UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

'Meals on the Mile: An Ethnographic Study of Entrepreneurship and Ethnic Relations in Manchester's Curry Mile'



Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in *'Nature, Society and Environmental Policy'*

Candidate Number: 558883

Word Count: 14,998

31st August 2016

'Our ability to reach unity in diversity will be the beauty and test of our civilisation'
Mahatma Gandhi

Abstract:

Through a combination of international migration and the continuing growth of long-settled minority populations, British cities are more ethnically diverse than ever before. This diversity has led to the evolution of ethnic foodscapes, such as London's 'Brick Lane' and Birmingham's 'Balti Quarter'. Using the case of Manchester's 'Curry Mile' this thesis draws on evidence from interviews and participant observation to investigate entrepreneurship and ethnic relations. Firstly, it investigates why South Asian entrepreneurs open restaurants on the Mile. In doing so, it contributes empirical research to the push-pull theory of entrepreneurship, and finds that 'pull' factors generally retain greater influence than 'push' factors. Secondly, this thesis explores ethnic relations on the 'Curry Mile' and discovers that the Mile is paradoxically a site of ethnic conflict *and* cohesion. Overall, this thesis presents a long overdue ethnography of the Curry Mile, which is a vibrant ethnic foodscape that is often neglected by researchers.

Acknowledgements: To NSEP, for being a fantastic group of people to learn with and from; to Linda for her invaluable guidance and support; to my interview participants, whose time and generosity I greatly appreciate, and to Mum, Dad, Grandma and Laura for always being there and supporting me.

Contents

Chapter One – Introduction **1**
1.1: Introduction 1
1.2: Aims of the Research 2

Chapter Two – A critical review of relevant literature **4**
2.1: Introduction 4
2.2: South Asian entrepreneurship in the restaurant industry 4
2.3: The demand for Indian cuisine in the UK 8
2.4: Ethnic foodscapes as sites of ethnic conflict 11
2.5: Ethnic foodscapes as sites of ethnic cohesion 13
2.6: Conclusion 16

Chapter Three – Research methodology **18**
3.1: Introduction 18
3.2: The challenges of studying ethnic foodscapes 18
3.3: The fieldwork site and the rationale for its selection 20
3.4: Methods of research (1) - Participant observation 22
3.5: Methods of research (2) - Interviews 23
3.6: Conclusion 24

Chapter Four – Entrepreneurship and Ethnic Relations on the Curry Mile **26**
4.1: Introduction 26
4.2: Ethnic entrepreneurship on the Curry Mile 26
4.2.1: Opening up shop: The pull factors of entrepreneurship 26
4.2.2: A last resort? The push factors of entrepreneurship 30
4.2.3: Promoting entrepreneurship: The role of Manchester's universities and The City Council 31
4.3: Conflict or Cohesion? An assessment of ethnic relations on the Mile 34
4.3.1: Racial Tension: shisha, policing and unruly customers 34
4.3.2: Co-ethnic exploitation and tension within the South Asian diaspora 36
4.3.3: A Cohesive Curry Mile 37
4.3.4: The Curry Mile as a community space for the South Asian diaspora 39
4.4: Conclusion 41

Chapter Five – Summary & Conclusions **43**
Appendix 1 **47**
Appendix 2 **49**
Cited References **51**
Uncited References **62**

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1: Introduction

The UK has become increasingly diverse in recent decades. In 2011, 14% of the population identified with a non-white ethnic group compared with 7% in 1991 (ONS, 2015). For the most part, ethnic minority groups are geographically concentrated in urban areas, leading to 'super-diversity' in some British cities (Vertovec, 2007). In London, Birmingham and Manchester more than 1 in 3 people identify with an ethnic minority background, while in Leicester, ethnic minorities now account for over half the population (ONS, 2012). This demographic diversity transforms the urban landscape of the UK, as ethnic groups set up their own businesses in British cities. Some ethnic groups are more entrepreneurial than others. In particular, South Asian communities exhibit some of the highest rates of self-employment and specialise in setting up newsagents and restaurants (Catney & Sabater, 2015). As a result, 'curry houses have become a characteristic feature of high streets in Britain' (Palat, 2015: 172). Indeed, there are now 12,000 Indian restaurants in the UK, with annual sales of £4.2 billion (Moore, 2016). Often Indian eateries co-locate in British cities to form ethnic foodscapes[1] such as Birmingham's 'Balti Quarter', London's 'Brick Lane' and Manchester's 'Curry Mile'. All of these foodscapes are 'landscapes of the ethnic economy', which heighten the sights and smells of the city and serve as spaces of interaction between minority and majority populations (Kaplan, 2006: 1)

This thesis casts a spotlight on Manchester's 'Curry Mile'. The Mile is one of the most iconic ethnic foodscapes in the UK and envelops 37 Indian restaurants (Visit Manchester, 2016a). Despite it being the largest concentration of Indian eateries in the UK, the Mile has received scarce academic attention. As Cuban and Fowler (2012: 307) attest, 'this migrant world has been absent both in bestselling postcolonial novels as well as in empirical research'. Conversely, other South Asian foodscapes such as London's 'Brick Lane' have received a

[1] In this thesis I define an ethnic foodscape as, 'a spatial concentration of ethnic restaurants, usually located in an inner-city area, which serve their own ethnic group as well as the general population. Examples include Chinatown's, Little Italy's and Curry Mile's'.

wealth of academic attention (Pottier, 2014; Frost, 2011; Highmore, 2009). As a corollary, this thesis makes an original contribution to the literature by concentrating on the case of the Curry Mile.

1.2: Aims of the Research

This thesis has two interrelated aims. The first is to examine entrepreneurship on the Mile and discern why restaurateurs open eateries in this foodscape. It is hoped this will contribute to the emergent literature on ethnic entrepreneurship and self-employment (Rodriguez-Pose & Hardy, 2015; Broughton, 2015). Second, this thesis aims to examine ethnic relations on the Mile, which will compliment work on social cohesion and conflict in British cities (Valentine, 2013; Amin, 2002). The objective here is not to provide policy recommendations, but to understand how local people perceive and interact with each other in the confines of the Curry Mile. In relation to both aims, the thesis will ask two research questions:

RQ1: *What are the main reasons for the development of the Curry Mile as a site of ethnic entrepreneurship?*

RQ2: *Is Manchester's Curry Mile a site of ethnic conflict and/or cohesion?*

As stated by Kaplan (2006: 1) foodscapes are 'bastions of ethnic economic activity'. Research question 1 will explore that economic activity in more detail by assessing the causes that underpin entrepreneurship on the Mile. At present, a 'push-pull' theory dominates the discussion on ethnic entrepreneurship (Kirkwood, 2009). Primarily, 'push' factors are characterised by racial discrimination, which ostracise minority groups from the labour market and force them into entrepreneurship. Alternatively, 'pull' factors are those that entice ethnic entrepreneurs to start businesses – such as seeing an economic opportunity. This thesis will draw on the 'push-pull' theory to determine why South Asian entrepreneurs set up restaurants on the Mile. In doing so, it departs from the current scholarship on ethnic enterprise. Currently there are a series of quantitative studies that measure the scale and extent of ethnic self-employment (Catney & Sabater, 2015; Broughton, 2015; Clark & Drinkwater, 2010), yet a

paucity of work exists on the causes of ethnic entrepreneurship. Consequently, this thesis fills a gap in the literature by explaining the main reasons for entrepreneurship on the Mile.

Following on, research question 2 will investigate how ethnic groups interact in Manchester's Curry Mile. In light of the recent Brexit vote, the study of ethnic relations is more pertinent than ever. The referendum has fuelled fears that Britain is becoming increasingly xenophobic under the aegis of populist politics. Since the result was announced on June 24th a flurry of racist incidents have taken place across British cities (Guardian, 2016; Independent, 2016; Telegraph, 2016). As visible symbols of diversity, ethnic foodscapes are prime targets for racial conflict. In contrast, foodscapes can be seen as cohesive sites of 'encounter' between majority and minority populations (Valentine, 2013). Celebrants of ethnic cuisine contend that foodscapes facilitate face-face encounters, prompt intercultural dialogue and build social capital between ethnic groups (Van den Berghe, 1984). In the chapters that follow, I assess both the conflict and cohesion arguments when examining ethnic relations in the Curry Mile.

Structurally, this thesis contains five chapters. Chapter 2 presents a critical review of the existing literature on foodscapes, entrepreneurship and ethnic relations. Chapter 3 will then describe and justify the research methods used for this thesis. Subsequently, Chapter 4 will provide an ethnographic account of entrepreneurship and ethnic relations on the Curry Mile. Finally, Chapter 5 will discuss the main findings of this thesis and relate them back to the research questions set out above.

Chapter Two:

A critical review of relevant literature

2.1: Introduction

The scholarship on ethnic foodscapes is highly eclectic and attracts a wide range of commentators from across the academic spectrum. Taylor (2000: 27) best illustrates this and contends that 'the introduction and diffusion of ethnic restaurants in cities…is the subject of significant social scientific commentary'. Although Taylor (2000) was writing over a decade ago, the scale of interest in ethnic foodscapes remains high and is arguably even higher now. Since the turn of the century, events such as the 2001 Northern Mill Town Riots, 7/7 and the Brexit vote have cast an ever-stronger spotlight on ethnic communities in the UK. In particular, city spaces associated with the South Asian diaspora are under intense scrutiny from academics and politicians. Against this backdrop, South Asian foodscapes such as 'Balti Quarters' are receiving more scholarly interest. So far, this literature largely focuses on London's 'Brick Lane' and touches on themes such as ethnic entrepreneurship, employment, urban regeneration, food consumption and ethnic relations (Pottier, 2014; Frost, 2011; Highmore, 2009). This literature review will examine some of these key themes and synthesise the scholarship into concise arguments. Section 2.2 will analyse entrepreneurship and examine how this literature is split into 'pull' and 'push' factors. In turn, section 2.3 will look at the demand for ethnic cuisine, drawing on the scale of curry consumption in the UK and exploring how ethnic foodscapes are used in urban regeneration strategies. Subsequently, sections 2.3 and 2.4 assess scholarship on ethnic relations and show how foodscapes are often viewed as sites of conflict or cohesion.

2.2: South Asian entrepreneurship in the restaurant industry

In November 2014, Nick Clegg (2014), the former Deputy Prime Minister, declared that 'a strong spirit entrepreneurial spirit can be found right across Britain's Asian community'. A wealth of academic literature supports this statement and focuses on the entrepreneurial activity of South Asian migrants

(Haq, 2015; Jones et al., 2012; Basu, 1998). This is no surprise given that Pakistani men retain a 26% self-employment rate, the highest of any ethnic group in the UK[1] (Catney & Sabater, 2015: 26). While self-employment may be regarded as a route to social mobility, it is troubling that most South Asian entrepreneurs are 'crammed into low value sectors' such as taxi driving, corner shop retail and restaurant work (Jones & Ram, 2013: 14).

A growing concern for researchers is what causes South Asian migrants to enter entrepreneurship; is it due to discrimination or ambition? The primary theory development around this topic has been to classify motivations into 'pull' and 'push' factors (Kirkwood, 2009). On the one hand, scholars investigate how competitive and cultural factors 'pull' ethnic entrepreneurs towards self-employment. On the other, analysts assert that racial discrimination and structural constraints 'push' ethnic groups out of formal employment. Both 'pull' and 'push' literary strands help to explain why large numbers of South Asian migrants set up their own restaurants.

Primarily, the role of family labour may 'pull' South Asian entrepreneurs into the restaurant trade. A wide body of scholarship acknowledges that an 'enduring theme' of South Asian entrepreneurship is the 'high deployment of co-ethnic labour through family networks' (Inal et al., 2012: 168). This is thought to be a vital ethnic resource, which offsets the costs of production. Jones and Ram (2013: 5) for instance state that South Asian firms benefit from the 'social capital of their familial networks'. In particular, they claim that family labour is not only cheap but also highly flexible and loyal, leading to greater stability and entrepreneurial success. More precisely, Strickland (2011) examines the benefits of family employment for 25 ethnic restaurants in Victoria, Australia. According to his analysis, South Asian restaurateurs retain a clear advantage, as other ethnic groups have more 'nuclear' families with a smaller labour pool. In this way, family labour is a competitive advantage of South Asian enterprise.

[1] This figure relates to Pakistani men aged 16-49. The self-employment rates for Bangladeshi and Indian men stands at 16% and 17% respectively (Catney and Sabater 2015: 26). Self-employment rates for South Asian women are much lower (Mirza 2012).

Concomitantly, South Asian entrepreneurs retain a competitive advantage by opening restaurants in an ethnic foodscape. Most saliently, Drucker (2003) signals the benefits of locating an eatery in a Curry Mile or a Chinatown. In an insightful discussion of 'ethnic food' and 'ethnic enclaves' she posits a 5-stage model, which charts the lifecycle of ethnic restaurants[2]. According to her typology, it is advantageous to first locate a restaurant inside an enclave, as restaurateurs have access to a captive co-ethnic market. Andersson and Hammarstedt (2015) echo this assertion in an analysis of ethnic enclaves and self-employment in Sweden. Specifically, they contend that serving co-ethnic clientele is a 'comparative advantage' due to a 'better knowledge of the preferences and language of the customers'. As such, entrepreneurs can 'sell goods that Swedish natives are not able to provide' (Andersson and Hammarstedt, 2015: 37). In this light, ethnic foodscapes are essentially 'protected markets' (Light 1972). Protected in the sense that entrepreneurs can cater for the special tastes and demands of their own ethnic group, without competition from businesspeople in the host society. As a consequence, the advantage of an ethnic enclave market may 'pull' South Asian entrepreneurs into the restaurant trade.

Cultural factors may also attract South Asian entrepreneurs toward the restaurant industry. In the main, this is because food and migration are inextricably tied in the literature. Multiple analysts attest that working with food offers migrants the chance to symbolically reconnect with their homeland (Sundarsingh, 2014; Narayan, 1995). Raman (2011: 171) adopts this perspective in her emotive memoir of Indian migration to Britain, and contends that cooking Indian cuisine provides a 'visceral tie to the homeland'. For her, food is 'entangled with memories of home' and acts as a segway between 'present selves and pre-migrant lives' (Raman, 2011: 171). Comparably, Mankekar (2005) highlights the nexus between food and migration. His ethnography of restaurant owners in Brick Lane reveals that such establishments 'produce powerful discourses of

[2] At the first stage of Drucker's model, the ethnic restaurant is an 'authentic food space' and is located within an ethnic enclave. Inside the enclave, the restaurant retains benefits from access to co-ethnic labour and markets. By the fifth stage of the model, the restaurant is a 'globalised food space' and is typically situated outside of the enclave. As such, the restaurant generally serves a more ethnically diverse clientele (Drucker 2003: 173-177)

home, family and tradition' (Mankekar, 2005: 204). Put simply, restaurants are a mechanism of attachment to the homeland and 'pull' ethnic entrepreneurs into the food industry.

