus has been on recruitment channels and motives, and on working conditions. The report also gives a thorough overview of the new Swedish policy on labour immigration and Swedish labour and employment law, and the combined effects that this legislation has on workers’ mobility and rights.

6.1. Migration trends

In 2010, there were almost 20,000 Chinese people of working age residing in Sweden and many of them were recent migrants. Hence, immigration into Sweden from China is mostly a new phenomenon, even though there is a core of pioneer Chinese migrants in Sweden who arrived earlier. The Chinese migration flow to Sweden consists of both students and workers. However, the introduction of tuition fees in 2010 has dramatically reduced the number of Chinese students coming to Sweden. In contrast, the number of Chinese workers is steadily increasing, making them the largest group of labour migrants coming to Sweden from outside the European Union. A large proportion of the Chinese workforce, 30 per cent, works in the restaurant industry. Many of them are self-employed, running their own businesses and, as our interviews show, recruiting and employing other Chinese workers.

Restaurant workers are older than students at the time of immigration and they tend to stay longer. In general, most Chinese migrants are women, but among restaurant workers the opposite applies. Geographically, Chinese restaurant workers are mainly to be found in large cities, and especially in Stockholm.

According to statistics, half of Chinese restaurant workers belong to the lowest income segment of the Swedish labour market. There is a large pay gap mainly due to Chinese restaurant workers’
compressed wage structure compared to the overall labour market. Low incomes are also confirmed by the interview study.

6.2. Recruitment and employment conditions

The interview study has shown that Sweden’s new labour immigration policy has not succeeded in establishing working conditions for Chinese workers in the restaurant industry that conform to the Swedish Migration Board’s guidelines or comply with Swedish labour and employment law. Working hours, for example, are often excessive and in breach of the Working Hours Act, the Annual Leave Act and the Sick Pay Act. The issue of earnings, however, is more complicated. In Sweden there is no law specifying a minimum wage. Instead earnings are regulated exclusively through collective agreements between employers and worker representatives. In the restaurant industry, the current collective agreement between the Hotel and Restaurant Union and Visita, the employer organisation, states that monthly earnings before tax should be no less than SEK 18,000 to 20,000, depending on the type of job. Our study shows that unskilled restaurant workers migrating through family ties earn significantly less than that. Furthermore, during their first employment in Sweden most restaurant workers have to subsist on monthly earnings below the recommended wage. Our study indicates that low payment applies in particular to kitchen helpers and other lower-skilled workers in the industry. In contrast, many of the skilled chefs in this study earned close to the recommended wage in the industry even during their first employment in Sweden, as long as they chose to stay in the collective accommodation offered by the employer. Their high skill level and the fact that they were recruited through agencies explain their relatively high entry salaries. Hence, the study shows that different wage levels exist within the Chinese restaurant workers group and it is important to distinguish between these workers when analysing their working conditions. Thus, the channel of recruitment matters for the working conditions of the individual restaurant worker.

A general explanation for why the Chinese have become the largest group of non-EU immigrant workers in Sweden is that an infrastructure facilitating labour migration was already in place before the Aliens Act was amended. This structure starts with long-standing, often family-based, social networks that connect Chinese restaurants in Sweden with certain areas in China and was in place because the Chinese restaurant industry in Sweden had in fact maintained a flow of labour immigration for several decades. The social network forms a channel through which information about work opportunities, formal requirements, job candidates and wage offers can be exchanged between Sweden and the region of origin. As has been shown in a previous study by the IOM (2013), this infrastructure also consists of recruitment firms, Internet forums, and Chinese overseas newspapers.

One of the most striking findings of this study refers to the workers’ position of dependency in relation to their employer. As noted above, nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA are restricted to a certain occupation and employer. If they find the working conditions to be unacceptable, they must find new employment within three months or the work permit becomes invalid. These restrictions increase the worker’s dependency on their employer and limit the capacity of the worker to negotiate higher earnings and shorter working hours. However, the main reason that workers become dependent upon their employers is the fact that the workers need their employer in order to keep working in Sweden and in the long run become permanent residents in Sweden. First of all, nationals from countries outside the EU and EEA need assistance from employers in order to obtain an extension to their work permit when the first work permit has expired after two
years. Secondly, they need a job offer from the employer in order to apply for a permanent residence permit at the end of the first four years of working in Sweden. Obtaining a permanent residence permit is a primary reason for the workers to keep accepting the working conditions.

It implies that Chinese immigrants largely accept the deal that they are offered during their initial four years in Sweden, such as working hours and wage levels, because they believe that they will be compensated when they obtain their permanent residence permit.