Contrary to scholarship on the 'pull' factors of ethnic entrepreneurship, 'push' factors generally receive greater academic attention. As Inal et al. (2012: 168) observe, 'empowering examples' of ethnic entrepreneurship are 'rarely discussed'. Predominantly, this is because scholars such as Clark and Drinkwater (2000, 2002, 2010) identify racial discrimination in the UK labour market. In a series of papers, they argue that racial prejudice undergirds the UK economy and locks migrants out of the labour market. As such, ethnic entrepreneurship may be seen as an 'economic backwater' and 'a symptom of limited alternative opportunities' (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010: 137). In conjunction, Catney and Sabater (2015) argue that South Asian migrants suffer disproportionately high levels of discrimination. In fact, they state that Pakistani and Bangladeshi men retain the highest unemployment rate of all ethnic groups in the UK, at 18% and 16% respectively (Catney & Sabater, 2015: 25). This 'ethnic penalty' pushes South Asian migrants out of formal economy and into entrepreneurship.

In addition, the 'push' literature illuminates the impact of structural shifts in the economy. Many scholars frame deindustrialisation as the catalyst for South Asian entrepreneurship in Britain (Pottier, 2014; Choudhury, 1993; Werbner, 1990). Kalra (2000, 2004, 2014) is a chief advocate of this assertion. In a foundational text entitled, 'From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks', he adopts a historical lens to chart the rise of South Asian entrepreneurship in northern cities. More precisely, he investigates how the collapse of Manchester's cotton industry in the 1970's led to unprecedented levels of unemployment in the South Asian diaspora. In turn, many migrants had little choice but to begin their entrepreneurial journeys as taxi-drivers and restaurateurs. Kalra (2004: 24) thereby concludes that, 'South Asians shifted from cheap industrial labour to cheaper service sector labour in the space of a generation'. Palat (2015) corroborates this assertion and claims that 'the decline in manufacturing led to the growth of curry houses in the UK' (Palat, 2015: 182). In fact, the number of

curry houses did treble in the UK during deindustrialisation, from 1,200 in 1970 to 6,600 in 1990 (Buettner 2008: 879). In this way, South Asian migrants were arguably 'pushed' into self-employment by structural changes in the economy.

2.3: The demand for Indian cuisine in the UK

Alongside the 'pull' and 'push' factors of ethnic entrepreneurship, demand plays a pivotal role in the explosion of Indian cuisine in the UK. As Turgeon and Pastinelli (2002: 256) assert, 'many immigrants become restaurant owners for the simple reason that the host society asks for authentic cuisine prepared by ethnic people'. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the UK. A close analysis of the literature reveals that British consumers and city authorities generate an immense demand for Indian cuisine.

Principally, the demand for Indian cuisine is consumer-driven. Among scholars in the field, a consensus exists that British consumers retain a ravenous appetite for curry. Cook, Crang and Thorpe (2000: 109) were arguably the first academic analysts to identify the growing popularity of Indian food. They famously stated that 'curry has displaced fish and chips as the nation's favourite dish'. Following this declaration, a number of culinary commentators have identified Britain's irresistible affection for Indian cuisine (Palat, 2015; Pottier, 2014). Jaffrey (2012: 6) for instance frames the UK as a 'Curry Nation' and notes how Marks and Spencer's sell approximately 18 tonnes of chicken tikka masala per week. Similarly, Fielding (2014: 37) contends that Brits consume curry twice as often as the quintessentially English fish and chips. Aside from academics, the scale of curry consumption in the UK is a research interest for financial institutions. Nationwide (2015) calculates that British people spend more on curry than any other takeaway, with an average household paying out £1,355 per year. This love affair leads analysts to assert that 'going for an Indian' is now a 'national trait' synonymous with British culinary culture (Palat, 2015: 178).

By way of extension, the literature on ethnic food consumption indicates that certain types of consumers are more likely to eat Indian cuisine. Alan Warde and his colleagues identify that young, educated and professional people consume more ethnic food than any other social group (Warde, 2015a; 2015b; Warde et

al., 1999). To evidence this argument, Warde and his colleagues set up a 'variety index', measuring how frequently 1,000 people visited ethnic restaurants in one year (Warde et al., 1999). According to this index young professional people possessed a 'broader repertoire of culinary experience' (Warde et al., 1999: 123). Predominantly, Warde et al. (1999) explain this trend by drawing on Bourdieu's (1986) notion of 'cultural capital'[3]. In particular, they note that young well-educated people often exhibit higher levels of cultural capital and are thereby more likely to frequent ethnic restaurants. Similar to Warde, Humble (2005) highlights how university students are often the main patrons of Indian eateries. Humble (2005) however, does not attribute this trend to cultural capital. Instead he claims that curry houses are more popular with students because 'prices are cheap, the food excitingly exotic and the restaurants open long after other establishments shut their doors' (Humble, 2005: 189). In this way, students and young people are reportedly the chief aficionados of Indian cuisine.

City authorities also drive the demand for ethnic cuisine. A sizeable body of scholarship asserts that ethnic foodscapes are part of a 'place marketing' strategy in British cities (Evans, 2015; Frost, 2011; Taylor, 2000). Shaw (2011) for example, illustrates how 'Balti Quarters' or 'Little Indias' are instruments for urban regeneration. According to him, city authorities help to construct ethnic foodscapes because they see them as 'a panacea to revitalise selected streetscapes'. Similarly, Jones and Ram (2011) assert that authorities promote ethnic eateries to project a cosmopolitan image of the city. Specifically, they suggest that 'exotic eating houses' are the 'purest possible distillation of the multicultural message' on the British high street (Jones & Ram, 2011: 67). Barabantseva (2016) posits a similar argument in a study on Manchester's Chinatown. She notes how Chinatown is central to the ongoing redevelopment of Manchester as a multicultural city. In fact, one City Council member told her, 'we rely very heavily on the likes of Chinatown, projecting it as a sign of Manchester's internationalism' (Barabantseva, 2016: 106). Consequently, city authorities utilise ethnic foodscapes as 'active agents' in the construction of thriving cosmopolitan cities (Turgeon and Pastinelli, 2002: 254).

[3] Bourdieu (1986) defines 'cultural capital' as a person's level of cultural knowledge. To apply it to this study, cultural capital could refer to an individual's understanding of ethnic cuisine.

Up to this juncture, the literature review explores ethnic entrepreneurship and the demand for Indian cuisine in the UK. As stated by Nash (2009), both scholarship strands help explicate the emergence of ethnic foodscapes. According to his research, foodscapes are shaped by two 'competing explanations'. Firstly, an 'immigration thesis', which postulates that foodscapes form due to the entrepreneurial activity of migrants. Secondly, a 'fad thesis' suggests that city planners and consumers drive the development of foodscapes. As shown above, these two literary threads attract a wealth of academic attention. On closer inspection, however, there is a paucity of ethnographic research on why migrants actually establish their own restaurants. Clark and Drinkwater (2010: 144) identify this lacuna and urge 'future research' to 'uncover the causal mechanisms' of ethnic entrepreneurship. Comparably, Broughton (2015: 24) contends that motivational factors 'need to be better understood'. Chapter 4 fills the gap in the literature by investigating the main reasons why entrepreneurs open restaurants on the Curry Mile. This is important as the Curry Mile has 'largely escaped academic analysis' and no other author has examined entrepreneurship in this foodscape (Barrett & McEvoy, 2006: 201). As a corollary, this thesis will produce a novel piece of research by asking:

RQ1: ***What are the main reasons for the development of the Curry Mile as a site of ethnic entrepreneurship?***

2.4: Ethnic foodscapes as sites of ethnic conflict

Now it is time to turn attention to ethnic relations within foodscapes. From a sceptical standpoint, foodscapes are seen as sites of conflict both between and within ethnic groups (Palat, 2015; Buettner, 2008; Narayan, 1995). A more progressive perspective, however, portrays these areas as sites of inter and intra ethnic cohesion (Pottier, 2014; Raman, 2011; Van den Berghe, 1984). Sections 2.4 and 2.5 examine scholarship from both schools of thought and identify the main arguments from the conflict and cohesion narratives.

Primarily, the conflict narrative highlights episodes of racism in ethnic foodscapes. While curry may have been incorporated with ease into British society, this has not necessarily extended to people of South Asian origin. Kalra (2004: 24) for instance notes that the 'British press regularly reports on hostility and violence' in areas like Curry Miles. In 1999 the Independent ran an article entitled 'The Brick Lane Bomb: A street scarred by years of racial conflict'. More recently the East London Advertiser (2016) has published a piece, describing how a curry house in Brick Lane was subject to a suspected racist attack. Despite this incident racism appears to have reduced in Indian restaurants today. Palat (2015) notes that racial abuse was at its peak in the 1980s when curry, alcohol and masculinity were deeply entwined. In particular, he contends that groups of young white men would often arrive in restaurants 'riotously drunk after the pubs closed to soak up a curry' and 'routinely insult workers and owners, assault them and vandalise their restaurants' (Palat, 2015: 182). Buettner (2008) verifies this argument by drawing on the case of Satpal Ram. Satpal and his friends were dining at an Indian restaurant in Birmingham in 1986, when six drunken white men stumbled into the restaurant and began racially abusing the Indian waiters. In an ensuing struggle, Ram was cut with broken glass and in self-defence stabbed one of his assailants. While this may be an extreme case, it shows how ethnic foodscapes can easily become sites of racial conflict.

Correspondingly, the conflict narrative indicates an association between curry and colonialism. Highmore (2009: 176) observes that Indian restaurants in the UK are the 'direct result of colonialism' and entail a 'continuation of neocolonial structures'. Curry is directly linked to the colonial era due to the

arrival of South Asian migrants through the British imperial system. Visram (1986, 2002) traces South Asian migration from the 16th to the 20th century, and recounts how 'lascars'[4] were the first South Asians to arrive in Britain. Upon arrival, lascars often set up small cafes selling affordable South Asian food, such as rice and curry. Eventually this led to the opening of first Indian restaurant in the UK, Veeraswamy's in 1927. According to Monroe (2005: 104) Veeraswamy's 'addressed itself unapologetically to a nostalgic imperial past'. It was a place where wealthy white ex-colonials could re-enact their lives in India, calling waiters 'bearers' and being called 'Sahib' (master) in return. Comparably, Choudhury (1993: 65) notes how the staff at Veeraswamy's were 'brought direct from India' and 'dressed in traditional clothes…just right to receive and satisfy their old masters'. Colonial power relations still persist in Indian restaurants today albeit not to the same extent (Heldke, 2001). Heldke's (2001) theory of 'food colonialism' posits that white westerners consume ethnic cuisine to taste the 'exotic' and spice up their diet; but they display no concern for the people who produce or serve this food. Ultimately, this is reminiscent of the colonial project, which sought to subsume exotic resources from the East, yet denigrate its people (Said 1978). For this reason, scholars such as Heldke (2001) and Narayan (1995: 78) write about the 'passive and unthinking eating of ethnic foods that partially constitutes food colonialism'.

Additionally, ethnic foodscapes are sites of conflict within ethnic groups. A substantial body of literature signals a high degree of co-ethnic exploitation in these spaces (Hill, 2015; Knight, 2015; Basu, 1998). As shown earlier in this chapter, the deployment of family and co-ethnic labour lends a competitive advantage to entrepreneurs in the restaurant industry. On closer inspection however, this labour is often exploited. Strickland's (2011) analysis of 25 ethnic restaurants in Australia reveals that child labour is 'expected' and only 1 restaurateur paid their child the legal amount. In a British context, Jones et al. (2006: 362) identify exploitative working conditions in Indian restaurants, and discovered that one chef in Birmingham earns just £180 after a 55-hour week. According to Jones et al. (2006: 360) the 'problem of low pay' is an 'endemic

[4] Lascars were South Asian sailors who were employed in the British Merchant Navy from the 16th century until the mid 20th century. Predominantly, they were poorly educated young men from the region of Sylhet (Visram 1986).

feature' of ethnic eateries, as they try to compete with popular fast food outlets and restaurant chains on the British high street (Jones et al., 2006: 360). Congruently, Cuban and Fowler (2012: 302) note how Indian restaurants are 'brutally competitive businesses', where restaurateurs 'hire the cheapest possible labour'. This price cutting strategy thus drives down labour costs and leads to co-ethnic exploitation.

On the theme of intra-ethnic conflict, tensions persist over cultural appropriation. Despite being called 'Indian restaurants', Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants manage most of the curry houses in the UK (Palat, 2015). In fact, Buettner (2012: 147) calculates that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis own up to 90% of the UK's 12,000 curry houses. As Pottier (2014) observes, these migrants often do not receive the credit they deserve. In particular, he attests that British diners 'in the habit of going for an Indian' often 'ignore the Bangladeshi contribution, their hard work, innovative entrepreneurship and determination' (Pottier, 2014: 8). Put another way, the act of 'going for an Indian' is so embedded in the British psyche that consumers automatically associate curry houses with the Indian community, as opposed to the wider South Asian diaspora. In light of this, Beddell (2002) notes that South Asian restaurateurs feel compelled to market their eateries as Indian. One Bangladeshi restaurateur told her that he advertises his restaurant as Indian because, 'Bangladesh is a land associated with floods and cyclones, whereas India is associated with romance, the Raj, Taj Mahal and mystique' (Beddell, 2002). As such, some restaurateurs begrudgingly eschew their own national identity and appropriate the Indian label. This trend causes cultural friction and compounds the conflict narrative of ethnic foodscapes.

2.5: Ethnic foodscapes as sites of ethnic cohesion

Contrary to the conflict narrative, a series of scholars discursively frame ethnic foodscapes as sites of inter-ethnic cohesion. Van den Berghe (1984) was the first to posit this optimistic view. Specifically, he frames ethnic cuisine as the 'most rewarding and easiest bridge across ethnic lines' and asks 'what more accessible and friendlier arena of inter-ethnic contact could be devised than the ethnic

restaurant?' (Van den Berghe, 1984: 414). Clemes et al. (2013: 43) echo this assertion while investigating consumer experiences in ethnic restaurants in Canterbury, New Zealand. From a survey of 400 people they find that dining in these eateries engenders 'intercultural learning' and respect (see also Tsai & Lu, 2012). In this way, ethnic foodscapes are essentially intercultural 'contact zones', where diverse ethnic groups congregate and coalesce (Pratt, 1991). Putnam's (2000) theory of 'social capital'[5] neatly aligns with this proposition. In particular, he states that contact zones can cultivate 'bridging capital' between ethnic groups. There is academic debate, however, as to how this capital develops; whether it is via formal channels and associations like sports and community groups (Amin, 2002; Valentine, 2013), or through 'informal sociability' (Warde et al., 2005) and more prosaic interactions like eating out (Warde, 2015a). For many scholars who study the sociology of food, the restaurant is a key conductor of 'bridging capital'. As Warde (2015b: 121) attests, dining out can 'oil the wheels of social interaction, friendship, kinship and social solidarity'. In this respect, some scholars see ethnic foodscapes as sites of inter-ethnic cohesion.

Concomitantly, ethnic foodscapes are seen as sites of inter-ethnic cohesion due to Peterson's (1992) theory of 'cultural omnivorousness'. This suggests that people can build positive intercultural relationships by purchasing products from a wide range of ethnic groups. As Friedman (2012: 467) opines, omnivourosness is a 'new source of social and cultural capital, enhancing one's ability to communicate with diverse groups and nurturing greater cultural and political tolerance'. Alan Warde (2015a; 2015b) routinely applies the 'omnivore' concept to ethnic food studies. According to him, many White British people are now 'cultural omnivores' as they dine in an array of ethnic restaurants including: Indian, Chinese and Thai, among others. In one sense, Warde (2015a) perceives this as a sign of interethnic tolerance and a 'growing democracy of the palate' in Britain. However, he also cautions that 'omnivorousness' may just be a new way for people to elevate their own status and gain 'social distinction' (Bourdieu,

[5] According to Putnam (2000: 19), 'social capital refers to connections among individuals social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. Putnam distinguishes between 'bridging' and 'bonding' types of social capital. Bridging refers to social capital across ethnic groups and bonding denotes social capital within the same ethnic group.

1984). Accounting for this tension between democracy and distinction, Warde (2015b: 125) claims that 'sociological interest hangs on whether omnivorousness is an indication of greater tolerance …or just a new garb for distinction'. If 'omnivorousness' is a symbol of greater tolerance then foodscapes are sites of inter-ethnic cohesion.

Additionally, a series of scholars portray ethnic foodscapes as sites of *intra* ethnic cohesion. As noted by Pottier (2014: 20), Indian restaurants in London's Brick Lane are vital 'community spaces' for the South Asian diaspora. Often these eateries are home to diasporic celebrations such as weddings, birthdays and religious festivals. Furthermore Indian restaurants also serve as spaces of sustenance and commensality[6] for the diaspora. Raman (2011) recounts that when her family arrived in London from India in the 1950s they would often eat out across the city's dining circuit. Throughout this culinary journey, she explains how she established friendships with migrants from other regions in India apart from her native state of Madras. Specifically, she claims that by 'eating together we created new affective geographies in diaspora'. In turn, this 'forged feelings of pan-Indianess' whereby 'local borderlines dissolved into an Indian nationhood' (Raman, 2011: 173). In this way, Indian restaurants became affective sites of 'bonding capital' (Putnam, 2000), where regional parochialisms softened into a complete Indian sense of community. As a consequence, Indian eateries are conceived as sites of inter-ethnic cohesion in the literature.

From the above arguments, it is easy to see why 'ethnic cuisine is frequently invoked as an indicator of a multicultural society' (Frost, 2011: 231). Many academics contend that ethnic cuisine facilitates social cohesion within and between ethnic groups. This discourse runs counter to the conflict narrative presented earlier. A notable omission from the current literature, however, is the lack of ethnographic studies that assess ethnic relations in foodscapes. Tsai and Lu (2012: 306) argue that more 'qualitative methods' are needed to 'explore ethnic dining experiences'. Similarly, Warde (2015b: 13) wants to see more 'ethnographic designs' because data sources at present are 'less than fit for

[6] Commensality refers to the experience of sharing food around a table.

purpose'. In conjunction, Wise (2009: 21) notes that greater empirical attention is required to analyse 'who, where, how and why people get on [and] how diversity is lived on the ground'. This thesis thereby fills this gap in the literature by undertaking an ethnographic account of Manchester's Curry Mile and asking:

RQ2: Is Manchester's Curry Mile a site of ethnic conflict and/or cohesion?

2.6: Conclusion

On balance, the scholarship on ethnic foodscapes is far-reaching. It envelops a variety of commentators, specialising in studies such as entrepreneurship, cuisine, urban planning and the sociology of consumption. This review stitches together these individual strands of scholarship to present a neat précis of the pertinent literature. From this bricolage it is possible to discern an academic debate between the 'pull' and 'push' factors of entrepreneurship. For the most part, however, this work is theoretically driven rather than empirically grounded. In other words, there is a paucity of primary research on why migrants set up their own businesses. Furthermore there is a dearth of ethnographic research on the Curry Mile. As a corollary, Chapter 4 will make an original contribution to the literature by examining entrepreneurship on the Mile.

Additionally, this review investigates scholarship on ethnic relations. This literature is divided into 'conflict' and 'cohesion' strands. The conflict narrative claims that racism and neo-colonial power relations cause friction between ethnic groups. By the same token, cultural appropriation and co-ethnic exploitation trigger tension within the South Asian diaspora. Conversely, the 'cohesion' narrative frames foodscapes as intercultural contact zones, which engender 'bridging capital' across ethnic groups (Putnam, 2000). In tandem, this narrative claims that foodscapes are important community spaces for the South Asian diaspora, where they can practice commensality and build 'bonding capital' (Putnam, 2000). At present however, both the conflict and cohesion narratives are undercut by a lack of empirical research.

Overall this chapter offers a critical review of the existing literature. By exposing the tensions, gaps and weaknesses of current scholarship, the review guides the reader to the research questions of this thesis, and shows how this study can fill lacunae in the literature. The ensuing chapter presents the methodology for this thesis.

Chapter Three:

Research Methodology

3.1: Introduction

This thesis will use a qualitative methodology to investigate ethnic entrepreneurship and ethnic relations in Manchester's Curry Mile. Qualitative methods are advantageous as they allow a researcher to 'see through the eyes of participants' and gain an in-depth understanding of their topic (Bryman, 2012). Unlike quantitative analysis, qualitative research seeks to subjectively 'interpret' the social world by gauging a variety of opinions on it, as opposed to objectively mapping it through statistics (Silverman 2016). This interpretivist[1] epistemology is appropriate for my study, which aims to collect the stories and attitudes of people who work on the Curry Mile. In order to achieve this I decided to conduct a six-month period of participant observation and 12 face-to-face interviews. This chapter will provide a detailed overview of these research methods, and is split into 5 sections. First it will adduce the challenges of studying ethnic foodscapes. A particular emphasis here is placed on the issue of ethnicity and the problem of positionality. The chapter then shifts toward a case-specific approach, where I explain why the Curry Mile was selected as the fieldwork site. Finally, the reasons for using participant observation and interviews are described and justified in sections 3.4 and 3.5. Before a discussion of the methods, however, it is necessary to outline the challenges of studying ethnic foodscapes.

3.2: The challenges of studying ethnic foodscapes

Primarily, ethnic foodscapes are challenging to study given the uncertainty over what actually constitutes an 'ethnic restaurant'. Turgeon and Pastinelli (2002: 252) define these restaurants as ones 'whose signboard or publicity clearly promises the national or regional cuisine of another land'. Prima facie this

[1] Interpretivism is an epistemological position, which suggests there is no definitive or objective world 'out there' as positivists suggest. Instead, the world and everything in it is subject to a variety of interpretations from different people (Bernard 2012)

definition appears straightforward, however, it also throws up some ambiguities. Most notably, it fails to account for the tendency of restaurants to incorporate a variety of ethnic meals in their menus. Along the Curry Mile, many 'Indian' restaurants sell a smorgasbord of dishes including, burgers, pastas, shepherds pie and crepes. Additionally, the proprietors are often not Indian at all but originate from Pakistan. This complicates Turgeon and Pastinelli's (2002) definition and undercuts the notion of a pure ethnic restaurant. Consequently I propose a new definition:

'An ethnic restaurant is one that mainly sells meals from another land but may also incorporate a range of dishes from other nations too. The proprietors of the restaurant may belong to a different ethnic group from the cuisine they are selling.'

By way of extension, the concept of an ethnic restaurant is controversial as it largely refers to Indian and Chinese eateries as opposed to British or American diners (Nash, 2009). In other words, there is an exoticisation of culture at work, whereby consumers regard any cuisine beyond the borders of Western society as ethnic and exotic (Said 1978). This trend is concerning given that 'ethnicity is a relational concept, one in which the dominant is able to define the subordinate' (Wilmsen, 1996: 5). Bell Hooks (1992) elucidates this argument in a provocative piece on 'eating the other'. In particular, she notes how a dominant Western society routinely consumes and commodifies the cultural artefacts of the Orient (Said, 1978). As such, Chinese and Indian food is associated with the exoticism of the Orient, and embodies the unequal power relations between East and West. In this way, researchers must exercise caution when investigating 'ethnic' foodscapes.

Another challenge to studying ethnic foodscapes is the problem of positionality[2]. Any study of ethnicity requires a researcher to be reflexive and consider their ethnic identity and positionality. It is sometimes argued that a researcher should be a 'cultural insider' and share the same ethnicity as their participants. As an 'insider' the researcher may be able to speak a relevant language, recognise idiosyncratic cultural references and earn the trust of participants more quickly

[2] Positionality refers to how a researcher's social and cultural position such as their age, sex, ethnicity and religion influences their perspective on what they are studying (Pratt 2009). As Stuart Hall (1990: 222) contends, 'practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write – the positions of enunciation'.

(Ganga & Scott, 2006). Essentially, this insider status enables the researcher to reach the 'heart of the community' and reveal an 'authenticity outsiders cannot access' (Gould & Qureshi, 2014: 153). Following this logic it may be beneficial for a South Asian scholar to study the Curry Mile. A caveat however is that a co-ethnic researcher may run the risk of 'ethnic bias', whereby they paint an overly positive image of their community (Fox & Jones, 2013). As a result, there is a danger that 'projects may simply become vehicles for community pride and advocacy' (Gould & Qureshi, 2014: 152). In order to avoid this bias, it may be more appropriate for scholars to be 'cultural outsiders'. This will leave critical distance between researchers and respondents, and perhaps present a more balanced interpretation of areas such as the Curry Mile. Overall, the positives and pitfalls of 'insider' and 'outsider' status ensure there is an enduring problem of positionality when studying ethnicity and ethnic foodscapes.

In this thesis, I am a 'cultural outsider' to the South Asian diaspora. As a White British researcher, it was initially difficult for me to access interview candidates, as I did not have a pre-existing network of contacts in the Curry Mile. A period of participant observation was thereby essential for me to embed myself in the local area, gain the trust of participants and secure key informants for the interview process. My 'outsider' status also played a part at the interview stage. During some interviews, participants used Urdu phrases and cited passages from the Qu'ran, which I was unfamiliar with. On reflection, a South Asian researcher may have been better placed to interpret these references. Conversely, a key benefit of being an 'outsider' was that I maintained a critical distance from my participants and was able to perform a relatively balanced examination of the Curry Mile. This is not to say however, that this research is totally free from bias. Power relations always inflect the relationship between researchers and respondents, they can never be eliminated, nor is it impossible to entirely understand how they affect a study (Foucault, 1977).

3.3: The fieldwork site and the rationale for its selection

Fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in Manchester's Curry Mile between January and July 2016. The Curry Mile is situated on Wilmslow Road, in the

inner-city ward of Rusholme. The Mile was chosen as the fieldwork site for two main reasons.

First, the Mile serves as an exceptional case study as it is arguably the most iconic ethnic foodscape in the UK. A walkdown the Mile reveals a bustling polycultural area brimming with South Asian shops and 'Indian' restaurants. In fact, there are over 200 businesses and 37 Indian eateries nestled along this stretch of road (Visit Rusholme, 2016). Essentially, this ribbon development embodies a rich tapestry of South Asian culture and cuisine, which attracts visitors from all over the UK and further afield. The latest statistics suggest the Mile entertains 65,000 diners per week (MEN, 2013a). In large part, this healthy figure is attributable to the Mile's geographical location. Wilmslow Road is the main arterial route into the city centre from South Manchester and is one of Europe's busiest bus corridors (TFGM, 2014). It conjoins the heart of the city with the nearby Manchester University campus, as well as the wealthy suburbs of Didsbury, Wilmslow and beyond. This busy thoroughfare ensures that the Mile is in an integral feature of Mancunian life and receives a daily footfall of 70,000-80,000 people (Akbar, 2016). Overall, the form, location and popularity of Manchester's Curry Mile ensure it is a prominent ethnic foodscape.

Second, the Curry Mile was selected because it merits more academic attention. Despite it being a well-renowned foodscape, very few scholars actually undertake empirical research on the Mile. An in-depth search of online databases reveals that just 3 academic texts have been published on this area over the past 20 years[3] (Kalra, 2014; Cuban & Fowler, 2012; Barrett & McEvoy, 2006). None of these texts however, employed an ethnographic design or recorded the views of local people. Cuban and Fowler (2012: 299) identify this weakness and attest that existing studies are 'yet to be followed up by extensive interviews with the restaurateurs who live and work in this landscape'. This trend is troubling given that Rusholme retains a relatively high South Asian population and many more people of South Asian origin regularly visit the Mile (see Table 1). The lack of empirical attention is thereby concerning and indicates that the South Asian diaspora is relatively voiceless in narratives on Manchester. As a consequence,

[3] Outside academia, only one novel is set on the Mile. In 2006, Zahid Hussain's wrote a literary ethnography entitled the 'Curry Mile'.

this thesis fills a lacuna in the literature by studying the Curry Mile and hopefully lending a voice to the South Asian community.