Furthermore, and linked to the argument above, the workers’ dependency on their employer is reinforced by an informal agreement that has developed between employers and employees regarding income tax. Unlike in Sweden where employment contracts commonly set out the monthly earnings before tax, in China it is common practice to agree on the amount the worker will receive after tax. Swedish tax laws and the informal Chinese regulatory system intersect here when it comes to the renewal of work permits. To clarify, work permit renewal is conditional upon the payment of enough income tax, which here means an amount that corresponds to the monthly earnings specified in the offer of employment. Workers who earn less than the amount specified in the offer of employment thus generally strike a deal with their employer to ensure that the amount paid to the Swedish tax authorities equals the income tax that would have been paid had the worker earned the amount on the offer of employment. This enables the worker to maintain a good tax record and, by extension, be granted a work permit extension. At the same, this practice enables the employer to pay workers in the restaurant industry less than the recommended wage.

However, the Chinese workers’ dependency on their employers is not only a consequence of how the Swedish immigration policy is formulated. It is also the outcome of the lack of knowledge among the Chinese workers about the Swedish model and their rights as employees in the Swedish labour market. The fact that the Chinese restaurant workers are not unionised makes it even more difficult for them to assert their rights in the Swedish labour market.

Lastly, the Chinese restaurant workers’ dependency on their employer is manifested in the collective accommodation, which is offered to them while they are working in Sweden. This gives the employer enhanced control over the workers, and enables the employer to pay them lower wages and place a heavier workload on them. In addition, there are examples where the employers control the workers’ mail.

In conclusion, we have identified the following key problems related to Chinese restaurant workers in Sweden:

1. Dependency on the employer in terms of the renewal of their work contract, the application process for permanent residence, their residence in collective accommodation, the fact that the workers are not unionised and that the workers have a limited time frame in which to change their employer.
2. Lack of information about the Swedish model.
3. Low wages, especially for workers who are at the bottom of the restaurant hierarchy and for workers who have been recruited through family ties.
6.3. Policy considerations

Based on our empirical findings, we suggest that a number of policy changes should be considered. In order to solve the problems identified, the problems must be addressed from two angles simultaneously. Since labour migration is a border-crossing process, measures to solve the situation should be taken both on the Chinese side and on the Swedish side. So our policy suggestions point in two directions:

First, we suggest that parties from Sweden and China should meet at a ‘round-table’ conference. This forum would work to prevent the workers’ dependency on the employer, which we have identified, and to increase knowledge about the Swedish model. On the Swedish side, the conference would involve representatives from the employer organisation (Visita), the trade union (the Hotel and Restaurant Union) and the government. Here, we would like to point out in particular the need for greater involvement from the employer organisation, which is not applying itself to the issue at present. On the Chinese side, we suggest participation by the Chinese embassy, local level governments, recruitment agencies and NGOs. We also suggest involving different Chinese diaspora organisations. Business-orientated organisations such as the Chinese Confederation of Industry and Commerce in Sweden (Kinesiska Företagarförbundet i Sverige) and the Zhejiang Chamber of Commerce, which provide a bridge in terms of communications with employers in the restaurant industry, and associations of people from the same areas of China, such as Qingtian, Chaozhou and Guangxi, which have a particular relationship with employers in the restaurant industry. Other diaspora organisations such as the Chinese Federation of Sweden (Kinesiska Riksförbundet i Sverige) and Sweden’s Chinese Association (Sveriges Kinesiska Riksförbund) could assist in reaching migrant workers and helping them to organise. We also suggest that the conference should engage a researcher, who would provide it with updated information on the issue. We suggest that the following matters could be considered within the framework of this forum:

1) Strengthened cooperation between the Swedish and Chinese parties involved on pre-departure training from provinces of origin on Swedish labour and employment law (minimum wages in the industry, the role of Swedish trade unions and the freedom of association, regulation of working hours, annual leave, sick pay, etc.). This information should be imparted to both private recruitment agencies and local Chinese authorities.

2) There is a need to develop appropriate ways of passing information to potential Chinese migrants to Sweden. The category of workers that experiences the poorest conditions in Sweden is often the lower-skilled, and presenting such workers with a folder of information about the Swedish model would not be sufficient. The round-table conference should therefore consider creative ways of distributing information, which could highlight issues relating to the documentation required in the application (chef accreditation, etc.) to prevent fraud during the application process. Additional information for those who are already in the country could cover the importance of having a valid employment contract, taxation and permanent residence, as well as an introduction to Swedish regulations (such as collective agreements, working hours, annual and sick leave, etc.). The Chinese embassy could play a bigger role in distributing information to migrant workers. Chinese newspapers distributed in Sweden, such as the Nordic Times (Beiou Shibao), could also be considered as a medium for distributing information to migrant workers.