Table 1: The percentage of South Asian and white ethnic groups in Rusholme in comparison to the ward average for Manchester, 2011
[Source: authors calculations based on 2011 census statistics]

	Rusholme%	Manchester Ward Average%
Indian	5	2.3
Pakistani	18.6	8.5
Bangladeshi	9.3	1.3
Total South Asian	32.9	12.1
White	43	66.6

3.4: Methods of research (1) – Participant observation

Firstly, the study comprised a six-month period of participation observation[4]. From January to July 2016, I attended 5 community meetings, 2 festivals and dined in 11 restaurants along the Curry Mile. This was a socially immersive process, which allowed me to blend into the local milieu and appreciate the inner workings of the area. In particular, attendance at community meetings chaired by the Rusholme Business Association (RBA) and the Rusholme Traders Association (RTA), were essential for understanding the concerns of local entrepreneurs. Minutes and agendas from all 5 meetings were recorded and constitute some of the material used in Chapter 4. Additionally, festivals such as Eid and the Manchester Mega Mela[5] leant a further understanding of South Asian culture. The chief component of participant observation, however, was

[4] Participant Observation is a process whereby a researcher immerses himself in a community for an extended period of time, observing behavior, listening and engaging in conversations, asking questions and making detailed notes (Bryman 2012).
[5] The Mega Mela is the largest celebration of South Asian culture in the North of England and is situated next to the Curry Mile, in Platt Fields Park. This year the Mela was held on 30th-31st July (Manchester Mela 2016).

dining at 11 restaurants in the Mile. Eating in the restaurants provided valuable first-hand experience of the industry and gave me an opportunity to assess the ambience of different eateries. This corporeal dimension is especially important as, 'participant observation obliges its practitioners to experience at a bodily, as well as an intellectual level' (Clifford, 1988: 24).

From an ethical perspective, it is important to note that dining at the restaurants was a form of 'covert observation' (Bryman, 2012). By acting almost as a mystery shopper, I analysed the everyday interactions of the eatery without revealing my true identity. This covert role offered a 'true' insight into the restaurants, and was crucial in combatting the 'reactive measurement effect' (Webb et al., 1966: 13). In other words, if restaurant staff knew they were subject to academic inquiry they may have 'reacted' by conducting themselves differently. While 'covert' observation is useful for reducing reactivity, it fails to provide participants with the opportunity for informed consent (Bryman, 2012). In this instance, field notes were taken on the restaurant staff, customers, décor and food without anyone knowing. While this may be ethically dubious, I wanted to complete as accurate an analysis of the Curry Mile as possible.

3.5: Methods of Research (2) – Interviews

As well as participant observation, individual interviews were held throughout June and July 2016. Each interview was semi-structured and lasted approximately 1 hour. Interviews were semi-structured in format for two reasons. Primarily, this was to enable respondents to expand upon themes raised in the interview in their own terms. It is thought this lends a natural flow to the interview and allows the discussion to twist and turn in interesting directions. As Bernard (2012: 183) notes, semi-structured interviews retain a 'free-wheeling quality', which incites researchers and respondents to 'follow new leads'. Secondly, semi-structured interviews were used to ensure continuity and compare answers at the analysis stage. This was achieved through an interview schedule, which was piloted and developed over the first three interviews with restaurant owners (see appendix 1 for a copy of the interview schedule).

In total 12 face-face interviews were conducted. 12 was an appropriate sample size given both the duration of the interviews and the range of participants, which included 8 restaurateurs, 2 councillors, 1 police officer and 1 chairman of a local community group (see appendix 2 for an overview of all interview participants). Together, these respondents form a rich network of local knowledge on the Curry Mile, each with their own perspective and story to tell. Most saliently, it was important to interview restaurateurs, as they are the main protagonists of the Mile. As shown in the interview schedule, restaurateurs were asked to narrate the history of their restaurant and explain why they opened it in the Curry Mile. Furthermore, they were asked more attitudinal questions, which sought to gauge their opinion on ethnic relations within the foodscape. In addition, the councillors clarified the council's role in helping to develop the Mile and the police officer shed more light on racial tension.

Following the fieldwork, all interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically for an effective synthesis of the data. Specifically, the ocular scan method was used to discover themes in the transcriptions (Bernard, 2012). This method involves reading over texts several times to identify patterns by searching for word repetitions and indigenous categories. Once themes were found, the data was organised via a framework approach[6] (Ricthie et al., 2003: 29). Put simply, the data is inserted into a framework or 'matrix', which is then coded into core themes and subthemes. Essentially this approach allows researchers to order, prioritise and pick out the key pieces of data.

3.6: Conclusion

On reflection, this chapter presents an in-depth discussion of the research methodology. At first, it outlines the challenges of studying ethnic foodscapes, highlighting the difficulties of defining an 'ethnic' restaurant and the problem of positionality. Subsequently, it posits a justification for choosing the Curry Mile as the fieldwork site, noting how it is an iconic yet understudied foodscape. Finally, it adduces a detailed description and rationalisation of the research methods. Overall the mix of participant observation and interviews corresponds

[6] Ritchie et al. (2003: 219) describe a framework approach as a 'matrix based method for ordering and synthesising data'

with other studies on ethnic restaurants and lends an interpretivist understanding of the Curry Mile (Strickland, 2011; Hutton, 2002; Turgeon & Pastinelli, 2002). Now the methodology for this research has been justified it is time turn to the main findings of this thesis.

Chapter Four:

Entrepreneurship and Ethnic Relations on the Curry Mile

4.1: Introduction

This chapter will present the main findings of this thesis. It is based on data from interviews and participant observation as well as evidence from the literature review, to investigate entrepreneurship and ethnic relations in Manchester's Curry Mile. The chapter is divided into two main 2 sections. Section 4.2 examines entrepreneurship, assessing why restaurateurs open eateries on the Curry Mile. Section 4.3 then explores ethnic relations on the Mile, explaining how the people who live and work in this foodscape interact.

4.2: Ethnic entrepreneurship on the Curry Mile

The Curry Mile has developed as a site of ethnic entrepreneurship for three chief reasons. The first two are the 'pull'[1] and 'push'[2] factors of entrepreneurship. A discussion of both terms took place in the literature review but for clarity definitions are footnoted below. The third significant factor is how institutions such as universities and Manchester City Council help to promote businesses in this foodscape. All three factors are explored below.

4.2.1: Opening up Shop: The pull factors of entrepreneurship

Primarily, restaurateurs open eateries on the Curry Mile for financial reasons. All of the restaurant owners I interviewed highlighted the profitability of their business. According to them, the Mile is a lucrative area to locate as it is an *'icon'* and *'landmark'* of Manchester, which currently attracts up to 65,000

[1] Pull factors are those that draw or entice people to start businesses, such as seeing an economic opportunity. 'Pull' factors also refer to the help people receive from their friends or family when setting up their business. This help may be financial or emotional and enables and incentivises people to become entrepreneurs.

[2] Push factors are those that force or 'push' people out of the formal economy and into entrepreneurship such as racial discrimination. In contrast to 'pull' factors, 'push' factors often have negative connotations.

diners per week. Rafique, the owner of The Bengal Tiger, neatly encapsulates the appeal of opening a restaurant on the Curry Mile:

> *'When I was looking at setting up a restaurant in Manchester I did not look at any other location, the Mile is a great place to make money, it is always busy and everybody knows it. Also there are many other Indian restaurants here, so it's an exciting place and you feel like you could be in South Asia.'*

The first point to draw from Rafique's assertion is how the popularity of the area persuaded him to open his restaurant. Popularity was a key theme in discussions with other restaurant owners too. Mus, from the Raj restaurant claimed *'the main benefit of the Mile is the footfall, everyday I have 80,000 people passing the restaurant'*. This footfall presents a real opportunity for higher revenues. A further point, is his reference to the concentration of Indian restaurants along the Mile. For him and other owners, the clustering of eateries is a unique selling point, which adds to the buzz and excitement of the streetscape. By bunching together the eateries create an alluring and 'exotic' eating experience for customers (Said, 1978). Every time a person walks through this foodscape they are treated to the sights and smells of the Indian sub-continent. It is a captivating culinary experience, which implores people to come and consume 'real' South Asian cuisine.

Correspondingly, the concentration of restaurants is advantageous as it attracts a sizeable portion of South Asian customers. Specifically, all of the restaurant owners in this study indicated that South Asian patrons account for over 35% of their clientele[3]. Similar to studies on food and migration, the South Asian community visits this foodscape to re-connect with the homeland and consume traditional cuisine (Sundarsingh, 2014; Raman, 2011). This ensures that restaurant owners have access to a captive co-ethnic market, which enhances the success of their business. As one restaurateur stated, *'all of the owners here are Asian so we know what Asian customers want and we definitely profit from that'*. Indeed, the Curry Mile is essentially a 'protected market' where restaurateurs can cater for the special tastes of their own ethnic group (Light, 1972). This

[3] Two restaurants, Maharanis and Karachi Kitchen reported that South Asians constitute 90% of their customers.

finding supports Drucker's (2003) claim that serving co-ethnic clientele is beneficial for understanding customer preferences and expectations (see also Andersson & Hammarsedt, 2015). On the Curry Mile, serving the South Asian diaspora is also profitable given the scale of festivals such as Eid and the Manchester Mega Mela. Both events attract tens of thousands of people and fill the restaurants to capacity. In fact, Hasan notes that Zayna restaurant recorded its most profitable week ever following the recent Eid festival:

> *'Eid was long, hard, tiring and stressful but when Sunday came and I was cashing out I was very happy with the result, that financial result I would not get anywhere else in Manchester.'*

Hasan's quote clearly conveys the sense of economic opportunity felt by all 8 restaurant owners in this study. For them financial factors far outweigh the cultural attraction of serving food from India or Pakistan. None of the restaurateurs indicated that working with ethnic cuisine provides a 'visceral tie to the homeland' (Raman, 2011). This is consistent with Turgeon and Pastinelli's (2002) study of ethnic restaurants in Canada. In their study, they argued that 'economic matters clearly came first' for restaurateurs and the 'desire to preserve and disseminate their own cultures through the medium of the restaurant barely crossed their minds' (Turgeon & Pastinelli, 2002: 256).

Figure 1: A busy evening on the Mile during the Eid festival
[Source: South Manchester 2012]



In addition to financial reasons, restaurateurs on the Curry Mile are helped into the industry through family ties. 5 restaurant owners recount how they entered the restaurant trade either directly or indirectly as a result of their father. Abdul's father founded the Janam restaurant for him and his brothers in 1977. Moreover, Ali recalls how working in his father's restaurant from the age of 10 instilled him with a deep-seated passion to establish his own eatery. Today Ali owns the Karachi Kitchen restaurant chain, which contains 5 outlets, 1 in the Curry Mile, 2 in Bradford and 1 in Leeds and 1 in Birmingham. Ali now employs over 200 people, yet he still extols the virtues of family labour:

> *'I love working with family members and they make up the core of my business. I think there are real advantages to working with your family because they are a bit more loyal, they work harder and you can usually trust them more.'*

Ali's attitude mirrors that of other restaurateurs on the Curry Mile. When describing family labour, restaurant owners often used positive phrases such as *'reliability'* and *'loyalty'*. Indeed, one restaurateur suggested that *'family is the most important part of my business'*. Essentially, the tendency to favor family labour adds weight to Jones and Ram's (2013) observation, that family employment is an abiding theme of South Asian entrepreneurship (see also Inal et al., 2012). A key point of divergence from existing studies, however, is that the restaurateurs whom I interviewed celebrate the moral as opposed to the financial benefits of family labour. They prioritise the trustworthiness of working with family members over any cost reduction they may bring. This runs counter to Strickland's (2011: 537) study of ethnic eateries, which frames cheaper labour costs as the key advantage of family employees.

Alongside family, cohesive co-ethnic relationships help to develop the Curry Mile's restaurant industry. Sabir's story epitomises the importance of co-ethnic resources. Born in Uganda to Pakistani parents, Sabir was expelled from his native country by Idi Amin in 1972. After migrating to Kenya and Pakistan, Sabir eventually arrived in Manchester in 1990 with just £100 and no friends or family to support him. Here Sabir recalls his first few days in Manchester:

'When I first came here I didn't have much money and I had nowhere to stay. I went to Victoria[4] *mosque and the people there were really helpful, actually there was one guy there who put me up in his house for £25 per month and found me a potwash job on the Curry Mile.'*

From 1990 to 1997 Sabir climbed the career ladder, working at several restaurants on the Mile until he eventually became a manager at Zayna. While managing the restaurant an opportunity arose to purchase his own eatery. At first, Sabir did not possess the capital to realise this ambition and the bank rejected his application for a loan. However, friends from the South Asian community financed his project and in 1997 Sabir opened the Spice Room restaurant, now one of the most popular on the Curry Mile. Sabir's story is not only an inspirational 'rags to riches' one, it also exemplifies the significance of co-ethnic relationships and resources. Without the generosity of the Mosque and the South Asian diaspora, his entrepreneurial journey may not have been possible. Sabir himself concedes that he '*would not have made it on the Curry Mile without a lot of help along the way'*. This reliance on co-ethnic resources supports other research on ethnic entrepreneurship (Knight, 2015; Clark & Drinkwater, 2010). In particular, Inal et al. (2012) note how Turkish-Cypriot restaurateurs in the UK often tend to mobilise the financial resources of their ethnic community. 4 out of their 14 participants set up eateries after receiving interest free loans from members of the Turkish-Cypriot diaspora (Inal et al., 2012: 174). Consequently, co-ethnic assistance is essential to the opening of eateries on the Curry Mile and in the UK as a whole.

4.2.2: A last resort? The push factors of entrepreneurship

As well as 'pull' factors, restaurateurs may be 'pushed' into opening an eatery as an 'economic survival strategy (Nash, 2009: 20). This was certainly evident when the Curry Mile first developed in the 1970s and 80s. With deindustrialisation, many of the South Asian migrants who were employed in Manchester's textile industry were made redundant (Kalra, 2004). Often these migrant workers were poorly educated young men from the rural regions of Pakistan such as Mirpur and Kashmir (Werbner, 1990). Without many

[4] Victoria Mosque is situated on an adjacent street to Curry Mile and is officially known as Manchester Central Mosque.

qualifications they struggled to secure formal employment elsewhere and had little option but to establish their own businesses. Abdul's father was a Mirpuri migrant:

> *'My father first came to Manchester in 1961 and started working in a wool factory. He stayed there for many years but in the middle of the 1970s the factory shut down, he didn't have a job, he didn't have many skills and nobody would employ him so he became his own boss and set up a restaurant with some friends.'*

Abdul's narrative parallels stories told by other restaurateurs. Over half the restaurant owners in this study recall how their father or grandfather entered self-employment after losing their job in Manchester's textile industry. This finding corroborates Kalra's (2000, 2004, 2014) assertion that South Asian entrepreneurship arose out of the demise of the industrial economy, with migrants being 'pushed' out of industrial labour and towards self-employment as taxi-drivers, corner-shop retailers and restaurateurs.

More recently, the discourse of being 'pushed' into entrepreneurship holds less importance. All of the restaurateurs in this study had made a positive decision to open an eatery on the Mile. It was something they wanted to do. This positive finding challenges the prevailing trend in the literature, which accentuates the 'push' as opposed to the 'pull' factors of entrepreneurship (Inal et al., 2012).

4.2.3 Promoting entrepreneurship: The role of Manchester's universities and The City Council

As well as restaurant owners, other actors help to promote and develop the Curry Mile as a site of ethnic entrepreneurship. As Humble (2005) suggests, the 'studentification' of British cities plays a pivotal role in the success of many Indian restaurants. The case is no different on the Curry Mile as both Manchester University and Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) actively endorse it as a student 'hangout'. The accommodation guide for Manchester University (2016) describes the Mile as a place where *'many restaurants and shops offer an unparalleled range of cuisine'*. Comparably, MMU (2016) frames the Curry Mile as a *'fantastically diverse cultural quarter'*. Together the two universities retain a student population of over 70,000 and the

main campuses are located on Wilmslow Road, just half a mile from the Curry Mile. Ali signals the importance of both universities:

> *'We [restaurant owners] are grateful to the universities because they do a lot to advertise the Curry Mile, and you know, they usually have a lot of South Asian students, so they come here to have halal food… I would say that over 40% of my clientele are students.'*

Ali's assertion chimes with the rhetoric of other restaurateurs on the Curry Mile. Many underscore the significance of the student market and more than half note how students account for over 25% of their customer base. This figure substantiates findings from my period of participant observation. While dining in 11 restaurants along the Mile I often saw a high proportion of young customers. On one visit to Maharani's in July, the restaurant was almost entirely filled with students dressed in graduation gowns. After inquiring about the number of students in his restaurant, Mahmood told me, *'the people at the University send the students here for their graduation dinners, it's good for business'*. This statement supplements work by Barrett and McEvoy (2006), who attribute the genesis of the Curry Mile in the 1980s to Manchester University. Specifically, they assert that the 'students of this institution provided a group of customers willing at first to try, and then to enthuse over a cuisine which was both cheap and exotic; today their successors continue to sustain the Curry Mile' (Barrett & McEvoy, 2006: 200).

Manchester City Council also has a role to play in developing the Curry Mile. As a marketing strategy, the council is keen to highlight Manchester's culinary diversity. On its' visitor website, the council implores people to *'eat their way around the world in Manchester'* and to *'explore the sights and smells of Rusholme's Curry Mile' (*Visit Manchester, 2016b). Essentially, this endorsement of ethnic cuisine is an attempt to project a multicultural image of the city. Indeed, the Curry Mile was officially designated as a restaurant zone in 2008, at a time when the policy of multiculturalism was at its peak. As part of this formal designation, the council erected a series of signs and banners to welcome people from all different ethnic backgrounds. Almost ten years later, Councillor Kate Chappell acknowledges that the Curry Mile is still *'a place that we [the council] promote because it is a symbol of Manchester's*

multiculturalism'. This corroborates Cuban and Fowler's (2012: 312) argument that 'Manchester's multicultural image hinges on the Curry Mile and its Indian cuisine to boost its national status'.

From the above comments, it may appear that the city council significantly aids ethnic entrepreneurship along the Curry Mile. However, restaurant owners accuse the council of *'hindering'* as opposed to *'helping'* their businesses, criticising the council over issues such as fly tipping and parking. The introduction of a new cycle lane for 2016 was the greatest point of contention as Adib, who chairs the Rusholme Business Association (RBA) notes:

> *'All of the restaurants are really concerned about the cycle lane. It has a negative effect on business because it eats into the pavement and people are nervous about walking on the Curry Mile now…some restaurants say their profits are down 20%.'*

The strength of feeling runs so deep that an alliance of restaurant owners and other entrepreneurs have set up the Rusholme Traders Association (RTA) to lobby against the cycle lane. Moreover, restaurateurs feel that other areas in Manchester such as Chinatown are promoted at the expense of the Mile. In fact, Councillor Rabnawz Akbar concedes that *'Chinatown does receive more funding than the Curry Mile as its in the city centre, it's not right, it shouldn't be that way, but it is'*. As a corollary, the comparative neglect of the Curry Mile leads to the contention that the council is hindering ethnic entrepreneurship.

Figure 2: A photograph showing the new cycle lane introduced for 2016
[Source: Author's own photograph]



4.3: Conflict or Cohesion? An assessment of ethnic relations on the Mile

I now turn to ethnic relations within this foodscape. On the one hand, participants refer to ethnic relations by using descriptors such as *'tension'* and *'competition'*. On the other, respondents regard the Mile as a site of cohesion and conviviality both between and within ethnic groups. Each narrative is explored in turn below.

4.3.1: Racial Tension: shisha, policing and unruly customers

The primary source of racialised tension along the Curry Mile is the relationship between the South Asian and Middle Eastern communities. Following the Iraq War in 2003 and Arab Spring in 2011, Manchester has seen an influx of migrants from the Middle East. Predominantly, migrants from this part of the world settle in Rusholme as it retains a significant Muslim population[5] and is home to Manchester's Central Mosque. As part of their settlement process, many migrants establish their own ethnic businesses on the Curry Mile, such as shisha bars and hookah cafes. Fundamentally this alters the complexion of the area, transforming it from a pure South Asian foodscape to more of a Middle Eastern Mile. South Asian restaurateurs, including Mus, are anxious about the impact of Middle Eastern enterprises:

> *'The Curry Mile is not the same anymore, loads of people from the Middle East are here now and its completely changed the atmosphere of this road, there is a certain tension to it now. It's all because they [Middle East migrants] are taking over, setting up illegal shisha bars and pushing the curry houses out. It should be called the Shisha Mile now.'*

Woven into Mus's assertion is the acute sense of threat felt by the South Asian community. He suggests that Middle Eastern migrants are *'taking over'* and *'pushing out'* traditional curry houses, owned by South Asian restaurateurs. In this way, the Curry Mile is a contested space with two distinct ethnic groups vying for commercial success against one another. Moreover, Mus also accuses the shisha bars of being '*illegal'* as they allow smoking indoors, which contravenes the UK's 2007 smoking ban legislation. According to Councillor

[5] According to the 2011 census the Muslim population of Rusholme was 37.9% and larger than any other religious group.

Kate Chappell, the restaurants *'never flout this law'* yet the shisha cafés are *'always ignoring the smoking ban'*. In turn, this engenders a feeling of injustice among South Asian restaurateurs, who claim the shisha bars are undercutting them. Mahmood shares this sentiment and states that *'the shisha cafés have a negative effect on business, it's more difficult to survive on the Curry Mile now'*. Consequently, ethnic antagonism exists between South Asian and Middle Eastern migrants. This observation adds a new dimension to the literature on ethnic foodscapes, which tends to examine the relations between a white host population and non-white ethnic groups (Nash, 2009; Turgeon & Pastinelli, 2002). In this research, however, racial tension is evident between two minority ethnic groups, at the very heart of Manchester's Curry Mile.

The Curry Mile is also seen as a site of racial tension with high levels of lawlessness. Three years ago the Mile was labeled as the 'most anti-social street in Manchester', with more than 260 incidents of anti-social behavior between April 2012 and January 2013 (MEN, 2013b). As Councillor Rabnawaz Akbar notes, most of this anti-social activity is perpetrated along an ethnic axis:

> *'What happens is that you have groups of Middle Eastern lads forming gangs, groups of South Asian lads forming their own gangs and then you have the White British boys and all of them control criminal activity in different parts of Rusholme.'*

In this quote, Rabnawaz indicates that gangs are organised according to ethnicity and occupy distinct geographical spaces in and around the Curry Mile. Other respondents also recognise the rivalry between local gangs, which largely involves low-level crime but has recently escalated to more serious offences (MEN, 2016a). To compound this sense of lawlessness friction exists between the police and some members of the Rusholme community. Police officer Colin Grant has been patrolling the Curry Mile for over 20 years and recalls how *'a few years ago we were being chased down the street by groups of young Asian men, it was a no go area for us'*. Kalra (2014) and Hutnyk (2000) also found evidence of discord, suggesting that tension between the police and young Muslim men often escalates during Eid festivals. Hutnyk (2000) noted that a 21-year-old part time waiter, Amar Rafique, lost his eye to police brutality on Eid in 1996. More recently, a white police officer has been accused of using racist

language and saying he would 'bomb the whole Curry Mile' during a visit to an Asian jewellers (MEN, 2016b).

While racist episodes on the Curry Mile are troubling they are also quite rare. As a result, most participants in this study did not perceive racism as a major issue. When discussing the topic they often spoke in a neutral tone and described it as a *'thing of the past'*. After working for almost 40 years on the Mile, Abdul suggests that:

> *'There is no generally no racism now but there was in the old days, back in the 70s and 80s when we first opened the restaurant. You know in those days there were a lot of white guys, going to the pub, getting drunk and then going for a curry… a lot of those customers would treat us with disrespect, do a runner and not pay'.*

Abdul's recollection is similar to other stories told by Rafique and Hasan who have both worked on the Curry Mile for over 25 years. According to them groups of young white men would often arrive drunk after the local pub, 'the Ozzy',[6] had closed for the night. At times these customers proved *'difficult'* or *'challenging'* and racist taunts were routine. This finding fits in with the current work on masculinity, curry and racial tension (Palat, 2015; Buettner, 2008; Ahmed, 1998). A key difference, however, is that no restaurateurs in this study cited instances of physical violence as found by Ahmed (1998) in London and Buettner (2008) in Birmingham. On the whole racism is seen as a historic component of the Curry Mile, with recent instances limited to the *'odd incident'*.

4.3.2: Co-Ethnic Exploitation and tension within the South Asian diaspora

As well as racial tension between ethnic groups, discord persists within the South Asian diaspora. Paralleling Strickland's (2011) findings, this tension largely stems from co-ethnic exploitation with regards to wages and working hours. During my six-month period of participant observation, it became clear that kitchen and wait staff on the Curry Mile are drawn almost exclusively from the South Asian diaspora. Often these workers are poorly paid as restaurateurs attempt to cut labour costs in what is a highly volatile market. Barrett and McEvoy (2006: 200) also identified this trend, noting how 'competition, high

[6] Officially known as Osborne House, the Ozzy was one of the longstanding pubs in Rusholme.

rents and limited profits exert heavy downward pressure on rates of pay for employees in the Curry Mile'. This 'problem of low pay' is symptomatic of many ethnic eateries across the UK; but it appears to be particularly problematic on the Curry Mile (Jones et al., 2006: 360). As Councillor Kate Chappell observes, many staff are paid well below the national minimum wage:

> *'You have people on the Curry Mile working 50 hour weeks and earning less than £200. There is wage exploitation going on and that's because of the high levels of competition but also because of illegal immigration. People are getting exploited and working for £2 or £3 per hour, it's just desperation isn't it?'*

Kate's observation outlines the scale of wage exploitation on the Mile. Like Barrett and McEvoy (2006) she notes how competitive pressure pushes down wages, but also cites illegal immigration as a contributory factor. Police officer Colin Grant verifies this argument and frames illegal immigration as a *'perennial problem'* on the Curry Mile. Specifically, he recalls how one time he *'raided a tiny flat above one of the restaurants and found 17 people living there'*. Essentially illegal immigrants reduce rates of pay, as they are not protected by the UK's national minimum wage legislation. They are easily exploited and work for *'£2 or £3 per hour'*. A caveat, however, is that all of the restaurant owners I interviewed denied ever employing illegal immigrants and were reticent to disclose the wages of their staff. Future research must interview restaurant workers to record their working conditions and gain greater insight into co-ethnic exploitation on the Curry Mile.

4.3.3: A Cohesive Curry Mile

Contrary to racial tension, the Curry Mile is also a site of social cohesion between different ethnic groups. After many visits to the Mile, the ethnic diversity of the area and the client base really stand out. Despite it being a South Asian foodscape, the road and restaurants are filled with a diverse mix of people, conversing in a variety of dialects. Indeed, a Manchester University study revealed that over 80 languages are spoken on the Curry Mile at any one time (Gaiser, 2014). The majority of the restaurateurs I interviewed celebrate such

ethnic diversity. Dev owns the Eastern Revive restaurant and is optimistic about the possibility for intercultural exchanges on the Mile:

> *'I love working on the Curry Mile because you never know who you are going to meet, everyday I have different nationalities coming into the restaurant, people from Japan, USA and all over the UK, it's good for business and its great for me because I learn a lot about other cultures.'*

Dev's appraisal of ethnic diversity is evident in the narratives of other restaurant owners. Sabir described the Curry Mile as a *'melting pot',* whereas Ali highlighted its *'masala culture'*. Both restaurateurs were alluding to the tendency for ethnic groups to intermingle and coalesce within the confines of this foodscape. In particular, restaurateurs were eager to emphasise the positive rapport they have established with White British customers. Their claim may have been due to my own positionality as a White British researcher, yet it also reflects the fact that this ethnic group accounts for over 50% of the clientele in 6 out of the 8 restaurants. Van den Berghe (1984) and Warde (2013) also note the significance of a mixed clientele. They frame ethnic eateries as intercultural contact zones, which facilitate 'bridging capital' between majority and minority populations (Putnam, 2000). Parzer and Huber (2015: 1272) also suggest that 'making use of migrant businesses by the majority population is often seen as an expression of tolerance and a cosmopolitan mindset'. In this respect, the Curry Mile is arguably a cohesive area, which promotes interactions between ethnic groups.

The interactions that take place along the Curry Mile also appear to promote intercultural learning. As Dev asserted above, acquiring cultural knowledge is one of the main reasons he enjoys working on the Mile. Comparably, Rafique suggests that teaching his clients about South Asian cuisine provides him with a real sense of satisfaction:

> *'I like to inform my customers about the food they are eating, about the heritage and story behind it you know, I think it adds to their dining experience... I like to recommend new dishes so that people come in and don't just eat chicken tikka masala all the time but try different things from the many cooking styles of South Asia.'*

By educating his customers, Rafique is partly tackling Heldke's (2001) theory of 'food colonialism'. As shown in Chapter 2, Heldke (2001) claims that patrons of ethnic restaurants often display a shallow interest in 'exotic' food and eat ethnic cuisine without any real concern for its cultural context (see also Narayan, 1995). It is thought this 'passive and unthinking eating…partially constitutes food colonialism' (Narayan, 1995: 78). As a result both Heldke (2001) and Narayan (1995) encourage consumers to be more reflexive when eating ethnic cuisine. In teaching his patrons about South Asian food, Rafique is encouraging his clients to think about where their food has come from and to consider the cultural context of each dish. Essentially, this is thought to cultivate a greater appreciation of the people who cook, sell and serve ethnic cuisine.