3) Training for officials at the employer organisation towards a better understanding of circumstances that are relevant to Chinese workers.
Secondly, our study shows the need for improvement in the Swedish labour immigration policy. There has recently been much critique directed towards the policy, and the Swedish minority government and the Green Party are currently discussing further amendments to the Aliens Act in order to improve working conditions for migrant workers. From the Swedish side, and based on the findings of this study, we have identified the following policy considerations:

1) The current situation, where no authority is charged with responsibility for conducting post-arrival verifications of working conditions, should be changed. In order to prove that the workers receive the payment that they have a right to, the offers of employment should be binding. This should be complemented by increased inspections in the workplace.

2) Having a permanent residence permit is essential for workers. The time before the worker becomes eligible to apply for a permanent residence permit therefore needs to be shortened. This would improve working conditions and reduce the workers’ dependency on their employer.

3) In order to reduce workers’ dependency on their employer, the timeframe within which workers may change their employer should be extended from three months to six months. Within the current framework – which only gives the worker three months to find a new employer – it is difficult for workers to find jobs that offer acceptable working conditions, since they run the risk of having to return home if they cannot find a new employer within the stipulated time.

It is essential to develop a system of transparency regarding the amount of tax being paid by the workers. It is important to note that our study shows that cross-referencing of the Swedish Migration Board’s records with those of the Swedish Tax Authority, a solution that is increasingly being put forward to deal with the underpayment of workers in Sweden, would not resolve the problem for Chinese workers in the restaurant industry. Instead, alternative ways of establishing the actual earnings of these Chinese workers must be developed.

6.4. Research

This study should be seen as an initial work on the subject of Chinese restaurant workers. More research is needed in order to address the issues raised above. In particular, research is needed to evaluate the different hierarchies of restaurant workers and the working conditions of kitchen helpers and other workers at the lower end of the scale. Research should also investigate further the differences in working conditions between being recruited by recruitment agencies and via social networks, living conditions in collective housing and attain deeper knowledge about the workers’ attitudes towards wage levels, their working day and trade unions. There is also a need for more research focusing on the regions in China from which Chinese restaurant workers are recruited.
7. References


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Interviewee</th>
<th>Year of Immigration</th>
<th>After-tax salary upon arrival (Unit: SEK)</th>
<th>Pre-tax salary on contract upon arrival (Unit: SEK)</th>
<th>After-tax salary in 2012/2013 (Unit: SEK)</th>
<th>Collective accommodation status in 2012/2013</th>
<th>Times of changing jobs</th>
<th>Status of Permanent residence</th>
<th>Times of work permit renewal</th>
<th>Recruitment channels</th>
<th>After-tax salary in China (Unit: RMB)</th>
<th>Length of first work permit</th>
<th>Years of chef experience before arrival</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>10,000-11,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>13,000-14,000</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5,000</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>No</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Agency</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wang</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<td>20,000</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Wu</td>
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<td>8,500</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
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<td>Miao</td>
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<td>5,000</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yes Unknown</td>
<td>Family reunification</td>
<td>Hard to estimate</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhou</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Social network, friend in China</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
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Note: (1) For anonym, the interviewees are given random Chinese surnames.

Source: Interview study between October 2012 and February 2013

Annex 1: Summary of the interviewees' key information
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of company</th>
<th>Location in China</th>
<th>Advertisement Year</th>
<th>Number of vacancy</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Salary level (Unit: SEK)</th>
<th>Working hours</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Length of contract (Unit: Year)</th>
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<td>Chaori</td>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22-35</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>2 years' full-time chef work experience and above, middle level chef certificate and above</td>
<td>10,000-16,000 after tax per month. Increase after the first three months.</td>
<td>10 hours per day and 6 days per week. Off on public holidays. Vacation with salary for 2-3 weeks per year.</td>
<td>Free meals and accommodation</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syndicate</td>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>5 years' full-time chef work experience and above, middle level chef certificate and above</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>10-12 hours per day and 6 days per week.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maisilin</td>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>23-35</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>2 years' full-time chef work experience and above, middle level chef certificate and above</td>
<td>17,000 after tax per month. Increase after the first three months.</td>
<td>8 hours per day and 6 days per week. Vacation with salary for 2-3 weeks per year.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanjiang</td>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>25-45</td>
<td>High school and above</td>
<td>3 years' full time chef work experience and above.</td>
<td>19,000-20,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oumerya</td>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22-33</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>2 years' full-time chef work experience and above,</td>
<td>10,500 and above.</td>
<td>12 hours per day and 6 days per week.</td>
<td>Free meals and accommodation</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruizhang</td>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>No requirement</td>
<td>20-50</td>
<td>High school and above</td>
<td>5 years' full time chef work experience and above.</td>
<td>8,500-20,000</td>
<td>10 to 11 hours per day and 6 days per week. No after-lunch break.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

Source: China International Labor Net