A second point to draw from Rafique's quote is how he actively encourages his customers to be more adventurous with their food choices. This tallies with Peterson's (1992) theory of cultural omnivorousness, where eating different ethnic cuisine is seen as an indicator of inter-ethnic tolerance and cohesion. It is important to note, however, that advocates of this theory do not apply it to the choices customers make once inside the restaurant (Warde, 2013; Warde et al., 1999). Instead they claim consumers are only cultural 'omnivores' if they eat in a variety of ethnic restaurants such as Indian, Italian and Chinese. Ultimately this approach conceals the cultural variety of South Asian cuisine and labels it all as a homogenous entity, as Indian food. As Rafique suggests, however, there are *'many cooking styles of South Asia'* such as Raj, Mughlai and Punjab food cultures. By directing his patrons to new dishes he is inviting them to explore and appreciate the culinary diversity of the sub-continent. This is an element of 'omnivorouness', which is not considered by other analysts, and is a still a sign of interethnic tolerance and cohesion.

4.3.4: The Curry Mile as a community space for the South Asian diaspora

Along with inter-ethnic relations, the Curry Mile is also a site of cohesion for the South Asian diaspora. The restaurants along the Mile serve as social hubs for the South Asian community, where family and friends come together to catch up

and consume food from the '*desi*'[7]. Many members of the diaspora are attracted to the Mile given its broad retail mix of clothes shops, grocery stores, travel agents and jewellers. Mahmood states that:

> *'If you are from South Asia you can come here and get so many things done, you can do your daily shopping and at the end of it all go for a meal in one of the many restaurants, you know hopefully it will be this restaurant [Maharanis]'.*

The wide range of shopping opportunities ensures the Curry Mile is a popular visitor destination for the South Asian diaspora. Moreover, the Mile is also a place to celebrate birthdays, weddings and religious festivals. Mus notes how the Raj is regularly booked for '*walimas*[8]' as it is the largest restaurant in the foodscape and can seat up to 300 people. Restaurants are also sites of celebration during the annual Mega Mela and Eid festivals. The Mega Mela is the largest celebration of South Asian culture in the North of England and takes place every summer in Platt Fields Park, right next to the Curry Mile (see Figure 3). At the festival flags are flown from all the states on the subcontinent to cultivate a real sense of pan-Asian culture as opposed to national parochialism. Eid occurs twice a year and involves a number of spectacular street processions along the Mile. Abdul notes how many members of the South Asian diaspora travel especially to the Mile to celebrate Eid:

> *'South Asian people come from all over to join in the Eid festivals on the Curry Mile, they come from Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, Rochdale, Blackburn, Oldham everywhere you know… the Curry Mile is a focal point for the South Asian community'.*

Abdul's quote reflects my own experience of the Eid festival earlier this year. Between the 6th and 11th July I went to the Curry Mile to observe the Eid festivities and saw thousands of people from the South Asian diaspora celebrating on the street. Talking to a number of people I found that many were not from Manchester, but from cities as far north as Glasgow and as far south as Southampton. Middle Eastern migrants also participated in the festival, perhaps countering the conflict with restaurateurs reported earlier. Eid is a time when

[7] Desi is a phrase used by many respondents in this study to refer to their homeland in South Asia.
[8] Walima is an Arabic word, which refers to a large banquet that takes place on the evening of an Islamic wedding.

religion appears to heal the ethnic tension between South Asian and Middle Eastern migrants on the Mile, if only briefly.

Figure 3: A Snapshot from the 2016 Manchester Mega Mela
[Source: Author's own photo]



On balance, the Curry Mile seems to be a real '*focal point*' for the South Asian community. It is a place where, migrants eat traditional cuisine, celebrate family events and attend cultural and religious festivals: a finding similar to Pottier's (2014) ethnography of Brick Lane. He claims that Brick Lane is an essential 'community space' for the South Asian diaspora as it acts as a 'microcosm of the homeland' (Pottier, 2014: 20). Once inside this foodscape, members of the diaspora can reenact their lives 'back home' by eating with their hands, consuming food that mum used to cook, conversing in their mother tongue and celebrating with their friends and family (Pottier, 2014; Frost, 2011). In this respect, the Curry Mile is similar to Brick Lane, serving as a site of social cohesion for the South Asian diaspora.

4.4: Conclusion

Overall this chapter lends a window into entrepreneurship and ethnic relations in Manchester's Curry Mile and reveals two main findings. First, it discovers that the 'pull' factors of finance, family and co-ethnic resources are more prominent than the 'push' factors in explaining why the Curry Mile develops as a site of

entrepreneurship. Second, it shows how ethnic relations are more cohesive between some groups than others. In particular, the South Asian diaspora appear to enjoy a congenial relationship with White British customers but a fractious one with Middle Eastern migrants. The following and concluding chapter discusses both findings in more detail and sets the research in a wider context.

Chapter Five:

Summary & Conclusions

On reflection, Manchester's Curry Mile is one of the most iconic ethnic foodscapes in the UK. It is an important site of ethnic entrepreneurship as well as an intercultural contact zone between and within ethnic groups. By undertaking ethnographic research on the Mile, this thesis has answered both research questions and posited some key findings.

Principally, this thesis has drawn on the 'push-pull' theory of entrepreneurship to explain why South Asian restaurateurs open eateries on the Mile (Kirkwood, 2009). 'Pull' factors such as finance, family and co-ethnic resources are found to be the main drivers of entrepreneurship in the Curry Mile. With over 3 million diners per year on the Curry Mile, Rafique suggested *'it is a great place to make money'* and Hasan noted that *'it's the best place for business in Manchester'*. A large proportion of the customers are also South Asian, which ensures the Mile is essentially a 'protected market' (Light, 1972). Along with finance, the 'pull' factors of family and co-ethnic resources are also significant. Sabir best illustrated this, when he recalled how the South Asian diaspora were instrumental in helping him to set up the Spicy Hut restaurant. By providing him with financial and emotional support, the South Asian community aided his entrepreneurial journey from a pot washer to a wealthy restaurant owner. This discovery supports work by Inal et al. (2012: 168), who claim that familial and co-ethnic resources are an 'enduring theme' of South Asian enterprise (see also Haq, 2015; Kalra, 2014).

Importantly, the 'pull' factors of entrepreneurship far outweigh the 'push' factors. If this thesis were conducted in the 1970s, however, 'push' factors would have probably held more sway. During deindustrialisation South Asian migrants, like Abdul's father lost their jobs in Manchester's textile industry and were 'pushed' into self-employment as taxi drivers and restaurateurs (Kalra, 2000). This is not the case today. All of the restaurant owners I interviewed opened their eateries by choice and not as a response to adverse circumstances. As such, an empowering picture of entrepreneurship emerges. This counters the

prevailing trend in the literature, which tends to frame ethnic entrepreneurship as a 'last resort' (Portes & Shafer, 2007: 5). Too often, ethnic enterprise is seen as 'a symptom of limited alternative opportunities' and not enough work is done to accentuate the inspiring and successful stories of entrepreneurship in British cities (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010: 137). This thesis goes some way to addressing that imbalance by presenting positive entrepreneurial stories on the Mile.

Aside from entrepreneurship, this thesis has examined ethnic relations and found that the Mile is a paradoxical site of ethnic conflict and cohesion. Primarily, conflict is evident between the South Asian and Middle-Eastern communities. According to South Asian restaurant owners, Middle-Eastern shisha bars are *'taking over'* this foodscape and turning it into a *'shisha mile'*. This process of succession is stripping the Curry Mile of its particular, and marketable, South Asian identity and hence causing friction between the two ethnic groups. Moreover, conflict also persists within the South Asian diaspora. Wage exploitation and illegal immigration seem to go hand in hand on the Mile, with staff working for *'£2 or £3 per hour'*. This finding substantiates studies by Hill (2015) and Strickland (2011), who claim that co-ethnic exploitation is an endemic feature of ethnic foodscapes.

Contrary to the conflict narrative, the Curry Mile is also a site of ethnic cohesion. Specifically, the South Asian diaspora enjoy convivial relations with the White British population. This was not always the case, especially in the 1980s and 90s when curry was associated with a 'skinful of beer on a Friday night' (Sardar, 2008: 29). Today, however, the Curry Mile facilitates amicable intercultural dialogue and builds 'bridging capital' between majority and minority populations (Putnam, 2000). In fact, White British customers account for the majority of customers on the Mile. This is encouraging for advocates of ethnic cuisine, who regard ethnic restaurants as the 'most rewarding and easiest bridge across ethnic lines' (Van den Berghe, 1984: 414; see also Clemes et al., 2013).

Correspondingly, the Curry Mile cultivates cohesion within the South Asian diaspora. Similar to Frost (2011) and Pottier's (2014: 20) studies on Brick Lane,

the Mile is an essential 'community space' for South Asian migrants. It is a space where they come together to share traditional cuisine, converse in their own native languages and celebrate their culture and religion. In this way, the Mile engenders 'bonding capital' within the South Asian community (Putnam, 2000).

Although the findings seem robust, there are some limitations in this thesis. Firstly, a lack in the variety of interview participants undercut a more complete analysis of ethnic relations on the Mile. In particular, 9 of the 11 respondents were from the South Asian diaspora and relations were thereby seen through the prism of a single ethnic group. This is fairly problematic given that interviewees cast aspersions on Middle-Eastern migrants, who have not been able to answer back in this study. Future research should therefore record the perspectives of Middle-Eastern migrants and trace their entrepreneurial experiences. Zolin et al. (2014: 11) share this sentiment. In a study on Brisbane's Chinatown they contend that 'future research should consider including more industries and possibly more than one immigrant community to ascertain variation among different immigrant groups'.

By the same token, the White British population is relatively voiceless in this thesis. Initially, I hoped to interview White British customers while they were dining in the restaurants to assess claims that their patronage is a sign of 'tolerance and a cosmopolitan mindset' (Parzer & Huber, 2015: 1272). Many restaurant owners, however, were reluctant to let me interview their customers as they did not want them being hassled. In hindsight, I should have left a self-completion questionnaire on the tables, asking respondents for their ethnic identity and reasons for dining in the restaurant. For a future researcher, this tool may present a more holistic and accurate interpretation of ethnic relations on the Mile.

Despite its limitations this thesis still retains a great deal of substance. Not only does it contribute to the existing literature on entrepreneurship and ethnic relations, but it also addresses the dearth of qualitative research on Manchester's Curry Mile. This vibrant ethnic foodscape has 'largely escaped academic analysis' (Barrett and McEvoy 2006: 201), as scholars tend to afford greater

attention to London's Brick Lane when studying the South Asian diaspora (Pottier, 2014; Frost, 2011; Alexander, 2011; Highmore, 2009; Cormack, 2006; Mavrommatis, 2006). In fact, only a small handful of studies have ever focused on the Curry Mile and none of them have performed primary research or employed an ethnographic design (Kalra, 2014; Cuban & Fowler, 2012; Barrett & McEvoy, 2006). As a corollary, Cuban and Fowler (2012: 299) called for future studies to conduct 'extensive interviews with the restaurateurs who live and work in this landscape'. This thesis answers that call, interviews restaurant owners and fills a gap in the literature. Going forward a prospective study may compliment the findings of this thesis, by interviewing restaurant workers on the Curry Mile and providing a more comprehensive analysis of ethnic employment.

Overall this thesis casts a new spotlight on Manchester's Curry Mile, and lends an acute insight into entrepreneurial activity and ethnic relations in this rich and dynamic ethnic foodscape.

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule for Restaurant Owners

Introductory remarks to the respondent

- This interview forms part of the research for a postgraduate thesis at the University of Oxford. The aim is to discern how the Curry Mile has developed and what ethnic relations are like in this area.

- The questions I am going to ask today are in 2 sections. The first section will concern how and why you set up your own restaurant in the Curry Mile. The second will gauge your opinion on ethnic relations in the Mile and examine whether it is a space of racial conflict or cohesion.

Section 1: Opening the Restaurant

- When and why did you open your own restaurant?
  What is the history behind your establishment? Have you always aspired to own a restaurant or did you have other ambitions?

- Why did you choose to open a restaurant in the Curry Mile in particular?
  What are the advantages and disadvantages of locating a restaurant here?

- Do you or have you employed any of your family at the restaurant?
  If yes, why do/did you want to employ your family?

- How does serving food from your homeland make you feel?
  Do you enjoy working with traditional Indian cuisine?

- Who are your main clientele?
  Approximately what % of your clientele are university students? What % of your clientele would you say are South Asian and White British?

- Have you received any help from Manchester City Council in setting up or promoting your business?
  If so, what format did this take, was it funding and/or advertisements?

Section 2: Conflict and Cohesion Along The Curry Mile

- What is your relationship with other business owners along the Curry Mile?
  What is the rapport like between curry houses traditionally run by the South Asian community and shisha cafes usually owned by Middle Eastern migrants?

- Have you been subject to or witnessed any racism in the restaurant or along the Curry Mile?
  How did this affect you, did it make you feel more detached from a certain ethnic group?

- Do you see any tension between or within different ethnic groups along the Curry Mile?
  How does this tension manifest itself?

- Do you think the Curry Mile is a place for people from different ethnic groups to learn from one another?
  Do you teach your clients about your culture and the origins of Indian cuisine?

- Do you feel closer to other ethnic groups through your work at the restaurant?
  Which groups in particular?

To Finish:

- Are there any further comments you would like to make?

The above interview schedule was used to interview 8 restaurant owners in the Curry Mile. This schedule was highly flexible, allowing the researcher to jump from one question to another as and when new themes arose. Additionally, the schedule evolved with each interview and was subject to an iterative process of refinement, whereby lines of thought identified by earlier interviewees could be taken up and presented to later interviewees.

An interview schedule was not required for the other 4 participants in this study, including the 2 councillors, 1 police officer and 1 chairman of a local community group. These participants were asked more specific questions related to their positions within the community. The councillors for example were asked:

1) What is the council's role in helping to promote the Curry Mile?
2) Do you think the Curry Mile is important for Manchester's image?
3) Going forward, how can the council help to improve the Curry Mile?

Furthermore the police officer was asked about episodes of racial violence and illegal immigration on the Curry Mile, while the chairman of the local community group was asked to give a general impression of the area.

Appendix 2: Interview Respondents

Below is a list of the 8 restaurant owners who were interviewed for this thesis along with a description of their restaurants. Both the names of the owners and their restaurants are pseudonyms.

Restaurant Owner	*Restaurant*	*Description of Restaurant*	*Year Opened*
Dev – 1st gen. Indian migrant	*Eastern Revive*	Eastern Revive is one of the newest Indian restaurants on the Curry Mile. It is an upmarket eatery, furnished to a high standard and serves pan-Asian cuisine as well as traditional curries.	2014
Sabir – 1st gen. Pakistani migrant	*The Spice Room*	The Spice Room opened recently and is a small yet popular restaurant. It offers 'DIY' curries, where customers can create their own curry. It is also one of the only restaurants on the Mile to serve alcohol.	2014
Mahmood – 3rd gen. Pakistani migrant	*Maharanis*	Maharanis is a modern pan-Asian eatery run by Mahmood and his family. Interestingly, the restaurant does not have a single curry on its menu. Instead Maharanis offers grilled platters and burgers with an Asian twist. The restaurant is also renowned for its well-stocked desert counter, which serves a colourful selection of ice cream.	2013
Ali – 3rd gen. Pakistani migrant	*Karachi Kitchen*	Karachi Kitchen is a student favourite on the Curry Mile. It offers a wide range of cuisine including traditional curries, grilled foods and pasta. The restaurant is also part of a chain, which includes 2 eateries in Bradford, 1 in Leeds and 1 in Birmingham. Overall, Ali employs 200 people across the Karachi Kitchen franchise.	2012
Mus – 1st gen. Pakistani migrant	*The Raj*	The Raj is the largest restaurant on the Curry Mile and is able to seat up to 300 people. As such, it often holds functions,	1997

		weddings and other celebrations for the South Asian diaspora. The restaurant is a traditional curry house and mainly offers typical Indian cuisine.	
Hasan – 2nd gen. Pakistani migrant	*Zayna*	Zayna is a high-end curry house, which serves authentic Mughlai-cuisine from the northern regions of India and Pakistan. The restaurant is set around the culinary theatre of the open charcoal pit, where diners see their food being cooked before their eyes. A sign outside the restaurant reads 'no English food'	1991
Rafique – 2nd gen. Pakistani migrant	*The Bengal Tiger*	The Bengal Tiger is one of the longest standing Indian restaurants on the Curry Mile and mainly serves traditional curries. It is part of a £50 million chain, which includes two other restaurants, one in Manchester's Trafford Centre and the other in Sheffield's Meadowhall.	1987
Abdul – 2nd gen. Pakistani migrant	*Janam*	Janam is the oldest surviving curry house on the Mile. Similar to the Raj, Zayna and The Bengal Tiger it is a traditional curry house that serves authentic Indian cuisine.	1977

Aside from the restaurant owners, the 4 other participants interviewed for this dissertation included 2 councillors, 1 police officer and 1 leader of a local organisation. The names of the police officer and the leader of the local community group are pseudonyms but the councillors names are genuine as they gave me consent to identify them in this study.

Interview Participant	***Description of Participant***
Rabnawaz Akbar – Councillor for Rusholme	Councilllor Akbar is a 2nd generation Pakistani migrant who was elected in 2010 and will serve Rusholme until his term ends in 2018.
Kate Chappell – Councillor for Rusholme	Councillor Kate Chappell is a White British national who was elected in 2010 and will serve Rusholme until her term ends in 2018.
Colin Grant – local Police officer	Colin is a White British Police officer who has patrolled the streets of the Curry Mile and the surrounding areas of Manchester for 30 years.
Adib Choudhury – local chairmen	Adib has recently set up a community group to represent restaurants and businesses along the Curry Mile.

References:

Ahmed, F. 1998. *'Opening Soon'* In: *'Origins: Personal Stories Crossing the Seas to Settle in Britain'* Bristol: Origins, pp.104-106

Akbar, R. 2016. *'An Interview on the Curry Mile'* Interviewed by an Oxford University Student at the Active Lifestyles Centre, Manchester at 11am on Monday 18th July 2016.

Alexander, C. 2011. *'Making Bengali Brick Lane: claiming and contesting space in East London'* The British Journal of Sociology, Vol.62, No.2 (June 2011), pp.201-220

Amin, A. 2002. *'Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity'* Environment and Planning A 2002, Vol.34, No.6 (June 2002), pp.959-980

Andersson, L. Hammarstedt, M. 2015. *'Ethnic Enclaves, Networks and Self-Employment among Middle Eastern Immigrants in Sweden'* International Migration, Vol.53, No.6 (December 2015), pp.27-40

Bangladeshi Caterers Association. 2012. *'About BCA'* Bangladeshi Caterers Association 2012 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.bca1960.com/index.php/2012-08-22-16-56-48/about-bca.html [Accessed 18th April 2016]

Barabantseva, E. 2016. *'Seeing Beyond an 'Ethnic Enclave': The Time/Space of Manchester's Chinatown'* Identities, Vol.23, No.1 (January 2016), pp.99-115

Barrett, G. McEvoy, D. 2006. *'The evolution of Manchester's Curry Mile: from Suburban shopping street to ethnic destination'* In: Kaplan, D. 2006. *'Landscapes of the ethnic economy'* Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, pp.

Basu, A. 1998. *'An Exploration of Entrepreneurial Acitvity among Asian small businesses in Britain'* Small Business Economics, Vol. 10, No.4 (June 1998), pp.313-326

Beddell, G, 2002. *' It's Curry but not as we know it'* The Guardian 2002 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2002/may/12/foodanddrink.shopping2 [Accessed 19th April 2002]

Bernard, H. 2012. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*

BIS [Department for Business Innovation and Skills]. 2015. *'Contribution of women-led and MEG-led business to the UK non-financial economy'* Department for Business Innovation and Skills, September 2015 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/461784/BIS-15-542-estimation_of_GVA_for_certain_businesses.pdf [Accessed 14th August 2016]

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *'Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste'* London: Routledge

Bourdieu, P. 1986. *'The Forms of Capital'* In: Richardson, J. (1986). *'Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education'* New York: Greenwood, pp.241-258.

Broughton, N. 2015. *'Self-employment and ethnicity: an escape from poverty?'* Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2015 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/self-employment-and-ethnicity-escape-poverty [Accessed 8th June 2016]

Bryman, A. 2012. *'Social Research Methods: 4th Edition'* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Buettner, E. 2008. *'Going for an Indian: South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain'* The Journal of Modern History, Vol.80, No.4 (December 2008), pp.865-901

Cameron, D.2011. '*Munich address'* 05.02.11 Munich [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/02/terrorism-islam-ideology [Accessed 15th April 2016]

Catney, G. Sabater, A. 2015. *'Ethnic minority disadvantage in the labour market: Participation, Skills and Geographical Inequalities'* Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2015 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/ethnic-minority-disadvantage-labour-market [Accessed 10th April 2016]

Choudhury, Y. 1993. *'The Roots and Tales of the Bangladeshi Settlers'* Birmingham: Sylheti Social History Group

Clark, K. Drinkwater, S. 2000. *'Pushed out or pulled in? Self-employment among ethnic minorities in England and Wales'* Labour Economics, Vol.7, No.5 (September 2000), pp.603-628

Clark, K. Drinkwater, S. 2002. *'Enclaves, neighbourhood effects and employment outcomes: Ethnic minorities in England and Wales'* Journal of Population Economics, Vol.15, No.1 (January 2002), pp.5-29

Clark, K. Drinkwater, S. 2010. *'Recent trends in minority ethnic entrepreneurship in Britain'* International Small Business Journal, Vol.28, No.2 (April 2010), pp.136-146

Clegg, N. 2014.*'Asian Business Association Speech'* A keynote speech given at the annual dinner of the Asian Business Association, 12 November 2014 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/nick-clegg-at-asian-business-association [Accessed 24th April 2016]

Clemes, M. Gan, C. Sriwongrat, C. 2013. *'Consumers' Choice Factors of an Upscale Ethnic Restaurant'* Journal of Food Products Marketing, Vol.19, No.5 (October 2013), pp.413-438

Clifford, J. 1998. *'The Predicament of Culture'* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Cormack, A. 2006. *'Migration and the Politics of Narrative Form: Realism and the Postcolonial Subject in Brick Lane'* Vol.47, No.4 (December 2006), pp.695-72

Cook, I. Crang, P. Thorpe, M. 2000. *'Regions to be cheerful: culinary authenticity and its geographies'* In: Cook, I. Crouch, D. Naylor, S. Ryan, J. (2000). '*Cultural Turns / Geographical Turns'* London: Longman, pp.109-139.

Cuban, S. Fowler, F. 2012. *'Carers Cruising Cumbria and Meals on the Mile: The Drive of Migrants in Fieldwork and Fiction'* Vol.77, No.2 (March 2012), pp.295-315

Drucker, S. 2003. *'Ethnic Food and Ethnic Enclaves'* In: Moser, G. Pol, E. Bernard, Y. Bonnes, M. Corraliza, J. Giulian, V. (2003) *'People Places and Sustainability*' Kirkland, USA: Hogrefe and Huber Publishers, pp.173-183

East London Advertiser. 2016. *'Brick Lane curry house smashed up in suspected racist attack after EU exit poll'* East London Advertiser, 7th July 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.eastlondonadvertiser.co.uk/news/crime-court/brick_lane_curry_house_smashed_up_in_suspected_racist_attack_after_eu_exit_poll_1_4608676 [Accessed 8th August 2016]

Evans, M. 2015. '*Rethinking Place Branding and Place Making through Creative and Cultural Quarters'* In: Kavaratzis, M. Warnaby, G. Ashworth, G. (2015). *'Rethinking Place Branding: Comprehensive Brand Development for Cities and Regions'* London: Springer, pp.135-158

Fielding, S. 2014. *'Currying Flavor: Authenticity, Cultural Capital, and the Rise of Indian Food in the United Kingdom'* In: Cobb, R. (2014). *'The Paradox of Authenticity in a Globalised World'* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.35-52

Foucault, M. 1977. *'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison'* Translated by Alan Sheridan, London: Penguin. First published in French as '*Surveille et punir'* Gallimard: Paris, 1975

Friedman, S. 2012. *'Cultural Omnivores or Culturally Homeless? Exploring the shifting cultural identities of the upwardly mobile'* Poetics, Vol.40, No.5 (July 2012), pp.467-489

Frost, N. 2011. *'Green Curry*: Politics and Place Making on Brick Lane*'* Food, Culture and Society, Vol.14, No.2 (June 2011), pp.225-242

Gaiser, L. 2014. '*Reading the Curry Mile – Language Use in the Linguistic Landscape of Rusholme, Manchester'* Featured Report at Manchester University, 2014 [ONLINE] Available at: http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/featured-report-reading-the-curry-mile-language-use-in-the-linguistic-landscape-of-rusholme-manchester/ [Accessed 5th August 2016]

Gale, R. 2013. *'Religious residential segregation and internal migration: The British Muslim Case'* Environment and Planning A, Vol.45, No.4 (April 2013), pp.872-891

Ganga, D. Scott, S. 2006. '*Cultural "Insiders" and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research: Moving "Across" and Moving "Along" Researcher-Participant Divides'* Forum: Qualitative Social Research, Vol.7, No.3 (May 2006) [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/134/289 [Accessed 15th June 2016]

Gilroy, P. 1987. *'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack'* London: Hutchinson

Gould, W. Qureshi, I. 2014. *'South Asian histories in Britain: Nation, locality and marginality'* In: McLoughlin, S. 2014. *'Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas'* London: Routledge

Griffiths, N. 2002. *'Engaging Ethnic Enterprise'* Department of Trade and Industry, London, February 13th 2000 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.dti.gov.uk/ministers/speeches/griffiths [Accessed 21st December 2015]

Guardian. 2016. *'A frenzy of hatred: how to understand Brexit racism'* The Guardian, 29th June 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/29/frenzy-hatred-brexit-racism-abuse-referendum-celebratory-lasting-damage [Accessed 30th June 2016]

Hall, S. 1990. *'Cultural identity and diaspora'* In: Rutherford, J. 1990. *'Identity: community, culture, difference'* London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp.222-237

Haq, M. 2015. *'South Asian ethnic minority small and medium enterprises in the UK: a review and research agenda'* International Journal Of Entrepreneurship And Small Business, Vol. 25, No.4 (November 2015), pp.494-516

Heldke, L. 2001. *'Let's Eat Chinese! Reflections on Cultural Food Colonialism'* Gastronomica, Vol.1, No.2 (May 2001), PP.76-79

Highmore, B. 2009. *'The Taj Mahal in the High Street: The Indian Restaurant As Diasporic Popular Culture in Britain'* Food, Culture and Society, Vol.12, No.2 (June 2009), pp.173-190

Hill, K. 2015. '*Sweet and Sour: Ethnic networks and inequality in a Chinese restaurant'* PhD thesis, University of Texas [ONLINE] Available at: https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/34156 [Accessed 21st April 2016]

Humble, N. 2005. *'Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British food'* London: Faber

Hussain, Z. 2006. *'The Curry Mile'* Manchester: Suitcase Press

Hutnyk, J. 2000. *'Critique of Exotica: Music, Politics and the Culture Industry'* London: Zed Books

Inal, G. Al Ariss, A. Forson, C. 2012. *'Self-employment as a career strategy for ethnic minorities: The case of Turkish-Cypriots in Britain'* Journal of Management and Development, Vol.32, No.2 (July 2012), pp.166-181

Independent. 1999. *'The Brick Lane Bomb: A street scarred by 20 years of racial conflict'* Independent, 24 April 1999 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/the-brick-lane-bomb-a-street-scarred-by-years-of-racial-conflict-1089417.html [Accessed 8th August 2016]

Independent. 2016. *'Brexit: Wave of hate crime and racial abuse reported following EU referendum'* Independent, 26th June 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brexit-eu-referendum-racial-racism-abuse-hate-crime-reported-latest-leave-immigration-a7104191.html [Accessed 30th June 2016]

Jaffrey, M. 2012. *'Madhur Jaffrey's Curry Nation: Britain's 100 Favourite Curries'* London: Ebury Press

Jones, T. Mascarenhas-Keyes, S. Ram, M. 2012. '*The Ethnic Entrepreneurial Transition: Recent Trends in British Indian Self-Employment'* Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol.38, No.1 (January 2012), pp.93-109

Jones, T, Ram, M, Edwards, P. 2006. *'Shades of Grey in the Informal Economy'* International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, Vol.26. No.9/10 (2006), pp.357-373

Jones, T. Ram, M. 2011. *'Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Urban Regeneration'* In: Southern, A. (2011). *'Enterprise, Deprivation and Social Exclusion: The Role of Small Business in Addressing Social and Economic Inequalities'* New York: Routledge, pp.58-73

Jones, T. Ram, M. 2013. *'Entrepreneurship as Ethnic Minority Liberation'* Enterprise Research Centre, October 2013 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.enterpriseresearch.ac.uk/publications/entrepreneurship-ethinic-minority-liberation/ [Accessed 10th April 2016]

Kalra, V. 2000. *'From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks: Experiences of Migration, Labour and Social Change'* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing

Kalra, V. 2004. *'The Political Economy of the Samosa'* South Asia Research, Vol.24, No.1 (May 2004), pp.21-36

Kalra, V. 2014. *'Writing British Asian Manchester: Vernacular Cosmopolitanism on the Curry Mile'* In: McLoughlin, S. Gould, W. Kabir, J. Tomalin, E. (2014). *'Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas'* Abingdon: Routledge, pp.70-88

Kaplan, D. 2006.*'Landscapes of the ethnic economy'* Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Kirkwood, J. 2009. *'Motivational factors in a push-pull theory of entrepreneurship'* Gender in Management: An International Journal, Vol. 24, No.5, (March 2009), pp.346 - 364

Knight, J. 2015. *'Migrant Employment in the Ethnic Economy: Why Do Some Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Others Co-Ethnic Workers'* Journal of International Migration and Integration, Vol.16, No.3 (August 2015), pp.575-592

Light, I. 1972. *'Ethnic Enterprise in America'* Berkley: University of California Press

Manchester Mela. 2016. *'Manchester Mega Mela: Celebrating South Asian Culture'* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.manchestermela.co.uk [Accessed 15th June 2016]

Manchester University. 2016. *'Accommodation Area Guide'* Manchester University, 2016. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.manchester.ac.uk/study/experience/accommodation/area-guide/ [Accessed 27th July 2016]

Mankekar, P. 2005. *'India Shopping: Indian grocery stores and transnational configurations of belonging'* In: Watson, J. and Caldwell, M. (2005). *'The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader'* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Martin, R. 1988. '*The political economy of Britain's North-South Divide'*. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 13, No. 4 (January 1988), pp. 389-418

Massey, D. 2005. *'For Space'* London: Sage

Mavrommatis, G. 2006. *'The New 'Creative' Brick Lane: A Narrative Study of Local Multicultural Encounters'* Ethnicities, Vol.6, No.4 (March 2006), pp.498-517

McLoughlin, S. 2014. *'Introduction'* In: McLoughlin, S. Gould, W. Kabir, J. Tomalin, E. (2014). *'Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas'* Abingdon: Routledge, pp.1-20

MEN 2013a. *'Enjoying the Curry Mile'* Manchester Evening News 2013 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/whats-on/restaurants-bars/enjoying-the-curry-mile-1001918 [Accessed 10th June 2016]

MEN. 2013b. *'The most anti-social street...by a mile'* Manchester Evening News, 9th April 2013. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/news-opinion/most-anti-social-street-mile-curry-2573749 [Accessed 30th July 2016]

MEN. 2016a. *'Feud between Moss Side Bloods and Rusholme Crips blamed for violence linked to two murders'* Manchester Evening News, 24th May 2016. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/crips-bloods-gangs-manchester-violence-11380655 [Accessed 1st August 2016]

MEN 2016b. *'Police officer accused of racism told Asian 'electricity thief': "I'd bomb the whole curry Mile"* Manchester Evening News, 6th July 2016. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/police-officer-accused-racism-told-11578702 [Accessed 1st August 2016]

Mirza, A. 2012. *'Struggles for Survival: Ethnic Women and Entrepreneurship in the UK'* PhD thesis, Department of Sociology, Manchester Metropolitan University

[ONLINE] Available at: https://www.uclan.ac.uk/research/explore/groups/assets/igfd_struggles_for_survival_ethnic_women_and_entrepreneurship_in_the_uk.pdf [Accessed 30th May 2016]

MMU. 2016. *'Manchester Law School'* Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.law.mmu.ac.uk/about-us/about-manchester/ [Accessed 27th July 2016]

Monroe, J. 2005. *'Star of India: The Spicy Adventures of Curry'* Chichester: John Wiley

Moore, M. 2016. '*The Great British Curry Crisis'* Financial Times 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: https://next.ft.com/content/2165379e-b4b2-11e5-8358-9a82b43f6b2f [Accessed 2nd April 2016]

Narayan, U. 1995. *'Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity and Indian Food'* Social Identities, Vol. 1, No.1 (1995) pp. 63-86

Nash, A. 2009. *'From Spaghetti to Sushi: An Investigation of the Growth of Ethnic Restaurants in Montreal, 1951-2001'* Vol.12, No.1 (March 2009), pp.5-24

Nationwide. 2015. *'Curry house: average British home fritters away up to £1,350 on takeaways a year'* Nationwide 2015 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.nationwide.co.uk/about/media-centre-and-specialist-areas/media-centre/press-releases/archive/2015/10/12-average-1350-on-takeaways-a-year [Accessed 15th April 2015]

ONS. 2015. '*2011 Census Analysis: Ethnicity and Religion of the Non-UK Born Population in England and Wales'* ONS [Office for National Statistics], 18th June 2015 [ONLINE] Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_407038.pdf [Accessed 10th April 2016]

ONS. 2012.*'Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales'* ONS [Office for National Statistics], 11th December 2012 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/publications?filter=article&filter=compendia [Accessed 10th April 2016]

Palat, R. 2015. *'Empire, Food and the Diaspora: Indian Restaurants in Britain'* South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol.38, No.2 (April 2015) pp.171-186

Parzer, M. Huber, F. 2015. *'Migrant Businesses and the Symbolic Transformation of Urban Neighbourhoods: Towards a Research Agenda'* International Journal of Urban and Regional Reseacrh, Vol.39, No.6 (November 2015), pp.1270-1278

Peterson, R. 1992. *'Understanding audience segmentation: from elite and mass to omnivore and univore'* Poetics, Vol.21, No.4 (August 1992), pp.243-258

Portes, A. Shafer, S. 2007. *'Revisiting the Enclave Hypothesis: Miami Twenty-five Years Later'* In: Ruef, M. Lounsbury, M. (2015). '*The Sociology of Entrepreneurship (Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Volume 25)'* Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.157 - 190

Pottier, J. 2014. *'Savoring The Authentic: The Emergence of a Bangladeshi Cuisine in East London'* Food, Culture and Society, Vol.17, No.1 (March 2014) pp.7-26

Pratt, G. 2009. *'Positionality'* In: Gregory, D. Johnston, R. Pratt, G. Watts, M. Whatmore, S. (2009). *'The Dictionary of Human Geography: 5th Edition'* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell

Pratt, M. 1991. *'Arts of the Contact Zone'* Profession (1991), New York: Modern Language Association, pp.33-40

Putnam, R. 2000. *'Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American Community'* Simon & Schuster: New York

Raman, P. 2011. '*Me in Place, and the Place in Me: A Migrant's Tale of Food, Home and Belonging'* Food, Culture and Society, Vol.14, No.2 (June 2011) pp.165-180

Ritchie, J. Spencer, L. O'Connor, W. 2003. *'Carrying out Qualitative Analysis'* In: Ritchie, J. Lewis, J. (2003) *'Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers'* London: Sage, pp.24-46

Rodriguez-Pose, A. Hardy, D. 2015. *'Cultural Diversity and Entrepreneurship in England and Wales'* Environment Planning A, Vol.47, No.2 (February 2015), pp.392-411

Said, E. 1978. '*Orientalism'* New York: Pantheon

Sardar, Z. 2008. '*Balti Britain: A Provocative Journey through the British Asian Experience*' London: Granta.

Shaw, S. 2011. '*Marketing Ethnoscapes spaces of consumption: 'Banglatown – London's Curry Capital'* Journal of Town and City Management, Vol.1, No.4 (2011), pp. 381-395

Silverman, D. 2016. *'Qualitative Research'* London: Sage

South Manchester 2012. *'Eid, Rusholme'* South Manchester 2012, [ONLINE] Available at: http://southmcr.com/post/29898013469/eid-al-fitr-2012-rusholme [Accessed 4th August 2016]

Strickland, P. 2011. *'The Benefits of Family Employment in Ethnic Restaurants: A Case Study of Regional Victoria in Australia'* Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, Vol.16, No.5 (October 2011) pp.537-549

Sundarsingh, A. 2014. *'Curry: Making Home Away from Home in Diaspora'* Academia.edu 2014, [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.academia.edu/7389234/Curry_Making_Home_Away_From_Home_in_Diaspora [Accessed 11th May 2016]

Taylor, I. 2000. '*European ethnoscapes and urban redevelopment: The return of Little Italy in 21st century Manchester'* City, Vol.4, No.1 (2000), pp.27-42

Telegraph. 2016. *'Spate of racist attacks blamed on Brexit'* Telegraph, 26th June 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/26/spate-of-racist-attacks-blamed-on-brexit-vote/ [Accessed 30th June 2016]

TFGM 2014. *'Transport for Greater Manchester: Bus Priority Scheme'* Transport for Greater Manchester [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.tfgm.com/buspriority/Pages/website/routes-oxford-road.html [Accessed 10th June 2016]

Tsai, C-T. Lu, P-H. 2012. *'Authentic Dining Experiences in Ethnic Theme Restaurants'* International Journal of Hospitality and Management, Vol.31, No.1 (March 2012), pp.304-306

Turgeon, L. Pastinelli, M. 2002. *'Eat the World: Postcolonial Encounters in Quebec City's Ethnic Restaurants'* The Journal of American Folklore, Vol.115, No.456 (April 2002), pp.247-268

Valentine, G. 2013. '*Living with difference: Proximity and encounter in urban life'* Geography, Vol.98, No.1 (April 2013), pp.4-9

Van den Berghe, P. 1984. *'Ethnic Cuisine: Culture in Nature'* Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.7, No.3 (July 1984), pp.387-397

Vertovec, S. 2007. *'Super-Diversity and its implications'* Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.30, No.6 (September 2007), pp.1024-1054

Visit Manchester. 2016a. *'Indian places to Eat in Manchester'* Visit Manchester, 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.visitmanchester.com/what-to-do/eating-out/indian/ [Accessed 27th July 2016]

Visit Manchester. 2016b. *'Eating Out'* Visit Manchester, 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: www.visitmanchester.com/Parts2.aspx?ExperienceId=7&PartId=30 [Accessed 27th July 2016]

Visit Rusholme. 2016. *'Visit Rusholme: Home of the World Famous Curry Mile'* Visit Rusholme 2016 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.visitrusholme.org.uk [Accessed 10th June 2016]

Visram. R. 1986. *'Ayahs, lascars and princes: Indians in Britain 1700-1947'* London: Pluto Press

Visram, R. 2002. '*Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History'* London: Pluto Press

Warde, A., Martens, L., & Olsen, W. 1999. '*Consumption and the problem of variety: Cultural omnivorousness, social distinction and dining out*' Sociology, Vol.33, No.1 (February 1999) pp.105-127

Warde, A. 2007.*'Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness: Or, the Myth of the Cultural Omnivore'* Cultural Sociology, Vol.1, No.2 (July 2007), pp.143-164

Warde, A. 2015a. '*The Sociology of Consumption: Its Recent Development*' Annual Review of Sociology, Vol.41, No.1, (August 2015), pp.117-134

Warde, A. 2015b. 'On the Sociology of Eating' On the sociology of eating' Revue d'Etudes en Agriculture et Environnement, Vol. 96, No. 1, (June 2015) pp. 7-15

Webb, E. Campbell, D. Schwartz, R. Sechrest, L. 1966. *'Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactives Measures in the Social Sciences'* Chicago: Rand McNally

Werbner, P. 1990. *'The Migration Process'* Oxford: Berg

Wilmsen, E. 1996. *'Introduction'* In: Wilmsen, E. McAllister, P. (1996). *'The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power'* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.1-25

Wise, A. 2009. '*Everyday Multiculturalism: Transversal Crossings and Working Class Cosmopolitans'* In: Wise, A. Velayutham, S. (2009). *'Everyday Multiculturalism'* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 21–45

Uncited References:

Ahmed, S. 2006. *'Chicken Tikka Masala'* In: Ali, N. Kalra, V. Sayyid, S. (2006). *'A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain'* London: Hurst, pp.62-71

Appadurai, A. 1997. *'Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalisation',* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 32–33

Batnitzky, A. McDowell, L. 2013. *'The emergence of an 'ethnic economy'? The spatial relationships of migrant workers in London's health and hospitality sectors'* Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.36, No.12 (December 2013), pp. 1997-2015

Bhaba, H, 1994. *'The Location of Culture'* London: Routledge

Cook, R. 2001. *'Robin Cook's Chicken Tikka Masala Speech'* The Guardian 2001 [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/apr/19/race.britishidentity [Accessed 25th April 2016]

Goswami, N. 2014. *'The Making of Curry Mile'* BBC 2014 [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/manchester/content/articles/2009/05/12/curry_mile_history_feature.shtml [Accessed 30th June 2016]

Qureshi, I. 2006. *'Home from Home and Here to Stay: South Asians in Britain – An Oral History'* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.leeds.ac.uk/brasian/assets/resource_centre/Oral%20History%20for%20Writing%20Asian%20Cities%20Website.pdf [Accessed 10th June 2016]

MacClancy, J. 1992. *'Consuming Culture: Why you eat what you eat'* New York: Henry Holt and Company

Slater, T. Anderson, N. 2012. *'The reputational ghetto: territorial stigmatization in St Paul's, Bristol'* Transactions of the British Institute of British Geographers, Vol.37 No.4 (October 2012) pp.530-546

Valentine, G. 2008. *'Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounter'* Progress in Human Geography, Vol.32 No.3 (June 2008), pp.323-337

Zhou, M. 2007. *'Non-economic effects of ethnic entrepreneurship'* In: Dana, L. 2007. *'Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship: A Co-evolutionary View on Resource Management'* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp.279-288

Zhou, M. 2013. *'Ethnic enclaves and niches'* In: Ness, I. Bellwood, P. 2013. *'The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration'* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell