GETTING A JOB IN CANADA:
SOCIAL NETWORKS AND CHINESE IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

BY

JIM YOUNG

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Depart of Anthropology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

©March, 1998

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
*****
COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE

GETTING A JOB IN CANADA:

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND CHINESE IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

BY

JIM YOUNG

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University

of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

Jim Young   ©1998

Dedicated to:

My loved mother and father.

ABSTRACT

The target group of this study is a subgroup of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Canada. The members of this subgroup are distinctive in terms of their migration experience and higher education and qualifications. They came to this country as graduate students and obtained permanent resident status or Canadian citizenship afterwards. This study concerns their experience in seeking employment in the host country.

A snowball sampling method was employed to locate 51 respondents for this study. Most of the respondents are located in Winnipeg. An open-ended interview and a questionnaire were utilized as the major techniques to gather research data. The basic theoretical framework is that of social networks, and the "strength of weak ties" theory is adapted to probe the relationship between social networks and immigrant integration.

This study found that informal networks and weak ties are not necessarily the best method of job-hunting for this specific group. Due to the lack of the necessary weak ties, new immigrants from Mainland China have no choice but to use other job-hunting methods. This study found that weak ties are the least used job-hunting method. This result supports the idea that the utility of informal networks and weak ties in job-hunting are a function of their availability, appropriateness for gaining access to a particular job, and the availability of alternative resources. The various structural barriers in the host society and the individual disadvantages of members of the immigrant group are probed in this study, and the corresponding coping strategies of this particular immigrant group are also identified.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With the greatest pleasure and deepest gratitude, I wish to thank Dr. Ellen R. Judd, my advisor, for her warm support at every stage of my study in the University of Manitoba, for her valuable guidance, constructive criticisms, and her fully understanding during my research. I especially appreciate the tremendous work she has done to help me with English language.

I am also grateful to Dr. David Stymeist for his continued help and support. I would like to thank Dr. Rosa Bruno-Jofre for serving on my examining committee.

Gratitude is expressed to Deborah Woodman, for her friendship and valuable help during my first year of study at the University of Manitoba which was the hardest time of my life.

Many thanks to my friends Ms. Jiang Ping and Mr. Wang Zilong. Their contribution in helping me locate informants at the first stage of my field work was absolutely essential.

A special thanks to Mr. Shaun Mulvey for his help in editing this thesis.

Last but not least, I would like to express my appreciation to my wife and son, for their love, unending patience and long time support. It was their sacrifice which made the completion of this research possible. I am truly grateful to have them in my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Identification of the Problem

One of the most recent studies available on the Canadian employment situation is

entitled, Getting a new job in 1989-90 in Canada (Morissette, 1993). In the abstract of this

paper, the author tells us that, the results of the paper strikingly confirm the importance of

education in individuals' success in the labor market. Of all individuals already in the labor

market or returning to the labor market and who started new full-time jobs in 1989-90, those

with high levels of education had less difficulty findings jobs than low-educated workers did

(Morissette, 1993).

The author also found that, during the same period of time and for the same population,

there were three major factors that caused difficulty for workers seeking employment: (1) not

having enough education, (2) not having enough information about available jobs, and (3) not

having enough skills or experience. The author also points out that the members of visible

minorities reported lacking information about jobs more often than other individuals. This

suggests that they may have a more limited knowledge of labor market institutions and/or that

they may belong to a lesser extent to networks that possess information on job opportunities.

The target group of this study is the recent Chinese immigrants who have come to

Winnipeg as visa students, most of them as graduate students or as visiting scholars. Most of

them entered Canada after 1985 and changed their status to independent immigrants, and

some came as refugees after June 1989. Those who stayed in Canada long enough eventually

became Canadian citizens. This target group is well-educated and highly skilled. Most of

their spouses are also well-educated and are included in this study as well.

This target group belongs to the population that started to look for jobs, and entered the labor market, since the late 1980s. Compared to the general population, this group tends to suffer greater difficulty in their job-hunting process (Liu, 1995; Tian, 1996; Zhang 1995). They belong to social networks that possess less information on job opportunities than other individuals, and have less knowledge of labor market institutions in this country. Many researchers identified that new immigrants in general, and ethnic minorities in particular, face structural barriers such as systematic discrimination (See Commission on Equality in Employment [CEE] 198, p.47; Henry & Ginzberg, 1985, p.4-5, 10-11; Reitz, 1990, p.162), non-recognition of credentials obtained abroad (See CEE, 1984, p.49-50; Daenzer, 1989, p.32; Lai, 1971, p.132; McDade, 1988, p. vii, p. 6; Samuel, 1987, p.74, 1988, p.177; Seward and McDade, 1988, p.31-36; Verma and Basavarajappa, 1989, p.448.), and the need for 'Canadian experience,' which is an impossible qualification for newcomers (See CEE, 1984, p. 49; Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society [SCPVM], 1984, p.33). Other individual disadvantages for immigrants are also identified, namely, inadequate command of the official languages, lack of required skills, and lack of familiarity with Canadian society and culture (See CEE, 1984, p.48-50; Lai, 1971, p.132; Samuel, 1987, p.74; 1988, p. 177; Seward and McDade, 1988, p.49). Recent research pertaining to the new generation of Mainland Chinese immigrants indicates that this group faces these structural barriers and certain other particular disadvantages (Liu, 1995; Tian 1996; Zhang 1995).

Faced with these barriers and disadvantages, many immigrants turn to informal networks based on family/kinship/friendship ties within the same ethnic group for help to find employment. This reliance on networks in turn reinforces ethnic occupational concentration and the enclave economy (Boyd, 1989, p.651-653; Reitz, 1990, p.138-142). Research

conducted in metro Toronto indicates that this is especially true for Chinese immigrants with lower levels of education and inadequate language abilities. Their reliance on networks usually channels them into the enclave labor market, and the effects of reliance on networks have been proven to be generally negative for their integration (Liu, 1995, p.v).

The target group of this study is somewhat different from the Chinese in metro Toronto. Firstly, the enclave labor market in Winnipeg is not large enough for new Chinese immigrants. Secondly, the target population of this study is well-educated and mainly looks for professional jobs. The findings of other researchers are of limited relevance to this study. The unique characteristics of this target group raise a number of questions. How do these well-educated Chinese immigrants manage their limited social resources, overcoming various barriers and disadvantages to obtain professional jobs? How does this process affect their integration into mainstream society? To answer these questions is the basic objective of the present study.

1.2   Overview of the Study

To answer those fundamental questions, a basic theoretical framework has been adopted. Social network theory in general, and the "strength of weak ties" theory in particular, are the core of this study. Social network theory emphasizes the relationship between informal personal networks and social integration. For job searching, specifically, job information is passed through networks and affects success or failure in job-hunting and consequently influences social integration in a significant way. Depending on the nature of network ties in terms of factors such as emotional intensity, intimacy, duration, frequency and formality, etc., informal network ties are differentiated into strong ties and weak ties. The "strength of weak ties" theory maintains that most people use weak ties to find jobs, and that these are more efficient than strong network ties, and result in better social integration.

Taking the special situation of our target group into consideration, this study found that informal networks and weak ties are not necessarily the best method of job-hunting for this specific group. The major reason is that as members of a visible minority group and new immigrants in Canada, they face many structural barriers and individual disadvantages. The most significant barrier, which is for the first time identified as a structural barrier in this study, is the lack of the necessary weak ties. In many cases, new immigrants from Mainland China have no choice but to use other job-hunting methods. Although informal methods remain the most important individual methods used by respondents, the percentage is much lower than in the general population. This study also found that weak ties are the least used when an informal network method is applied. This result supports the idea that the utility of informal networks and weak ties in job-hunting are a function of their availability, appropriateness for gaining access to a particular job, and the availability of alternative sources. Although I agree that the weak ties have their strength, this study also suggests that, under some special circumstances, strong ties could have strength in terms of social integration as well.

1.3   Organization of the Study

This study is divided into seven chapters. This introduction is Chapter One. Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework of the study. After a very brief summary of network theory in sociology and anthropology, the "strength of weak ties" theory and its relevance to the study is discussed in some detail. Chapter Three is a summary of the history and current situation of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The changes in Canadian immigration policy in Canadian immigration history and the effects of these on Chinese immigrants are introduced in a literature review. Chapter Four is devoted to a discussion of methodology and research design. Chapter Five provides the general picture of the respondents, their background in

China and their basic situation in Canada. Their scope of social contacts is examined in some detail based upon the data collected during the survey and interviews. Chapter Six discusses the respondents' job-hunting experience. Their motivations for migration and their job expectations are first probed in detail. Their previous and current employment situations in Canada and methods of job searching are examined in detail. During the course of discussion, subgroup comparison within the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant population is utilized. Chapter Seven includes an extended discussion and conclusion. The limitations of this study and suggestions for future study are also presented.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 Social Network Studies in Anthropology and Sociology

The mainstream of social network analysis follows three main lines. These are sociometric analysis, Harvard "clique" theory, and Manchester anthropology (Scott 1991). For sociometrist Moreno (1934), social networks or social configuration is a question of structure. Information flows through the structure from person to person, resulting in the possible influence of an individual over another. For the researchers of Harvard University during the 1930s and 1940s, such as Warner and Lunt (1941), their "clique" theory emphasizes the "informal" non-kin associations of people. Among these people, there is a degree of group feeling and intimacy, and certain group norms of behavior have been established. People are integrated into communities through "informal" and "personal" relations of families and clique membership, not simply through the "formal" relations of the economy and political system (Warner and Lunt, 1941, p. 111). The tradition of Manchester University also focuses on the informal interpersonal relations. The social networks of individuals are viewed as patterns of "personal links individuals have with a set of people and the links these people have in turn among themselves" (Mitchell, 1969, p.10). Communication that involves the transfer of information and the transfer of resources and services are embodied in any particular social network (Mitchell, 1969, p.36-39).

The later studies by the Harvard Group—now it is not solely based at Harvard any more—break the early tradition that was specifically concerned with the investigation of egocentric networks. Two mathematical innovations (algebraic models and multidimensional scaling methods) were developed. Their mathematically orientated structural analysis dealt

with the modeling of all kind of social structures, and their deep and surface structural

relations.

2.2   Network Theory and Job-hunting

2.2.1   The earlier research done by American economists.

Before 1974, the common practice had been to divide methods of job-hunting into

"formal" and "informal" ones. The "formal" category includes commercial and public

employment agencies and advertisements. "Informal" methods include the use of personal

contacts of any kind, and also direct application to an employer (or his/her personnel agent)

not previously known personally to the job seeker. From the 1930s to the beginning of the

1970s, many scholars, most of them American labor economists, published their research

results. Those scholars include De Schweinetz (1932), Dedlman et al.. (1952), Lester (1954),

Lurie and Rayack (1968), Myers and Chultz (1951), Myers and Maclaurin (1943), Parnes

(1954), Reynolds (1951), Sheppard and Belitsky (1966), Ullman and Taylor (1965), Wilcock

and Franke (1963), Wilcock and Sobel (1958), Shapero (1965) and Brown (1965, 1967).

Nearly all of those studies were primarily motivated by a concern with either unemployment

or labor shortages, an emphasis on the concept of "labor markets," and the relation of wages

to mobility. Although the majority of the studies were focused on the so-called blue-collar

workers, other groups of people such as white-collar clerical workers (Shultz, 1962) and

college professors (Brown, 1967) were covered as well. No matter how different the people

were, research showed that formal mechanisms of job allocation rarely accounted for more

than 20 percent of the placements. By contrast, in the majority of the cases, individuals hear

about a new job via personal contacts, and not through general announcements of vacancies.

Up to 60-90 percent of blue-collar jobs were found informally, principally through friends

and relatives and direct application. For professional jobs, this percentage is a little

lower, but still as high as 56.8% to 76% (Granovetter, 1974, p. 5, p. 17).

2.2.2   Granovetter's sociological study.

Based on the above studies, an important sociological dimension can be introduced.

This dimension is that the actual transmission of information about job opportunities is a

more immediate condition of mobility than any characteristic of jobs themselves. An

individual has to secure the proper information before he or she can move to a position that

has more advantage. At this point economic theory is of little help in understanding the

problems. Beyond the previous statements that information is secured from "friends and

relatives," sociologist Granovetter (1974) was concerned to specify more exactly the origin,

nature, and maintenance of the interpersonal tie mediating the passage of information. His

research was focused on professional, technical and managerial workers (PTMs). Granovetter

(1974) explored the ways in which people acquire information about job opportunities. His

findings may be summarized as follows (see Granovetter 1974, p. 10-22):

1. PMTs use three basic ways of job search: formal means, personal contacts and direct

application.

2. "Formal means" is that the "job seeker uses the services of an impersonal

intermediary between himself and prospective employers," which include advertisements, and

public and private employment agencies.

3. "Personal contacts" implies that "there is some individual known personally to the

respondent, with whom she originally became acquainted in some context unrelated to a

search for job information, from whom she has found out about her new job, or, who

recommended her to someone who then contacted her."

4. "'Direct contact' means that one contacts or writes directly to a firm, does not use a formal or personal intermediary, and has not heard about a specific opening from a personal contact."

5. Similar to the previous studies, Granovetter found that informal, personal contacts were the primary channels (56.8%) through which individuals found out about job opportunities. It was particularly true for information about the higher-paying jobs, regardless of religious and ethnic background or educational level.

2.3 The "Strength of Weak Ties" Theory

Granovetter developed the famous "strength of weak ties theory" on the basis of his research. Recognising that many individuals prefer a well-grounded reliance on personal contacts in findings a job, he realised that the influence of social structure needed to be probed. While personal contacts remain important, Granovetter realised that his theory must equally address instances in which individuals do not use weak ties for seeking employment.

"Social networks," as a term, was initiated by British social scientists interested in describing the structured features of primary groups. Network assessments are usually concerned with properties such as size, density (the extent to which people in the networks are linked to one another), homogeneity (similarity of network members according to age, race, sex, and culture), symmetry of contacts (degree of reciprocity of support between network members), and the direction of linkages and interactions. For Granovetter, those properties and concerns are classified into two categories: strong ties and weak ties. For example, our acquaintances are viewed as weak ties because they are of less density and less homogeneous. By contrast, our close friends are identified as strong ties since they exhibit greater density and more homogeneous properties. "The set of people made up of any individual and his or her acquaintances will constitute a low-density network," "whereas the

set consisting of the same individual and his or her close friends will be densely

knit" (Granovetter, 1982, p. 105).

Granovetter's basic theme is that "social systems lacking in weak ties will be

fragmented and incoherent. New ideas will spread slowly, scientific endeavors will be

handicapped, and subgroups that are separated by race, ethnicity, geography, or other

characteristics will have difficulty reaching a *modus vivendi*" (Granovetter, 1982, p. 106).

Granovetter's theory was tested and criticized by many scholars such as Rose Coser (1975),

Langlois (1977), Erichsen and Yancey (1980), Lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981), Pool (1980),

Murray (1981), Delany (1980), etc. Granovetter, responding to several theoretical and

substantive criticisms, published a modified version of his theory in The Strength of Weak Ties:

A Network Theory Revisited in 1982. He absorbed the critics' ideas, filled some theoretical

holes and broadened his theory's bases. Since then his strength of weak ties theory has

become a well-grounded and very powerful theory. The completed "strength of weak ties"

theory could summarized as follows:

According to Granovetter and other scholars, weak ties are strong in three respects. First

of all, weak ties have an impact on individuals. It is vital for an individual to integrate into

modern society. The increasing specialization and interdependence of modern society result

in a variety of specialized role relationships and in segmentation. This segmentation results in

alienation. Evidence shows that the stronger the ties connecting individuals, the more similar

they are in various ways. The weakness of strong ties is that, in many situations, individuals'

lives do not actually depend on what happens within the group but on forces far beyond their

perception and hence beyond their control. Individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of

information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial

news and views of their close friends. This not only will insulate them from the latest ideas

and fashions, but also may put them in a disadvantaged position in the labor market where advancement can depend on knowing about appropriate job openings at just the right time (Granovetter, 1982, p.106).

As a result of homogeneous contacts, people usually lack a so-called "cognitive flexibility." Consequently, people heavily dependent on strong ties will have difficulty integrating into the society. In contrast to strong ties, weak ties can serve as a bridge to link different groups, to connect individuals who are significantly different from one another. These kinds of bridges (or local bridges) are important channels of information flow and bases of inter-group cohesion. "Weak ties have a special role in individuals' mobility opportunities--that there is a structural tendency for those to whom one is only weakly tied to have better access to job information that one does not already have"(Granovetter, 1982, p.109).

Secondly, weak ties have their strength in the spread of ideas. Although initiated by Granovetter (1973), other authors such as Everett Rogers (1979, 1981), Fine and Kleinman (1979), and Weimann (1980) also contributed to this idea. Both Granovetter (1973) and Weimann (1980) use transitivity to explain their arguments. Transitivity is the tendency of one's friends' friends to be one's friends as well. By measuring the tenure, importance and frequency of the tie strength, Weimann (1980, p. 16-17) found that:

> Networks of strong ties are significantly tending to transitivity, while networks of weak ties lack this tendency, and in some cases even tend to intransitivity.... Weak ties, relatively free from the tendency to transitivity, are less structured, thus enabling them the role of bridging separate cliques or subgroups carrying information to all the network's segments (1980, p. 16-17).

Weimann further differentiates the function of strong and weak ties. Weak ties

provide the bridges over which innovations cross the boundaries of social groups, while the

strong ties within each group usually influence decision-making (1980, p.21). In a similar

fashion, Friedkin notes:

> There are different bases of macro and micro integration: macro integration can
>
> be based on weak ties which permit episodic transmissions of information among
>
> groups, while micro integration is based on a cohesive set of strong ties which permit
>
> regular transmissions within groups (1980, p. 421-22).

The third aspect is that weak ties also affect social organization. Granovetter (1973),

Blue (1974), and Friedkin (1980) demonstrate that intimate relations tend to be confined to

small and closed social circles, thereby fragmenting society into small groups. The

integration of these groups in the society depends on people's weak ties, not their strong

ones, because weak ties extend beyond intimate circles and establish the inter-group

connections on which macro social integration rests. Sometimes a successful integration

can only be understood by considering the role of an extensive network of weak ties.

Blue's study even argues that in a complex structure, extensive weak networks can remain

viable only when close ties are prohibited. Blue argues that this can be done by building a

strong mechanism of control into a formal hierarchy. This kind of solution, using

hierarchy to prohibit close ties, is called a "weak-tie solution," and it is suggested that this

weak-tie mode of organizational integration is better and more efficient than a "family-

like" model or "egalitarian relations" model which exhibit forms of strong ties. Steinberg's

work (1980) shows a similar result, which argues that a mobilization strategy based on the

activation of weak ties is more likely to facilitate adoption of the goal and integration in a

certain social structure.

One of the important changes in Granovetter's 1982 paper is that he added an excursus on the strength of strong ties to balance his theory. This change, however, only mentioned the strength of strong ties in terms of their easy accessibility. It still did not see any significance of strong ties in terms of social integration. This is the one of the issues that I want to address in my study.

2.4   The Relevance of the "Strength of Weak Ties" Theory to the Study

The "strength of weak ties" theory is powerful in general. In terms of a specific individual or social group, however, it is limited because of its universal nature. In other words, this theory assumes weak ties have a uniform effect on job referral for all social groups regardless of their religion, ethnicity, and educational level. We already know that an individual has to secure the proper information before he or she can move to a position that has more advantage. We also know that not everybody has the right contacts. We must wonder why particular individuals and social groups are characterized by an absence of weak ties.

Under some circumstances or for some specific individuals and social groups, weak ties may not be a better source, or may not be available. Anderson (1974) and Corcoran (1980), for example, found that personal contacts are not better job sources. Other researchers, such as Calzavara (1982) and Lin (1981), have found that the effect of personal contacts is conditional on the resources in the social networks and the nature of the contact used. All of these research projects were limited in looking only at the personal contact that provided access to the job, because of the long tradition in social network analysis that focuses on personal egocentric networks. The broader social networks were ignored. Considering the number of differences that may be present between various social groups, Granovetter's assertion that weak ties are always better sources of social mobility than strong

ones regardless of religion, education, or ethnicity may not be true for all cases (see

Granovetter 1974, p. 17). Calzavara's study (1983), for example, indicates that the social

network itself influences both the access to personal contacts and the type of contact. It is

particularly significant for this study that the author takes ethnic differences into account.

Calzavara argues that in an ethnically segmented labor market, such as Toronto, personal

contacts and particular contacts would not have a uniform effect on the job referral of all

social groups (1983, p.17).

More recently published papers tend to argue that traditional network analyses

overlooked how the social structure restricts the number and types of opportunities available

to given actors. Tepperman (1988) noticed that social structure sets important constraints on

the information individuals have about social systems and the freedom they have to move

about within them. Social mobility is not the random nor even the meritocratic selection of

individuals for higher rewards. It is primarily the movement of collectives relative to one

another. Groups, not individuals, he argues, are the appropriate units for analyzing social

mobility because individual opportunities depend largely on the opportunities available to the

groups to which individuals belong.

The target group for this study exhibits characteristics relevant to this research. Data

collected from the respondents suggest that few weak ties are available to this group and that

the majority of its members use formal methods to locate job information. This will be

discussed in detail in the later chapters. The specific situation of my respondents, however,

does not preclude using the general theory of "the strength of weak ties" to probe various

phenomena presented by this population. Indeed, the "strength of weak ties" theory is a

theoretical framework for this study. This framework offers a set of benchmarks that can be

used to test the integration of the target group. Under this framework, many questions arise

and must be answered. If, in the general population, weak ties are the most effective and preferred channel for securing job information and are theoretically and practically well founded, why are those Chinese unwilling or unable to choose weak ties to achieve greater mobility? How does our society set various barriers to deprive them from doing so, and what is their strategy for coping with their situation?

CHAPTER 3. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

3.1 The Shifting Patterns of Canadian Immigration Policy

Canada is predominately a country of immigrants. Historically, Canada's immigration

policies have been criticized as being racially and ethnically discriminatory. Between the

period of Confederation and the mid-twentieth century, Canada consistently had a tendency to

favor immigrants from northern and western Europe as well as from the United States. By

the year 1900, the need to attract farmers to fill the vast Canadian West caused immigrant

officials and railroad company land agents to accept applications from eastern and southern

Europe. This selective immigration policy has been called an "all-white immigration policy"

(Dirks, 1995). In the immediate post-World War II period of immigration, Canada's selection

policies relied extensively on family migration to simultaneously realize the goals of

population growth and rapid expansion of the industrial infrastructure with large numbers of

unskilled workers. It was not until the mid-1960s that the country chose to reject this

implicitly all-white immigration policy. Because the labor-intensive manufacturing industries

were no longer competitive in a world economic system, it was considered necessary for

economic development to obtain economic resources and skilled labor. Under various

domestic and international pressures (Dirks, 1995), major changes in Canada's immigration

policies occurred in 1967. The government instituted a new set of criteria for determining the

eligibility of applicants for landed immigrant status, called the "point system." This system

emphasizes educational and economic factors for the selection of those who neither had close

family ties nor specific humanitarian claims as a basis for selection (Dirks, 1995; Inglis, et al.

1994). As a result of this change, Asia and southern Africa have become the major areas

from which immigrants come. In the 1950s, over 85 percent of Canada's immigrants came

from Europe, with 30 percent arriving from Great Britain alone. By 1981, about 40

percent of immigrants came from Asia with the proportion increasing to 43 percent by 1988

(Marr, 1992). In 1991, Mainland China became the third of the top ten Asian countries to

provide immigrants to Canada.

The discriminatory history and the modern positive change of Canadian immigration

policy are typically represented by Chinese immigration experience.

3.2   A Brief History of Chinese Immigrants in Canada

As early as 1858, Chinese started to migrate to Canada. Early Chinese immigration to

Canada was a result of the Gold Rush in the Fraser Valley, the CPR (Canadian Pacific

Railway) construction, and socio-economic instability in imperial China. The Chinese

immigrant population in North America during the nineteenth century, largely composed of

indentured laborers, originated from four counties in the south-eastern Chinese province of

Guangdong -- Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui, and Enping (Lai, 1975). With the exception of a very

small number of merchants, the majority of Chinese emigrants came from the lower stratum

of Chinese society. According to Peter S. Li (1988), over 72% of the Chinese who entered

Canada between 1885 and 1903 were laborers. Other immigrants were cooks, farmers,

laundry workers, miners, and storekeepers. Most of these workers had limited formal

schooling and spoke very little English before coming to Canada. Of the total 4,564

immigrants, only 21 were students, which accounted for 0.5% of the whole Chinese

immigrant population. While the Chinese initially perceived themselves as sojourners, they

were tolerated only when they could meet the labor shortage created by an insufficient level of

white laborers. Indeed, Chinese have for a considerable period of time constituted an entirely

distinct class or caste near the bottom of Canadian society. Once the shortage of white labor was

no longer problematical, however, they became undesirable job competitors and were not welcomed any longer.

After that first period of time, Chinese immigration was strictly restricted in Canada. Upon completion of the CPR, a head tax of $50 was imposed on each Chinese entering the country. in 1885. This tax increased to $100 in 1900 and to $500 in 1903. In 1923, the Canadian government passed excluding legislation regarding Chinese immigration that was called the Chinese Immigration Act. Entry into Canada of persons of Chinese origin, irrespective of allegiance or citizenship, was restricted to the diplomatic corps, children born in Canada to parents of Chinese descent, merchants, and students (Statutes of Canada 1923, c. 38, s. 5). These people were required to register with the government of Canada after entry, or they would be liable to a fine up to $500 or imprisonment for up to twelve months. All other Chinese were, in essence, excluded from entry. The exclusionary intent of the Act, though of a discriminatory nature, was nevertheless successful: only 44 Chinese were allowed into Canada during the 23 years in which the Act was in force before it was repealed in 1947.

In addition to these federal acts, various provinces passed numerous bills to restrict the civil and political rights of the Chinese. The Chinese in British Columbia, for example, were disfranchised as early as 1875. They were barred from owning Crown lands, taking employment on public works, owning a liquor license or a hand-logger's license, to mention just a few. By the outbreak of the First World War, the Chinese in Canada, particularly those on the West Coast, were virtually reduced to second class citizens (Li, 1984, p. 89).

In such a hostile environment, the Chinese population experienced very cruel discrimination. It has been said, "aside from the indigenous people, no other racial or ethnic group had experienced such harsh treatment in Canada as Chinese" (Li, 1988, p. 1).

Although the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed due to the great change

in international and Canadian society after World War II (See Li, 1992, p. 270; Kung, 1962,

p. 617; Liu, 1995, p. 81), discriminatory government policy was still in place. Between 1947

and 1962, Chinese immigration to Canada was restricted. Chinese could only enter Canada if

they had relatives in Canada, in categories such as spouse or minor and unmarried children.

Most of these were wives and children who had been separated from their husbands and

fathers during the long period of exclusion. As a result, some Chinese entered Canada

illegally. During the period from 1947 to 1951, about 5,329 Chinese entered this country,

mainly spouses or children of Chinese Canadians.

In 1962, for the first time since 1923, Chinese could immigrate to Canada as

independent immigrants. Further changes in the immigration policies in 1967 finally adopted

the universal point system that was to apply to all prospective immigrants, regardless of

country of origin and racial background. This point system was further modified in 1978 and

finally recognized as a universal standard of assessment to be applied to Chinese and other

immigrants (Li, 1988, p.91).

Although there were changes in Canadian immigration policy, it was not possible for a

large number of Chinese independent immigrants to enter Canada. The two reasons were: (1)

between 1951 and the early 1970s, there was no Canadian consulate in China to facilitate

emigration to Canada, and (2) at that time, the Chinese government restricted its people from

leaving the country (Liu, 1995). Actually, for ordinary Mainland Chinese citizens with no

overseas relatives, it was impossible to emigrate to overseas countries such as Canada, unless

they did so illegally.

Due to the reasons presented above, Mainland Chinese ceased to be the major source of

Chinese immigration to Canada after the 1949 revolution and before the late 1970s when the

Chinese government's open-door policy began. China began to facilitate

immigration only a few years later. The post-World War II Chinese community in Canada

before the 1980s was basically composed of Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and

"linguistic Chinese," namely the Indochinese refugees who were displaced from Vietnam,

Laos and Kampuchea between 1979 and 1980. Canada accepted 60,049 Indochinese refugees

during that period of time (Li, 1988, p. 91).

By the end of 1978, the open-door policy was instituted by China's leader Deng

Xiaoping and his supporters. With the launching of economic reform, the Chinese people have

had, though restricted to some degree, a greater freedom of movement to overseas countries. The

first emigration wave to Canada after this was family class immigration. In 1979, Mainland

Chinese immigrants to Canada tripled in number from the previous year (2050 in total), and 98

percent were family class or assisted relative immigrants. This number rapidly increased to

4,936 in 1980 and 6,050 in 1981 (Liu, 1995). After that time, the number of Mainland

Chinese immigrants declined as most family members and sponsored relatives had completed

their landing process.

3.3   Background Information about the Target Population

The target population for this study is the new generation of Chinese immigrants. They

are different in many respects from the early Chinese immigrants who were family class or

sponsored relative immigrants. Most of the new Chinese immigrants came to Canada as visa

students, visiting scholars, or contract workers. They later became independent immigrants, or,

to a lesser degree, refugees, and then permanent residents of Canada. Although some of them

entered Canada earlier than 1985, most of them arrived after that time. Their family members

and relatives came to Canada later to join them.

An important component of the Chinese government's open-door policy was to sponsor students to study in the West and also to encourage Chinese students to study abroad at their own expense. Between 1978 and 1987, about 50,000 Chinese went abroad to study or do research as visiting scholars (Gittings, 1989, p. 248). A recent estimate by Zhu Kaixuan, Minister of Education of China, has shown that some 220,000 Chinese students have left China to study abroad since 1979, and half of them were self-financed (*The Globe and Mail,* March 15, 1995: 9A).

Canada is one of the favorite countries for Chinese students pursuing their post graduate studies. By mid-1989, some 4,500-5,000 Chinese students were studying in Canada (*Vancouver Sun,* July 21, 1989, A1; *Montreal Gazette,* July 26, 1989, A4). Many of them were with their spouses and children.

The Tian'anmen Square crackdown that happened in June 1989 was a significant incident resulting in Mainland Chinese gaining permanent resident status. Liu's paper has a detailed description about the Canadian government's reaction to this incident and its effect on Chinese students. Right after the massacre, on June 5, 1989, the Canadian Minister of Employment and Immigration announced a decision that gave sympathetic consideration to Chinese citizens' requests for visa extensions (McDougall, 1989a). Her second announcement came on June 16, 1989, which offered Chinese students the option to apply for refugee status in Canada. The special policy that came into place was known as OM-IS-339 (Employment and Immigration Canada [EIC], 1989). The immigration officials were instructed that "all requests for permanent residence (from Chinese) are to be evaluated sympathetically and on an urgent basis" (McDougall, 1989b). In the following one year period, about 9,800 Chinese applied for permanent residence (PR) status from within Canada and 2,800 for refugee status (EIC, 1990a). By August 1990, some 8,000 Chinese,

predominantly students and scholars, had been granted PR status for humanitarian

reasons (*Vancouver Sun,* August 2, 1990,B1; September 15, 1990, H12).

It is difficult to find precise current statistical figures because the majority of our target

population came to Canada after 1989 and changed their status at a later point in time. As a

result, the 1991 census data currently available is not sufficient. The 1997 census, likely to

provide more accurate information on the target group, is not yet available. The following

information provides limited and indirect pertinent background material for the analysis.

After 1990, while new Chinese visa students continued to come to Canada, those who

were already in Canada continued to apply for and receive PR status. According to 1991

census data, the non-immigrant population in Canada in May 1991 that came from China was

10,945 people (Statistics Canada, 1992). Among them, about 6,000 people (see Table 3-1)

were students, most of them enrolled in Canadian colleges and universities, especially at post

graduate level. Another portion probably consisted of Chinese scholars who were working

and doing research in Canadian universities. The spouses of these Chinese students are

usually well-educated and probably form most of the remainder of this group. We made this

assumption because there are few other ways for Mainland Chinese to come to Canada as

non-immigrants and stay in Canada. After 1985, as Figure 3-5 indicates, Chinese visa students

sharply increased. In Figure 3-1 the number of graduate students falls from the peak of 1991.

The reason for this decline is that many of those students applied for and received their PR

status. After a visa student became a Canadian permanent resident, he/she would no longer

be regarded as a visa student. Instead of using the special measure of OM-IS-339, the

Chinese students now get PR status under the ordinary measure of the "Points System" for

independent immigrants. Although the statistics for the number of Chinese students who

applied for and received immigrant status after 1991 have not yet been released, some

information indicates that this number is very large. According to the estimate of a

chief officer of Immigration Canada, about eighty percent of the total number of Chinese visa

students applied for immigrant status and were approved. One percent of them applied for

refugee status and were approved. The other nineteen-percent went back to China[1].

Therefore the population of well-educated Chinese immigrants should be larger at present

than the figure in the 1991 census data. This population is much more qualified educationally

and professionally than the previous generations of Chinese immigrants.

Most Chinese students and scholars reside in Ontario (1076 in 1991), British Columbia

(600 in 1991), and Quebec (490 in 1991). In Winnipeg, the Chinese community is relatively

small. From 1976 to 1995, 356 Chinese students were admitted to the University of Manitoba

(Institutional Analysis, U. of M. See Figure 3-2). Most of them are graduate students (see

Figure 3-3). Based on the currently available data (from 1982-1989), Figure 3-4 indicates

that most Chinese students study engineering (35%), Science (29%), Medicine (18%),

Agriculture (10%) and Architecture (2%). Only 3% of them study social sciences (see Figure

3-4). This field distribution is unique compared with other international students in Canada,

for which the percentage studying social sciences was as high as 27.5%, while the

percentages studying engineering, health professions and sciences were 16.7%, 6% and

14.8% respectively during the same period of time (Humphries, 1993). 80% of these 356

equals 284, the approximate number of Chinese new immigrants with degrees from both

China and the U. of M. According to the data provided by the International Center for

Students for the 1995-96 academic year, 107 Chinese students enrolled in the University of

---

[1]This information was given by Dr. Lyle Eide, Director of the International Center
for Students at the University of Manitoba, in an interview on September 10, 1996, and
released here upon the permission of Dr. Eide. This is not publicly available yet.

Manitoba. This figure did not include Chinese students with landed immigrant status. If the current trend does not change, potentially 80% of them will be landed immigrants in the upcoming years. With the addition of the spouses of the Chinese students, this community should have about one thousand people at the present time. Due to a lack of census data, we can only estimate the size of the target population. This presents a number of difficulties for sampling.

There is a big difference between the new generation of Chinese immigrants and their early counterparts. The majority of the new generation will most likely look for a professional job rather than an ethnic job such as restaurant owner or laborer. Indeed, to have a professional job is the primary concern of Chinese students. It also is a major step for them to realize social mobility and become integrated into Canadian society. This will be discussed later in detail.

This group of Chinese-Canadians is unique because of the above features. Our academic and policy-making circles have not explored the experience they have gained on arrival in Canada. Many things are still not clear to these immigrants who are struggling to deal with their new environment and trying to integrate themselves into Canadian society. Academic research about this new community is desperately needed to help us understand them and to help them better integrate into our multicultural society

Table 3-1 Chinese Students in Canada in 1990

The type of school	Number of Students
Elementary School	760
Community College	1;436
University:	
Undergraduate Level	383
Graduate Level	3,342
Total	5,921

Source: International Student Participation in Canada
Education, 1992, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 81-261

Figure 3-1   The Distribution of Mainland Chinese
Students on Student Visas In Canadian
Universities by Study Level
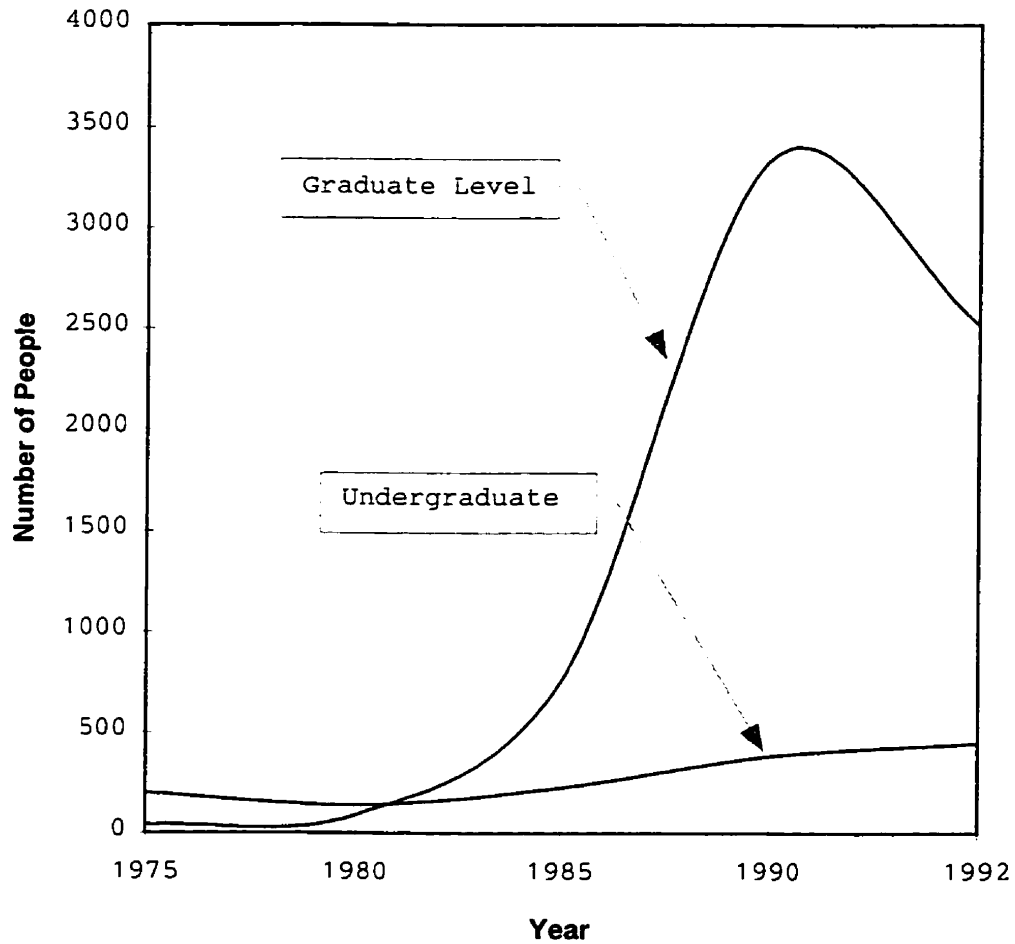
Source: Calculations based on <u>International Student</u>
<u>Participation in Canadian Education, 1992,</u> Statistics
Canada, Catalogue 81-261 Annual.

Figure 3-2   New Enrolment of Chinese Students from Mainland
             China at the University of Manitoba
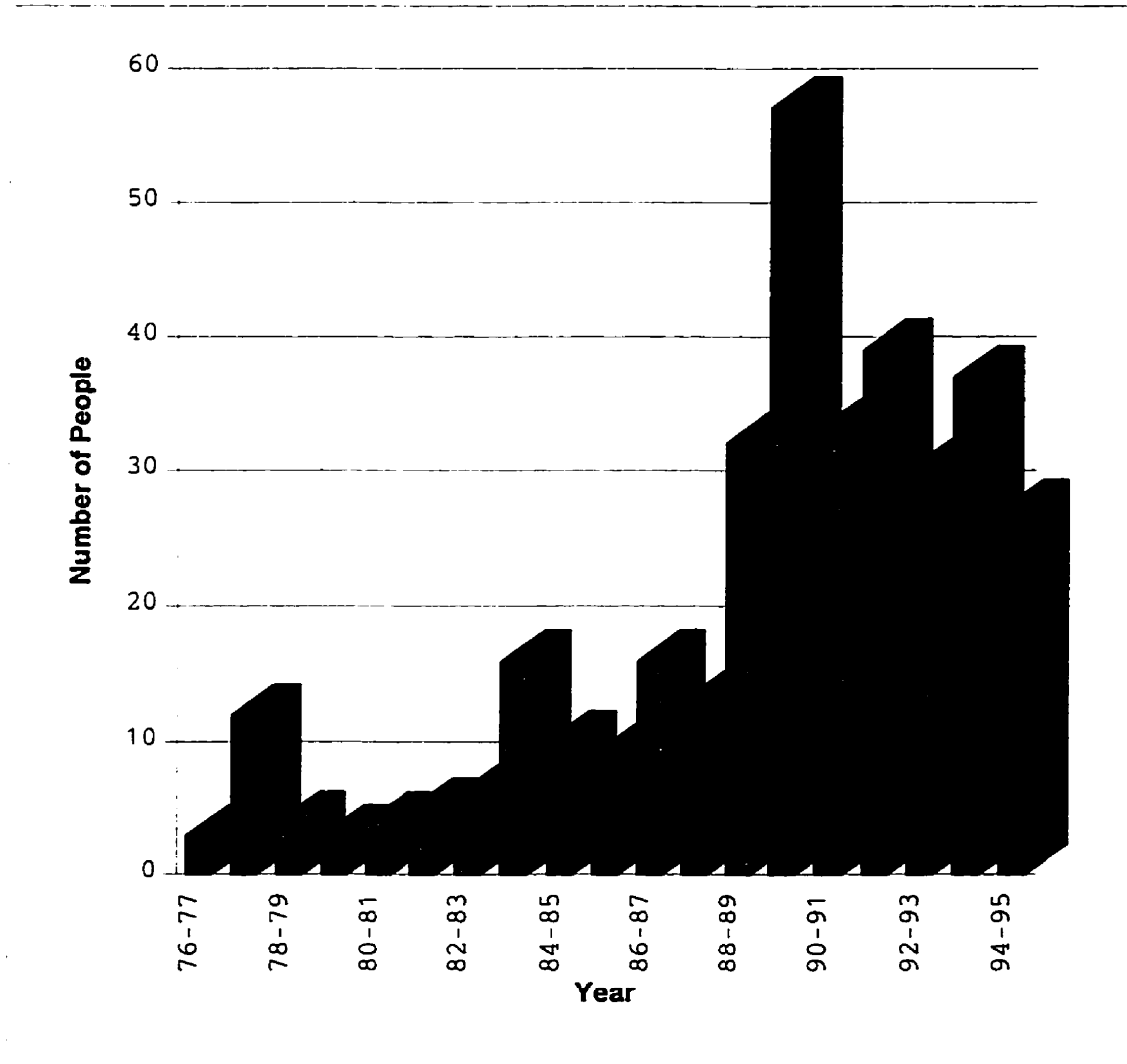
Source: Calculations based on <u>Institutional Statistics Book,</u>
<u>1976-1995</u>, University of Manitoba.

Figure 3-3   Chinese Students' Distribution by
             Different Study Level at the University
             of Manitoba,1982-1989
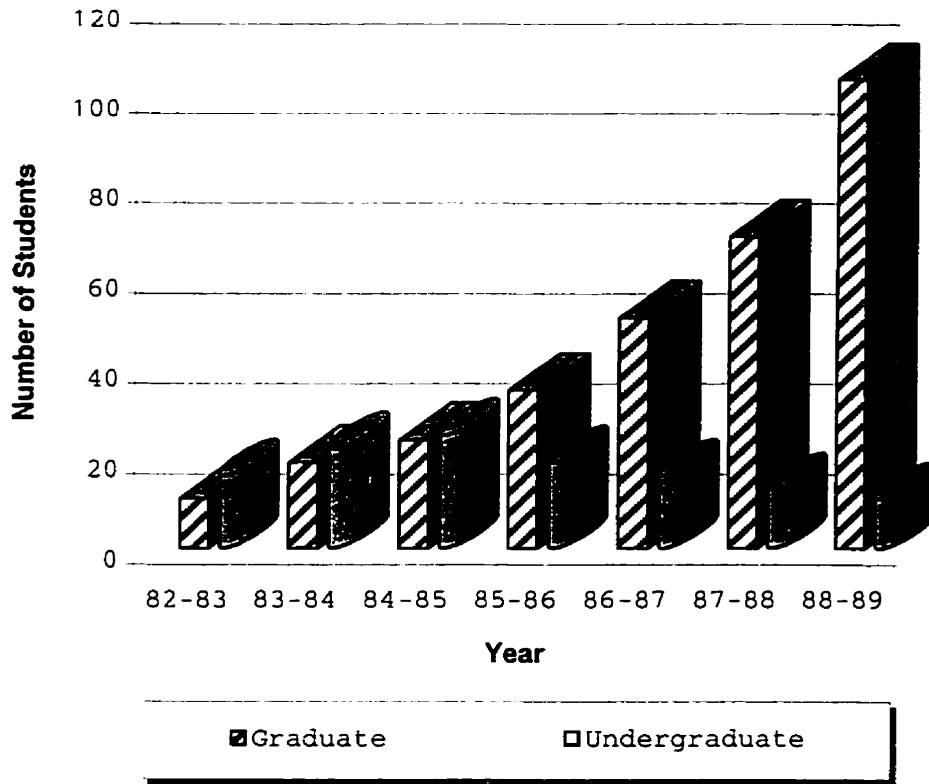
Sources: Calculations based on Statistics on International
Students at the University of Manitoba, edited by the
International Center for Students, U. of M. 82-8.

Figure 3-4 The Average Distribution by Study Field of
Chinese Students in the University of
Manitoba, 1982-1989
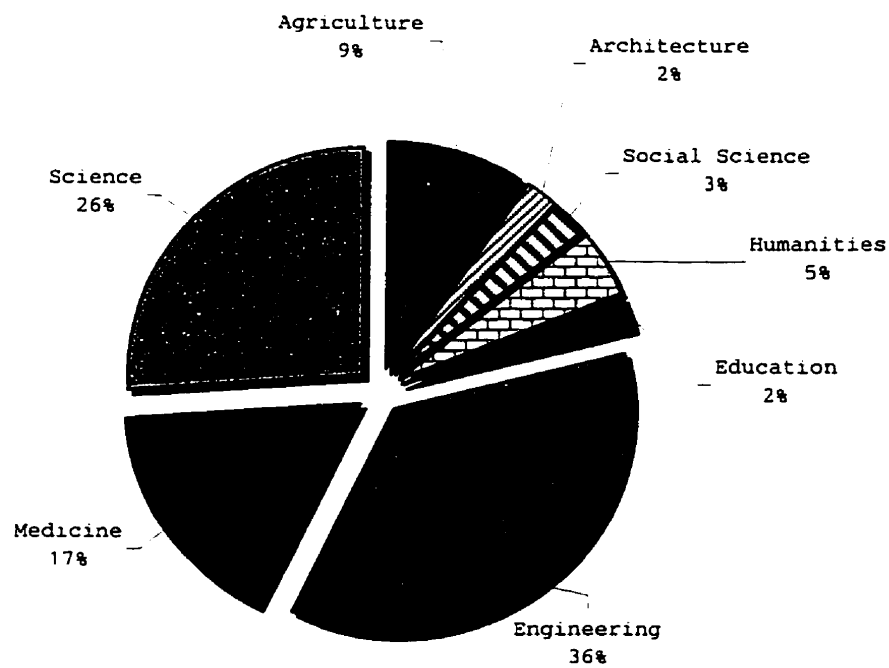
Source: Calculation based on Statistics on
International Students at U. of M., 1982-89, ICS,
University of Manitoba.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Issues about the Measurement of Tie Strength

In modern urban social structure, prescribed relations include kinship ties which are either consanguineous or affinal. Constructed relations include friends, coworkers, and so forth. Indicators of social relations include type of contacts and strength of contacts. Usually the types of contacts include relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The strength of contacts is a matter of measurement. Describing the concept of tie strength, Granovetter writes, "The strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, and intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (1973, p. 1362). Some scholars, such as Lin et al. (1978, p. 150), use frequency and recency of contacts as indicators of tie strength. Contacts who are not intimately related to the actors and who are not the actor's frequent or recent contacts are viewed as weak ties. Looking into those properties of weak ties is very important and measurement of tie strength is critical for the derivation of theory. Several more recent scholars have published studies about this issue, and more items are considered. Cramer (1986), for example, takes up to 69 items concerning a single tie and has found factors of empathy, congruence and level of and unconditionality of regard as factors in the proper measurement of tie strength. Practically, however, it is very difficult to expect respondents to complete long batteries of items about each of numerous ties. Sometimes it may be impossible to collect accurate information because it involves personal privacy.

Regardless of the differences between recent researchers, such as Lund (1985), Marsden and Campbell (1984), Mitchell (1987) and Wegener (1989), their basic ideas remain within the scope of Granovetter's theory discussed above. For this study, since the majority of the

population uses formal, impersonal methods to find jobs, the significance of

distinguishing the differences between weak ties becomes minor. Therefore, in this study,

our focus is on the network's other properties such as density, and homogeneity, and on an

analysis that explains why this population lacks or does not use weak ties. The density of the

network represents the extent to which people in the networks are linked to one another. The

degree of ethnic homogeneity refers to the extent to which people in the networks tend to be

members of the same ethnic group as the respondent. This measurement is used in the study

because of the characteristics of this group as new immigrants and a visible minority. In this

study the "strength of weak ties theory" will be intensively used and is very useful. With

regard to those respondents who used informal personal contacts as their sources of job referral,

acquaintances can be viewed as weak ties. Academic advisors and Chinese friends of the same

background and origin are viewed as strong ties. We did not use a very detailed quantitative

scale to measure the tie strength because the two types of contacts are the only important ties

involved in their job hunting and the nature of the ties are obvious and easy to differentiate.

When we made the differentiation, however, the above measurements such as emotional

intensity, intimacy, duration, frequency and formality of the tie were still taken into

consideration. For example, for the respondents, a personal acquaintance at a conference who

lives in a different city has less emotional intensity, intimacy, and frequency than a Chinese

friend with the same background as the respondent.

4.2   Sampling

Findings in the area of research methods indicate that non-probability sampling, such

as a snowball sample, is widely used, especially for investigations of social problems. In

many cases it is found appropriate and provides useful insights (See Blalock, 1972, p. 527-

528; Cochran, 1963, p. 10-11; Henry, 1990, p. 23; Kalton, 1983, p. 90; Rea & Parker, 1992,

p. 159). This is specially true when the following situations apply: 1) when the whole target population is inaccessible due to the limitation of census data (Cochran, 1963, p. 10: Henry, 1990, p. 24-25); 2) when there is a limited resource of time and funds (Blalock, 1972, p. 575; Henry, 1990, p. 24; Rea & Parker, 1992, p. 159); and 3) when the study is a pioneering one of an unknown group, with the main purpose of examining the existence of some phenomena (Blalock 1972:527-528; Henry 1990-23-25). The target group of this research meets all of the above mentioned criteria. In fact, this sampling method is the only feasible method for our research.

The snowball method is suitable for the demographic and cultural characteristics of the target population. This community is a relatively small and high-density one in Winnipeg. Its members belong to one single Chinese Student and Scholar Association and study at the same campuses, the University of Manitoba Fort Garry campus and Bannatyne campus. Some of their spouses study at the University of Winnipeg campus. Many of them live together and know each other. For example, about 70 households live at 99 Dalhousie Drive, an apartment building complex which is called Univillage. By using the snowball method, and carefully choosing the "seed" informants, there are reasons to believe that the findings will yield fairly representative results (See Blalock, 1972, p. 527-528; Cochran, 1963, p. 10-11; Henry, 1990, p. 23; Kalton, 1983, p. 90; Rea & Parker, 1992, p. 159; Liu, 1995, p. 62).

Scholars who study the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community in other Canadian cities experienced difficulties when they tried to access informants. Gloria Rong Zhang (1995, p. 93) writes:

> To obtain interviews proved to be difficult and frustrating. A high proportion of people contacted refused to be interviewed, giving all kinds of reasons. On occasion it took several phone conversation or two or three visits to secure consent. "Lack of time,

busy with family, not now but later" were the most common excuses....

Chinese are reluctant to reveal personal thoughts or information to acquaintances, not to mention a stranger.... Indeed, it is a Chinese "virtue" to save face when it comes to disclosing anything of a personal nature that does not conform to social expectation (1995, p. 93).

It is very important to establish "rapport" between the respondents and researcher. Establishing rapport with informants has been a well-discussed topic in anthropology for many years. The quality of field data has always depended upon close, trusting relationships with informants (Donnelly and Hopkins, 1993). Usually it takes substantial time to establish the necessary rapport. Due to the relatively small objective and limited time schedule of the present research, however, a level of intimate rapport and long-term participation has been impossible.

To supercede this barrier, I took advantage of my dual status as researcher and as member of the target group. I located potential respondents, with whom I had already established a certain amount of mutual trust and interaction, to begin the snowball sample. With each successive round, I expanded the snowball to include new people and informed them of the person who suggested their possible participation in the research. At times the introducor made contacts with potential respondents and obtained their agreement prior to the interview. It has proven that most of them are cooperative and helpful. It was also proven that other methods, such as random sampling, preferable in anthropology, was not successful for this study. This will be discussed further at a later point in this chapter.

After the sampling method was determined, it became important to choose the right "seed" to start the snowball. Three major sampling factors and assumptions were taken into account. The first was the length of stay in Canada. As discussed in Chapter Three, although

the open-door policy of China was in place in the late 1970s, most Chinese students

did not come to Canada until 1988. Those who came to Canada in the early 1980s were

likely to return to China unless they changed their status. It was very hard, at that time, to

change the visa status. Canadian immigration law requires international students to find

professional jobs related to their fields within 60 days after graduation from Canadian

universities. If they fail to find jobs during that period of time, they have to leave the

country. Those remaining, therefore, had to keep their student status by taking one degree

after another in Canadian universities. As discussed in Chapter Three, almost all of our

respondents could not change their status until 1989. Consequently, the actual job-hunting for

our target group could not really start until after that time. However, it is important for our

study to check if there is any relationship between length of stay and network expansion.

Comparison between people who came earlier and later may be significant in examining the

influence of change in social context.

The second factor is the gender difference. In most cases the male Chinese come to

Canada as visa students and then bring their female spouses. Usually their spouses are also

well educated and had professional experience in China. These Chinese females have more

difficulty getting professional jobs in Canada because their education and experience are not

recognized by most Canadian employers. Their experiences are of particular interest to this

research. In a few cases the situation is reversed. The first ones who came to Canada were

the female students and the male spouses were brought in. Those male spouses' experiences

are especially of interest for this study.

The third factor is the location of residency. There are two major areas where Chinese

students like to live. Most Chinese students and scholars studying medically related disciplines

reside in the Winnipeg downtown area around the University of Manitoba Bannatyne Campus

and Health Sciences Centre. The other location is south Winnipeg around the University of Manitoba Fort Garry Campus. There is an apartment building complex called Univillage in south Winnipeg on 99 Dalhousie Drive. Many Chinese call it a "little Chinatown" because many Chinese students live there. It is assumed that living in a different area is related to different networks, because neighbors are a very important source of networks. To be representative, a proper number in the samples were from the two areas and some were chosen from outside the two areas as well. Also, those Chinese who found jobs in cities other than Winnipeg were covered.

Other factors such as age, field of study and level of education, were taken into account as well.

I started to choose the "seed" informants through my own personal networks, from those with whom I have either strong or weak ties. By doing so, seven people, two females and five males, who have found jobs in Winnipeg after or near their graduation were identified and interviewed first. Their ages range from their late twenties to early forties. Some of them came to Canada before 1989, while others came to this country after 1993. Three of them live in Univillage, two live close to the Health Sciences Center, and two live outside those two areas. I took this group as a starting point and asked them to tell me the names and phone numbers of people they know by any means who graduated and currently have jobs. Eleven people were located after we removed five overlaps from the list derived from the first round. I contacted those people and eleven of them were willing to participate in this study. Eight were interviewed and three agreed to answer the questionnaire. The second round provided fourteen people and ten of the fourteen were interviewed. Two of the other four refused to participate and the other two people could not be reached because they went toChina for visiting. I got five more to interview from the third round and seven more from

the fourth round. This process stopped at the fifth round because I found that the further I went, the more overlap. At this point most of the names I got were no longer new. They either were interviewed or refused to participate. Some of them were not in Winnipeg any more or for some reason I had difficulty reaching them. For this relatively small community with very high homogeneity, I believed there was little chance to expand the scale and therefore stopped. From the beginning of June to the end of August 1997, thirty-seven were interviewed in person and five by telephone. Forty-two interviews were conducted in total.

4.3 Questionnaire Survey

An open-ended questionnaire (see Appendix) has been developed for two purposes. One was for use in the interview. All the respondents interviewed were requested to answer the questionnaire before the interviews. Those responses became a very important portion of the data for this research.

The other purpose of this questionnaire was to reach other potential respondents I could not reach directly through the snowball method in order to expand the scope of research, and in hope of breaking the limitation that might come with the snowball method I employed. For this purpose, the targets are especially those who have graduated from the University of Manitoba and currently work outside Winnipeg. One assumption was that many of those who have professional jobs have access to the Internet and would be willing to help. Therefore, the questionnaire has been made electronically accessible. It was put on the Internet, and advertisements about this page were posted on all the available Internet Chinese resources, such as news-groups and mailing lists. The printed Chinese version of this questionnaire was also available in the office of the Chinese Students and Scholars Association in University Center. Only three people responded to this electronic

questionnaire on their own initiative. Three others responded after I located them first and requested their response.

There were four other people who were located by the snowball method. They declined an interview but agreed to fill out the questionnaire. Four copies of the questionnaires were passed to them and returned. One of them is deemed invalid because it was not filled out in a serious manner.

The data collected from questionnaires filled out by people who were not interviewed have been included in the final study because the same questionnaires were used and are fully compatible.

To develop the questionnaire, some related inventories or scales and questionnaires have been consulted (Daugherty, et al., 1988; Flaherty et al., 1983). For the purpose of comparison, I attempted to use as many of the same questions asked by Liu (1995), Tian (1996), Zhang (1995), and Zhu (1994) in their research on the recent Chinese immigrants in metro Toronto and Calgary as possible. I generated other questions specifically regarding the networks. Some other related materials (Corcoran et al., 1980; Statistics Canada, 1992b) were consulted and some of their questions were used in this questionnaire as well.

4.4 Open-ended Informal Interview

The in-depth interviews are expected to provide a deeper understanding of selected cases. Informal interviews (Agar, 1980) with a general outline of pre-established, pre-tested questions is the most important fieldwork methodology. Zhang's argument about the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant in Toronto can be used, without modification, to explain the reason why random sampling has not been successful and therefore justifying the importance of personal interviews. She said that

Firstly, it is unlikely that the majority would or could answer a mailed questionnaire. It can be assumed that there would be a distinct tendency toward the better-educated "middle class" segment of the immigrant population being willing to take up the challenge to respond. Secondly, respondents can be reassured in person of the confidential nature of the inquiry and they can ask questions concerning the study and its purpose. Thirdly, explanations can be made or questions can be rephrased and restated when different levels of comprehension are involved on a level corresponding to the individual's understanding. Fourthly, respondents can be encouraged to comment on questions and relate their own experience (1995, p. 91).

The general and tentative conceptual interview outline (see Appendix III) was developed to provide an idea of the kind of information sought in the interviews. The questions outlined in the schedule are divided into two types. Questions about the demographic and educational background of the respondents are more specific and stick to more material details, such as date of entry to Canada, English proficiency and so on. Other questions are in-depth and open for the informants to talk freely and interpretively about more important and complex issues, such as discrimination, difficulties in job-seeking and personal experience, from their own perspectives.

Because the questionnaire was conducted before every interview, the interview schedule was readjusted or revised whenever it was necessary according to the feedback of the questionnaire. The actual questions were flexible and vary from case to case according to the participants' differences.

Most interviews were conducted at the homes of the respondents. Mandarin was used during most situations, and occasionally English words were also used whenever the respondents felt comfortable. To assure the best atmosphere and communication, the names

of the "seed" people were mentioned first and a statement of research (See Appendix

A) with the researcher's signature, assuring the rights, anonymity and privacy of informants,

was given.   In most cases the respondents refused to have the interview tape recorded.

4.5 Comparison of Subgroup Variation

The target group of this study is a subgroup of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants

in Canada. As I stated in Chapter Two, social mobility is primarily the movement of

collectives relative to one another. Groups, not individuals, are the appropriate units for

analyzing social mobility because individual opportunities depend largely on the

opportunities available to the groups to which individuals belong. By and large the experience

of our target group, which is a subgroup of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, are

shared in many aspects by this community as a whole. On the one hand, it is important to

understand the structural restrictions that Canadian society has imposed on this group in its

entirety. On the other hand, however, it is the uniqueness of this subgroup that makes sense to

this study. To understand the uniqueness of this group, subgroup comparison is necessary. It

in turn gives us more insight into the community as a whole.

Research about the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community is limited because

this group is quite new in Canada. Among the several authors, Liu's (1995) dissertation is the

most comprehensive study that covers the whole recent Mainland Chinese immigrant

population in metro Toronto. This research is relevant to our study also because its major

focus is on the social networks and the employment experience of the recent Mainland

Chinese immigrants. Although as a general study of this group, Liu's research does not provide

a detailed treatment of the well-educated and highly qualified subgroup, it nevertheless

contributes an overview of this subgroup. Some subgroup variations are touched upon and the

data provided in this research is very helpful. Taking reasonable caution about my analysis

that is based on a relatively small sample, I have tried to establish a broader base for my conclusion. Therefore, to a considerable extent, I use data from Liu (1995) to achieve this goal. This kind of subgroup comparison, I think, is very productive in this study. A brief description of Liu's study will be given in the next chapter.

4.6 Some Points about the Researcher

The recent Mainland Chinese immigrants as a new group in Canada have not yet attracted much attention in our academic circle of anthropology and sociology. As with this study, other research that is currently available has been done by members of this group. The advantage is that the researcher, as a member of the target group, has a direct connection with the respondents culturally, socially and emotionally. He or she understands the basic situation and everyday life of the respondents and can communicate with them easily without cultural and language difficulty. Observation is a lot easier for a researcher when he or she has no such barriers. It makes deep insights into a special group possible without requiring a long period of participant observation, which is usually needed for traditional anthropologists who have to learn the language and study across the gulf of culture. On the other hand, the disadvantage is that although I might avoid the Western bias, I might be preoccupied by my own bias. Another problem is that the social setting of the study is in Canada, a society I myself as a newcomer do not fully understand. However, I fully realize this limitation and take every precaution to avoid the preoccupation that might happen in this study. Sometimes I do try to "write" myself into the research because I share the same cultural values and have the same experience as our respondents. Sometimes findings seem so obvious and self-evident based on those values and experience and that it seems not necessary to put more words than just several statements. Under those circumstances, when I use a direct and simple way to state a "fact," it might be different from the traditional anthropological convention.

Although I tried my best to avoid it, if there is any preoccupied argument or

assertion, as the researcher of this study I should take all the criticism and responsibility

alone.

Tian (1996) has a paragraph describing this concern that is worth quoting at length:

A further problem which arose as my research progressed relates to the fact that

as a Mainland Chinese myself who shares many of the cultural values and experience

of his informants, I might find it difficult to conduct my research in an 'objective'

manner. At the same time, I faced the question of whether or not I could, as an

anthropologist schooled in a Western university, represent the lives and experience of

my informants as any one of them might do (cf. Fahim, 1982). Several stimulating

studies conducted by scholars who faced similar dilemmas as in my research --e.g.,

Chierici's (1989) work on Haitian boat people in the United States, and Li's (1975)

study of Chinese immigrants in Chicago -- confirm the validity of research projects

which reflect the influences of both the researcher's ethnic and scholarly identities.

Moreover, like the work of Chierici and Li, I believe my own fieldwork benefits from

and yields what Donnelly terms "a sort of double vision... [where] the field worker

attempt[s] to see events with the understanding of a member of the culture under study

as well as from the perspective of his own, a process designed to provide insight into

theoretical issues within anthropology" (1989, p. 27) (Tian, 1996, p. 135)

CHAPTER 5. PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

5.1 Background in China

5.1.1 Geographic distribution in China.

In contrast to their earlier counterparts who predominately came from Guangdong, the fifty-one respondents came from all over China. The majority of them (33%) came from Beijing, the capital city of China. Others come from Chengdu (22%), Shanghai (12%), Nanjing (8%), Ji'nan (8%), Guangzhou (4%), Chongqing (4%), Wuhan (2%), Changchun (2%), Kunming(2%), and Baotou (2%). This geographic distribution is fairly representative of major urban centers if we consider that many of those from Beijing and Chengdu were not born in those two cities. They achieved their social mobility by education and migrated from other provinces of China to the capitals. Figure 5-1 and Table 5-1 shows the geographic distribution of our respondents in China.

5.1.2 Age and gender.

The age distribution of our respondents is fairly normal for graduate students. The two youngest respondents were born in 1972 and the oldest one is 43 years old. Among the 51 respondents, thirteen are women. Figure 5-2 shows their age and gender. In terms of sampling, ideally, the sample should include a somewhat greater number of female respondents. We can still say, however, that this sample is fairly representative because of the special characteristics of our target group, and also because of our preset research scope that limits our research to those who currently hold a professional job. This will be discussed further later.

5.1.3 Education and fields of study.

Figure 5-3 indicates the education received in China. Among the 51 respondents, 22 had bachelor's degrees and 23 had master's degrees. Four held a Ph.D. degree. Only two did not hold a university degree, but held a post-secondary diploma or certificate (one was a nurse and the other was an assistant accountant). No female respondents were educated in China at Ph.D. level, but four of them entered Canada as Ph.D. students. At bachelor's and master's level, there is no significant gender difference (see Figure 5-4). Among 13 females, six had bachelor's degrees and six had master's degrees, accounting for 46% of total female respondents. Compared with the numbers for males, which are 42% with bachelor's and 45% master's degree respectively, the educational level of our female respondents is a little higher than that of the males.

The academic field distribution before coming to Canada is shown in Figure 5-5. Most of the respondents, accounting for 35% of the total, studied medical science. The second largest number is in engineering (31%), then agriculture (16%) and science (6%). Social sciences and arts each account for 4% .Two other cases are in nursing and accounting. Neither of these people held a university degree and considered themselves as having "no profession."

5.1.4 Length of professional experience.

Most of the respondents worked in universities and research institutes in China. Others worked in state-owned enterprises, hospitals, and companies, etc. as technical or administrative professionals. Among the 49 respondents who gave the related answers, seven (14%) had less than three years work experience. Sixteen (33%) had three to six years work experience. Twenty-three respondents (53%) had more than seven years work experience in

their profession, and eight of them had worked more than ten years in their

profession. The longest work experience is 12 years, two females and one male falling into

this category. In terms of the length of work experience, there is no significant difference

between genders. In the two-year and three-year categories, there are no female respondents.

In the eight-year category the percentage of women is 16%, a little lower than the women's

percentage of the total, which is 27%. In most other categories, however, women's

percentage is close to or a little higher than that percentage. For example, in the four-year

category, women account for 40%, in the six-year and eleven-year categories, women account

for 50%, and in the twelve-year category, women are higher than men, at 60% (See Figure 5-

6).

5.1.5 Qualification earned in China.

Based on their educational background and work experience, their qualifications were

very high by any standard. This is especially true when we take into account that the general

population's educational level is very low in China, where higher education is accessible to

only a very small percentage of the population. I collected the information about the

respondents' qualifications by asking their "zhicheng," which are their titles of technical or

professional post. There is no perfectly equivalent system in Canada that matches the

Chinese "zhicheng" system, but we can say that a Zhicheng is roughly like a Canadian

professional designation. The Chinese zhicheng system is a nation-wide uniform

qualifications system governed by the National Education Committee. Because the majority

of our respondents worked in universities and research institutes, we can illustrate this system

in terms of the subsystem in universities and institutes. In short, there are four basic ranks in

universities or institutes. The first rank is teaching assistant (Zhujiao) or research assistant

(*jianxi yanjiuyuan*), which both require a bachelor degree and at least one year of work experience after graduation from university. The second rank is instructor (*jiangshi*) or research associate (*zhuli yanjiuyuan*), a master's degree and at least two years of work experience after obtaining the master's degree are required at this level. The third rank is called associate professor (*fujiaoshou*) or associate researcher (*fuyanjiuyuan*). For this level, one must have a Ph.D. degree and/or have previously held a *Zhicheng* at a lower rank and have had extensive experience, and some qualifying publications. A full professor (*zhengjiaoshou*) in university or full researcher (*zhengyanjiuyuan*) in a research institute is the highest rank. Individuals with outstanding qualifications may, occasionally, be promoted without the necessary degree at each level. However, the requirement of excellent research or qualifying publications must be satisfied, and extensive professional work experience is definitely an asset.

The equivalents of this subsystem exist in many other professions. An engineer (*gongchengshi*) in industry or an accountant (*kuaijishi*) in the accounting profession, for example, is equivalent to an instructor in a university. The counterpart of an associate professor or full professor in industry is called a junior high rank engineer (*fu gaoji gongchengshi*) or a senior high-rank engineer (*zheng gaoji gongchengshi*). Table 5-2 shows that 76.47% of our respondents had instructor or higher designation in China. Compared with Figure 5-3, that shows that only 53% of them had a master's or Ph.D. degree in China, about 23% of the respondents had instructor or higher designation by the special mechanism we mentioned above. This percentage is quite high if we take into account that only very limited numbers of people were actually promoted by this outstanding standard. This is a good indication that this group of people is very competitive in the Chinese environment.

5.1.6 Summary.

In summary, the data shows that our respondents are very different from the earlier generation of Chinese immigrants. They came from all over the country of China, mostly from big cities, are very well educated and relatively successful in their professions. They are young enough to be active in the labor market and old enough to carry necessary skills and knowledge. They came with strong academic and professional qualifications, and with work experience. They proved they are competitive and capable in their previous roles in Chinese society. These characteristics determined that they are more aggressive and ambitious, in terms of career goals, than the previous generation of Chinese immigrants, and came with more hope and confidence. We will now want to explore and understand their new experience in their new country, Canada.

5.2 A Glance at their Life in Canada

5.2.1 Entry status, gender and field change.

Figure 5-7 shows the year of entry and the gender distribution of the respondents. This figure shows a curve that roughly matches the curve of the overall Chinese inflow in the past decade, which was discussed in Chapter Two of this study. There is an obvious increase from 1989, the year in which the Tian'anmen Square massacre happened.

Figure 5-8 shows that about 75% of our respondents (38 out of 51) came to this country as students, post-doctoral researchers or visiting scholars. Among them, only two entered as students at the undergraduate level. 19 (50%) were master's students, while 12 (32%) were Ph.D. students. The other 10% were post-doctoral researchers or visiting scholars. By comparing Figure 5-4 and Figure 5-8, we found that only one holder of a Ph.D. degree earned in China was accepted as a post-doctoral research fellow, while the other three had to repeat

their studies at the same level. At master's level, 23 respondents held a master's

degree before arriving. Many of them had to repeat their studies at the same level again.

There is a significant gender distinction regarding their entry status. Although female

respondents have no significant differences in terms of their educational level, professional

work experience and qualifications, six out of thirteen female respondents came to this

country as visitors for family reunification, another one as an immigrant, indeed, as the

spouse of an independent immigrant. The only two respondents who came to study for

bachelor's degrees are females, and there is no female among our respondents who came as a

visiting scholar, Ph.D. student or post-doctoral researcher. This figure might be misleading,

however, if we do not take account of other factors. First of all, our scope of research is

restricted to the area of networks and job hunting, and our sample is limited to those currently

holding a job, mostly a professional job. Therefore, women who came for education higher

than the undergraduate level but also do not currently hold jobs were screened out. Secondly,

in our sample we have two females who obtained their Ph.D. degrees and did their post-

doctoral research in agriculture or medical science. Actually, many female Chinese came to

Canada as Ph.D. students in the first place. Although the percentage of female Chinese

students at Ph.D. level is relatively lower than the males in our sample, it can be reasonably

argued that the actual ratio in terms of educational level of female Chinese who came to

Canada as students was roughly equal to their male counterparts in this group.

Among the thirty-eight respondents who came as students at different levels and as

visiting scholars, fourteen changed their fields upon arrival in Canada. Five of them changed

field because they like the new fields more than their previous ones. The other nine did so

because of more practical considerations, their new fields giving them more chances to obtain

scholarship, fellowship or other financial aid from Canadian universities, and consequently

giving them a better chance to obtain a student visa in order to come to Canada. The percentage of those people is about 24% of the total. The more significant figure is that five out of the nine who changed their fields for this reason are medical graduates, changing from medical practitioners, such as physicians, pediatricians, ophthalmologists, gynecologists, etc., to basic medical science research. This change is an indication of an institutional barrier that excludes immigrants from special professions in Canada. We will discuss this matter a little later in this chapter.

5.2.2 Sources of financial aid at entry, and the financial situation.

The respondents were financed differently when they arrived in Canada, and fell into two major categories. Table 4-3 shows the details. One of the two major categories covers those financed by various government sources and formal institutes. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents came to Canada under this kind of financial support. In this major category, one sub-category drawing our special attention is the financial aid from Canadian universities. More than 35% of the total financial support was from Canadian universities. Chinese students receive various types of funding (such as scholarships or fellowships) or promise to work as research assistants and teaching assistants to obtain their visa as the first step of their migration. Other sources in this major category include Canadian government or international agencies, such as CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) and WHO (World Health Organization), which account for about 8% of the total. Chinese government and Chinese institutions' support was about 10% of the total. This findings roughly matches Liu's (1995, p. 129-134) survey conducted in metro Toronto for a similar population, which shows that Canadian educational institutions, especially their graduate programs, are the major sources that fund Chinese migration to Canada.

Students financially supported by these sources are relatively more secure than students who fall into the next major category. Situations in this category are more complicated and sometimes very hard to identify because they involve personal sensitivities. Basically I know that there are two kinds of people in this category. The first are those who came to join their family members who had come before their arrival. The second are those who have no financial support from a Canadian university or any other official source. People in this category may suffer more financial problems than others do. Some of them obtained financial support at a later time from the university they attended. Therefore, the percentage of people who actually obtained financial aids from Canadian universities is higher than that shown in table 5-3.

No matter what category our respondents belonged to, financial pressure was always the first priority they had to deal with at their first stage of settlement. The highest amount of financial aid a Chinese student could receive from various sources is about $14,000 annually. In many cases a student could receive about $4,000 to $6,000 from a teaching assistant or research assistant position. For a typical Chinese student family including a husband and wife with one child, their family income was far below the Canadian poverty line (94% of our respondents have a spouse). Therefore, on-and off-campus work, whichever is available to them, apart from assignments in university for their teaching or research assistant work, are not unusual. In most cases, these were manual labor and minimum wage jobs that many of the respondents had never done before in China. As a result, the students' motivation for better pay and working conditions and for professional jobs was doubly inspired by the hardship of their first stage of settlement.

5.2.3 Field change after arrival.

After their arrival, significantly more respondents changed their study fields. This time the number increased to 27 respondents, who account for 53% of the total, and the reasons also significantly changed. The details are shown in table 5-4. While the total number of people dramatically increased, the number who changed their field of study because of scholarship applications dropped. On the other hand, the number of people who changed study field due to the job market situation dramatically increased to about 67%. This change is critical because it shows the importance of re-education for acquiring a job in this new country. Table 5-5 shows the details of what changes have been made. This table shows all those who changed their field after arriving, including those who came as visitors to join their spouses. We see that computer science and biochemistry are the most likely areas to which people change. It is interesting that there are a number of people in good professions (e.g. pharmacy and medicine) who changed their fields. As we said earlier in this chapter, this is an indication of institutional barriers to immigrants. For practice in some professions such as medicine, pharmacy, teaching, etc., people are required to have their undergraduate education in Canada before they are qualified for license examination. Education received from outside Canada other than the United States must be first evaluated on a fee basis. Usually the responsible authority will ask applicants to take a certain number of courses in Canadian university to qualify for the prerequisite. Then candidates have to pass the license examination. After licenses are issued there is still a long way to get a job. If immigrants have to take a couple of years to earn a certain qualifications, usually they would take something that, in a roughly equal length of time, can secure their future. Table 5-5 suggested this kind of institutional barrier and the way that Chinese immigrants cope with them.

5.2.4 Change of status in Canada.

Figure 5-8 indicates that all but four of our respondents entered this country as students, scholars or visitors. The other 47 people, who account for 94% of the total, changed their residence status in Canada after arrival. Compared with the survey conducted in metro Toronto by Liu (1995, p. 69), which indicates that 85% of recent Mainland Chinese immigrants changed their status after arrival, it seems true that higher educated recent mainland Chinese immigrants have more chance to change status after coming. We say so because the major difference between Liu's sample and that in this study is that his survey has a larger pool and includes a little more lower-educated people. Table 5-6 shows that 1990 was the year that our respondents started to gain landed immigrant status. In that year, 14 out of 18 respondents who had been in Canada before that time obtained landed immigrant status. The percentage is as high as 78%. In the next year the other four respondents obtained their permanent resident (P.R) status, which means 100% of the respondents who were in Canada before 1990 were Canadian P.R. in 1991. Then in 1993, six of them became Canadian citizens. At the time the survey and interviews were conducted, all of the fifty-one respondents had been permanent residents and eighteen of them, representing 35% of the total, had obtained Canadian citizenship.

The major discussion about the motivation for migrating will be presented in the next chapter. However, we may discuss here one of the major reasons why the members of this group were eager to have their status changed. This reason, for lack of a better term, can be called "convenience." It is quite straightforward to understand from the following three aspects. First of all, when these students do not have permanent resident status, they have no legal right to work off campus unless they have special permission from Immigration Canada. Application for permission is on a yearly basis and has a fee charge. Also, as international students they have to pay health insurance and, if they want to take undergraduate courses, in

Manitoba, there is an international student differential fee. All of these are

expensive. Secondly, many opportunities such as some fellowships and scholarships and

some jobs are not open to them if they do not have P. R. status. The so-called 60-day-getting-

a-job limitation for international students who graduate from Canadian universities makes it

very difficult, if not impossible, to find a job. Some jobs are only open to Canadian citizens

and P. R. This is one of the major reasons why many Chinese student immigrants apply for

P. R. status. Thirdly, the time when most of our respondents applied for P. R. status was just

shortly after the Tian'anmen Square incident had happened. The political uncertainty in

China was another factor that Chinese students had to worry about. With P.R. status, they are

able to remain in Canada following graduation if they wish. If they want to go back to China,

they are free to go. P. R. status would not hurt them but opens many doors.

The situation in getting Canadian citizenship is different. They would lose their

Chinese citizenship because China does not allow its citizens to have dual citizenship. Once

a Chinese citizen obtains the citizenship of another country, he or she automatically loses

Chinese citizenship. This is not a serious problem for most of the respondents because their

education and qualifications are welcomed by China. Chinese governments, from the central

government to local ones, send recruiting teams almost every year to Western countries to

recruit graduates. A special government agency works on a year-round basis to do this job at

every level of government.

5.3 Available Networks and Ties

5.3.1 Basics: the lack of family and kinship ties.

Networks have always played a critical role in international migration and immigrant

adaptation (See Boyd, 1989, p. 638, p. 642-645; Fawcett, 1989; Gurak & Cases, 1992, p. 151-

153; Kritz & Zlotnik, 1992, p. 7; Mullan, 1989; Pohjola, 1991, p. 435). For Chinese immigrants in Canada, these were even more critical due to the reasons we discussed in Chapter Two of this study. Actually, almost all (98%) of the Mainland Chinese immigrants who arrived between 1979 and 1982 were in the categories of family class or assisted relative. This was unusual in Canadian immigration history since those two categories accounted for only half of the total Canadian immigration over the period (Liu, 1995, p. 111-112). For the new generation of Chinese immigrants, however, the trend is changing. As Liu points out, "in comparison with earlier MCIs [Mainland Chinese Immigrants] recent MCIs as a whole were better educated, and more likely to migrate/immigrate independently without having to rely on family/kinship networks"(Liu, 1995, p. 111). None of our respondents belong to the immigrant categories of family class or sponsored relatives. Although nine of them came as visitors to join their family members, their actual immigrant status was that of independent immigrants. Our data shows that only six out of fifty-one have relatives other than their own family members in Canada, all siblings. Two of these came to Canada before the respondents; four others came later than the respondents. All their relatives came as students in the first place. Our respondents' family/kinship ties play little role in channeling them to Canada because most of them came to this country earlier than their siblings. In terms of adaptation, it is not very important because our respondents and their relatives are the same. In this new society they face the same problems and have to deal with basically the same situations. Of course, people with siblings here will emotionally feel less lonely and make an easier adjustment to the new environment at the first stage; while those arriving later might even get some financial help from their siblings. For social integration, however, this kind of help from family members is not enough.

For those who came as visitors to join their spouses, the marriage tie is essential for their immigration. Their situation of integration, however, is similar to those siblings mentioned above. As graduate students just come a few months earlier than those visitors, their spouses have the same integration problems.

5.3.2 The examination of other possible ties.

To understand the network pattern of our respondents, specifically the relation between network pattern and job hunting experience, seven groups of questions were asked during the survey and interviews. They are about family kinship ties, religious activities, host family, academic contact, other contacts, the local Chinese community, and personal friends. The data suggest a very clear and not surprising story, which is that this population, represented by our respondents, has very scarce network resources. I have already discussed family/kinship ties that they are basically unable to use for their integration. In the next several paragraphs I will discuss the other factors.

I.   Connection with churches.

Basically Mainland Chinese intellectuals are not religious due to the atheist education they received in communist China. This is the reason why only 11 people among our 51 respondents went to church, accounting for about 22% of the total. Religious activities as social activities, however, provide a social arena. Some respondents did try to meet people in church for various purposes, such as understanding the society, making friends, acquiring information and help, improving language abilities, etc. They quickly found that it was disappointing and few of them continued very long. The typical responses are as follows:

> I went to church because I got an invitation from a Christian lady. I met her in Safeway and she asked me if I would like to join them in their church. Then I was curious and I thought it was a chance to see what it was like. I knew that religions have

a very important cultural significance in Western society. We'd better

understand it. The important thing was that I could meet people that are out of our

circle. I might make some friends. That would be nice. So I said, "why not." I went to

their church several times and I found I could not get very much, because it was not

enough just to be there several times as a bystander. Yes, I knew some people and they

were very nice, kind and friendly. But they have their life; they could not really

understand us. I did not really have very much time to go often. (Male, age 35-40, in

Canada since 1987, Ph.D., university instructor in China, now scientific researcher).

I only went to their Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witness once. But they visited

our family for about two years, usually once a week during the first year. We are open

for everything that is helpful for us to understand this society. And it is nice to talk to

somebody who speaks "real" English. At the beginning I quite frankly told them they

were welcome to our home, but we are adults and have our own ideas about life. We

are open-minded and willing to discuss anything, but we may not believe in your

religion. We did not like that they could not help but teach us about the meaning of

life. You know I was a teacher, and sometime I taught my students about philosophy in

university. I do not believe what they tried to teach me. Then we moved and did not

keep contact with them. We could not develop a personal relationship. (Female, age

35-40, university teacher in China, now computer programmer.)

In the beginning I worried that if I went church they would push me to believe

their religion and baptize me. Eventually I came to know they don't do that. They are

very nice people and I like to be there whenever I have time. I think it does not matter if

I believe or not. It is important that I was there and made some friends, although they

could not really help me. I do not go very much any more. First of all I was busy, and

second, after all, I do not believe in it, and third, I felt bad every time I could

not donate money when they collected donations. (Female, age 30-35, in Canada since

1989, agricultural engineer both in China and now in Canada.)

Only one of the respondents claimed a relationship between his job and his church

contact. He was a master's student in agricultural engineering in the University of Manitoba.

He met a couple in which the husband is a professor in another department. This professor

heard he needed a job and happened to need a research assistant. He hired him. Among our

other respondents who did go to church, about half had no church friends at all. Combining

those who do not attend church and those who were unable to develop friendly contacts with

other church members, we have a total of 45, which means 88% of our respondents had no

church contact at all. Obviously, cultural factors were the major barriers that prevented them

from establishing this kind of contact.

II.   Connection with "Host Family."

The Host Family Program is administrated by the International Center for Students in

the University of Manitoba. The Host Family Program is made of Canadian families who

welcome newly arrived international students into their homes for a brief stay of three to five

days. This allows the students to recover from "jet lag" and adjust to a new culture, city and

lifestyle while looking for permanent accommodation and completing registration at the

University of Manitoba. Host families are ordinary people who are interested in broadening

their horizons by befriending students from around the world. Students who request a host

family will be interested in meeting and getting to know Canadians. A Host Family meets

students at the airport, bus or train station, welcomes them into their homes and provides for a

much-needed rest after travel. They help students with initial "settling in" (e.g. learning

Winnipeg bus routes, how to use public services, etc.), and connects students with appropriate

University of Manitoba services and offices. For students who required this service, the host family was their first chance to get connected with Canadians, to observe "on site" the real Canadian life style. This is a unique opportunity that may never have occurred for students who had no Host Family. It was assumed that a Host Family provides a chance for those students to broaden their networks or contact. Twelve of our respondents had Host Families. Surprisingly only two individuals were acquainted through this contact. While they have very warm memories about their Host Families' hospitality, students could not maintain contact for an extended period of time.

III. Academic and professional contacts.

We probed possible academic and professional contacts by asking our respondents if they ever attended any academic or professional conferences after coming to Canada and if this kind of contact was helpful for them to get their job. Among the 51 respondents, 16 people (31% of the total) had attended academic or professional conferences world-wide, mainly in North America. All of them claim that attendance is helpful to their job hunting. We think it is one of the important contacts that is hardly available for this group of people. We will discuss this issue in detail in the next chapter.

IV. Other possible contacts.

I designed a question to ask respondents what other kinds of contacts they had and felt were helpful. This was an open-ended question in which respondents could make multiple choices and add any contacts not included on the list. The items are: sports club, English study group, computer association, volunteer team, parents of children's friends, and other. Table 4-8 shows the details of the responses. Eleven of the respondents claimed that the presented contacts were indirectly helpful for their job hunting.

V. Local Chinese communities.

I asked questions about their attitude towards the local Chinese communities in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Chinese community is segmented due to historical and political reasons and language barriers. There are three Chinese organizations in Winnipeg. One is the Winnipeg Chinese Cultural Center located in Winnipeg's Chinatown, which represents the earlier generation of Chinese immigrants and their recently arrived relatives. This group is said to have more connections with Mainland China. The Manitoba Indochina Association, located on McGee Street, is the second organisation. This organization represents the Indo-Chinese boat people that came to Canada as refugees since the late 1970s and their relatives. It is said that they are closer to the Taiwan Chinese government. These two Chinese communities mainly use Cantonese, a Chinese dialect that few of our respondents could understand. Our respondents belong to another community, which is called the Chinese Students', Scholars' and Professionals' Association at the University of Manitoba (CSSA). The question about the first two Chinese communities is: "Do you think the existing Chinese communities (not including the Chinese Scholars', Students' and Professionals' Association) are helpful or not for your personal development in Canada?" The responses are shown in Figure 5-9. Seventeen answered "I do not know;" ten answered "not helpful;" seven chose "they cannot help;" six others had no answer. Eleven respondents answered "helpful" because the existing Chinese community (Chinatown) provides daily conveniences such as Chinese food, Chinese newspapers, etc. Nobody thinks the existing Chinese communities other than CSSA are helpful for their personal career development. This picture is very negative.

In contrast, the attitude towards CSSA is more positive. Sixty-one percent of the respondents want to stay close and get involved in this community and its activities. The

reasons why they made this choice are shown in Table 4-9. Those figures indicate that this group of people has a very strong cultural and ethnic identity. A very small portion of this group has difficulty in their adaptation.

Among the other 39% of the respondents, twelve did not answer this question, and six chose "not close to the Chinese community" because they had no time to do so. Only two of them (4% of the total) chose that they want to be familiar with non-Chinese culture (see Table 4-10).

VI. Personal friends.

All the respondents were asked to answer two questions regarding their personal friends. The first question was "Are most of your friends Chinese or non-Chinese Canadian?" The other question asked each respondent to provide information about two of his or her closest friends. The response to the first question is shown in Table 4-11. 86% of our respondents answered that most of their friends were Chinese. About 4% of them answered that most of their friends were non-Chinese. Another 4% said Chinese and non-Chinese Canadians. The other 6% gave no answer. The percentage of people who expanded their networks beyond their own ethnic group is low. This indicates that this group is very homogeneous.

This homogeneous feature is shown in the information about their closest friends as well. In this regard, a total of 67 people's information was collected. All of them were Mainland Chinese and recently immigrated to Canada. Their educational level by degree is shown in Table 4-12. All of them had post-secondary education, primarily at the master's level. About 30% of them had a Ph.D. degree or post-doctoral education. This degree distribution or educational construction is very similar to the respondents themselves.

VII. Summary.

In summary, the survey data strongly suggest that our respondents belong to a high density, homogeneous community. Very few weak ties were available to them for use in achieving their social mobility, as Granovetter and other scholars maintain is common in the general population. The next chapter will consider how they break this barrier and secure their future.

5.3.3 Length of staying in Canada and network expansion: a comparative view of subgroup variation.

I. A brief description of Liu's sample.

It is important to know whether the respondents' networks extend within and beyond the Chinese community over time. I have a limited sample range in terms of the length of stay in Canada owing to the fact that, prior to 1987, very few Chinese students could come as students. As a result, our group of immigrants is relatively new. Although I do find some difference in terms of this time range that might influence network expansion and social integration in the long run, I did not find differences that may be currently significant. To fully understand this matter, it is necessary to draw some comparison with the whole Mainland Chinese community.

The target group of this study actually is a subgroup of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Canada. In terms of the whole Mainland Chinese population in Canada, this subgroup is the most well-educated and highest qualified. The most currently available and relevant research with which we can do a comparison is Liu's study (1995) in Toronto. In Liu's study, the sample size is larger than mine and it covers basically all the subgroups of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants. Among his 230 respondents, 36.3% entered Canada as visa students and most of them (35% of the total) with a bachelor's degree. The distribution of

entry year is roughly the same as our sample, with only a very few (about 12% of

the total) entering in the period from 1981 to 1986 and most entering Canada from 1987 to

1993. Besides those entering as visa students, his sample also includes landed immigrants of

different classifications, visitors, employees, refugee claimants and tourists. Basically his

sample is very similar to ours, but has a larger size and covers more subgroups, which is an

ideal source with which to draw our comparison. We find that our two studies are mutually

supportive in many respects. Liu's findings indicate that difference of educational level and,

consequently, of occupation are significant. In general, the higher the educational level, the

better chance of integration. Three factors were considered in his research regarding social

networks and contacts, which are appropriate for subgroup comparison with data from this

study.

II.   Reliance on personal networks

The first comparison concerns reliance on personal networks. Liu found that, for recent

Mainland Chinese immigrants, the higher the level of education at entry, the less the reliance

on personal networks for short term accommodation and to find a job immediately after

arrival (1995, p. 155-161). This might be true in Toronto at the macro level for the whole

recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community. In Winnipeg, at the micro level of our

respondents, however, it is a little different. We leave the detailed discussion to the following

chapters.

III.   The spatial pattern of residence

The second comparison concerns the spatial pattern of residence. Liu found that

education and occupation are sources of very significant subgroup variation in residence. In

Toronto, the lower the level of education, the greater the likelihood of living in enclave

Chinese residential areas. Well-educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants with

professional jobs tend to live outside the residential enclaves. Meanwhile, the length

of stay in Canada is a variable that affects the pattern of residence. The longer the recent

Mainland Chinese immigrants stay in Canada, the more likely they will choose to live outside

Chinese residency areas (Liu 1995, p. 163-178). In general, data from this study support his

findings on this matter. Our respondents put more emphasis on factors such as close

proximity to work or study than cultural factors such as closeness to Chinatown or Chinese

stores. The two major geographical distributions around the two campuses of the University

of Manitoba are a good indication of this fact. Depending upon the job situation and their

perception about job security, there is a tendency that the longer they stay in Canada and the

more secure they feel about their jobs, the more likely they will buy a house in a suburban

area. They have less desire to remain close to Chinese residential areas. This is indicated by

the fact that all of those who bought houses came to this country before 1989 and their houses

are located in suburban districts far from Chinese residential areas. This tendency suggests that

they have a greater chance to develop social networks beyond the Chinese community in the

long run. However, this change, as we will see in the following discussion, had not occurred

yet at the time of the survey and interviews.

IV.   The scope of social contact

The third comparison concerns the scope of social contact. Liu's findings in Toronto

suggest that, for the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community as a whole, "their social

contacts are focused on Mainland Chinese, and the personal networks, to which they bond

and from which they get help, are formed mainly by their own relatives or other MCIs (the

recent Mainland Chinese immigrant)" (1995, p. 163). "Their most frequently contacted

neighbors are other MCIs" (1995, p. 178), while "their friendship relations are built mainly

among MCIs themselves" (1995, p. 182). Most importantly for our argument, Liu 's findings

suggest the same conclusion as ours: neither gender nor period of arrival has a

significant effect on the MCIs' contacts with neighbors (1995, p. 180) and friends. (1995, p.

185) "Gender and period of arrival do not have significant effects on MCIs' range of social

contact" (1995, p. 186). See table 5-13 for details. For the three groups of people who came

to Canada before June 1989, between June 1989 and October 1990, and after October 1990,

regardless of the educational level, the mean value of the frequently contacted Mainland

Chinese are 67.5, 72.5 and 70.0 respectively (see Table 5-3). In our sample, 86.27% reported

that most of their friends are Mainland Chinese students. The only two respondents who

claimed non-Chinese Canadians as their most frequently contacted friends arrived in this

country in 1989 and 1991. The other two who claimed that their most frequently contacted

friends include both Chinese and non-Chinese came to this country in 1987 and 1993

respectively. There is no clear pattern that associates network expansion beyond the recent

Mainland Chinese immigrant community with the year of entry.

Liu finds that educational level, occupation, landing status, and spatial pattern of

residence are significant factors that affect the scope of social contact of the recent Mainland

Chinese immigrant. According to Liu, in general, well-educated professional recent Mainland

Chinese immigrants had a broader scope of social networks than those of less educated, non-

professional recent Mainland Chinese immigrants. This is especially true for contacts with

non-Chinese Canadians. Our data show that only 3.92% of informants reported that most of

their friends were non-Chinese and another 3.92% reported both Chinese and non-Chinese

Canadians as their most frequently contacted friends (see table 5-11). These percentages are

very low. Considering that the educational level of our target group is the highest one among

the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant population, the overall scope of social contact of this

population is very limited.

V. Summary

In brief, the above subgroup comparison confirms our earlier analysis about our respondents' social networks and available ties within the Canadian society. In terms of the whole recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community, our respondents belong to a subgroup that has a broader scope of social connection and a better chance to integrate into the host society than any other subgroup of this community. The reason is that they have richer resources, such as better English proficiency and better educational background. We will discuss those factors later. Their social network resource, however, is extremely limited. There nevertheless remains a potential for better integration. This is especially true at the job hunting stage. We have to take this into account when probing the relationship between their networks and job hunting process.

Figure 5-1 The Geographical Distribution of the
Respondents in China
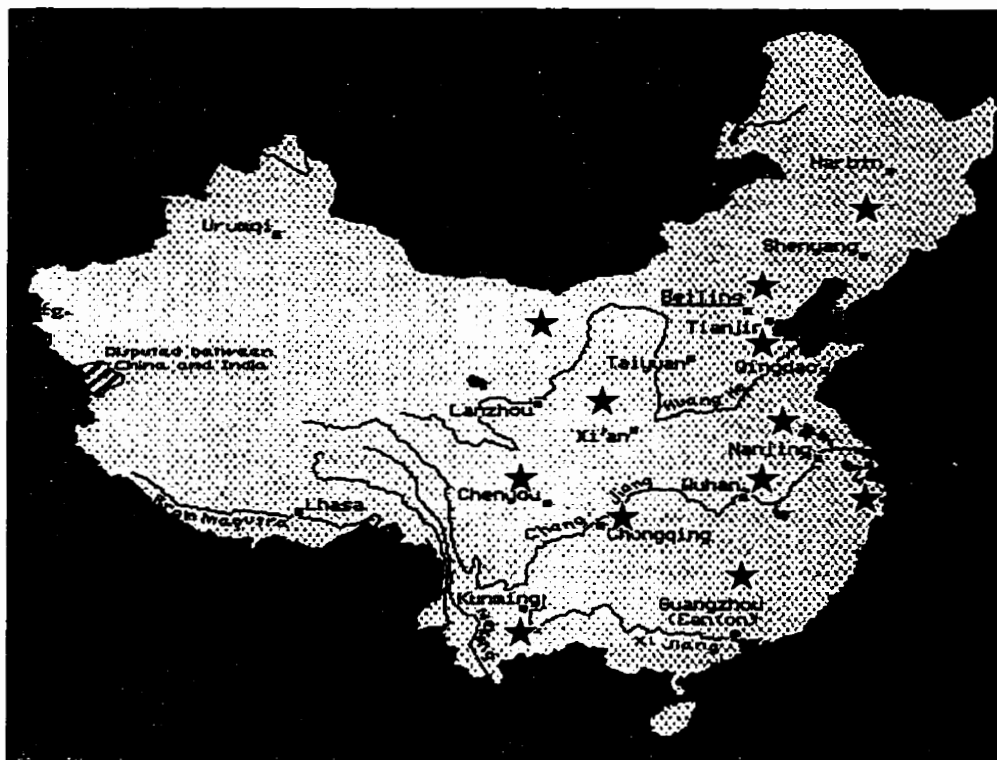
Note: The stars represent the China cities where
      the respondents came from.
N = 51
Source: survey data

Table 5-1   Geographical Distribution of the Respondents in
            China

City	Number	Percentage
Baotou	1	2%
Beijing	17	33%
Changchun	1	2%
Chengdu	11	22%
Chongqing	2	4%
Guangzhou	4	4%
Ji'nan	4	8%
Kunming	1	2%
Nanjing	4	8%
Shanghai	6	12%
Wuhan	1	2%
Xi'an	1	2%
Total	51	100%

N = 51.

Source: Survey data.

Table 5-2 Academic Designation in China*

Designation	Number	Percentage
Associate Professor or equivalent	4	7.84%
Instructor or equivalent	35	68.63%
Lower than instructor or no designation	12	23.53%
Total	51	100%

*Based on Chinese *Zhicheng* system.
N = 51.

Figure 5-2   Birth-date and Gender of the Respondents

	1954	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1970	1972
☑ male	4	4	4	4	2	7	2	2	6	3	0
■ female	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	2

Year of Birth
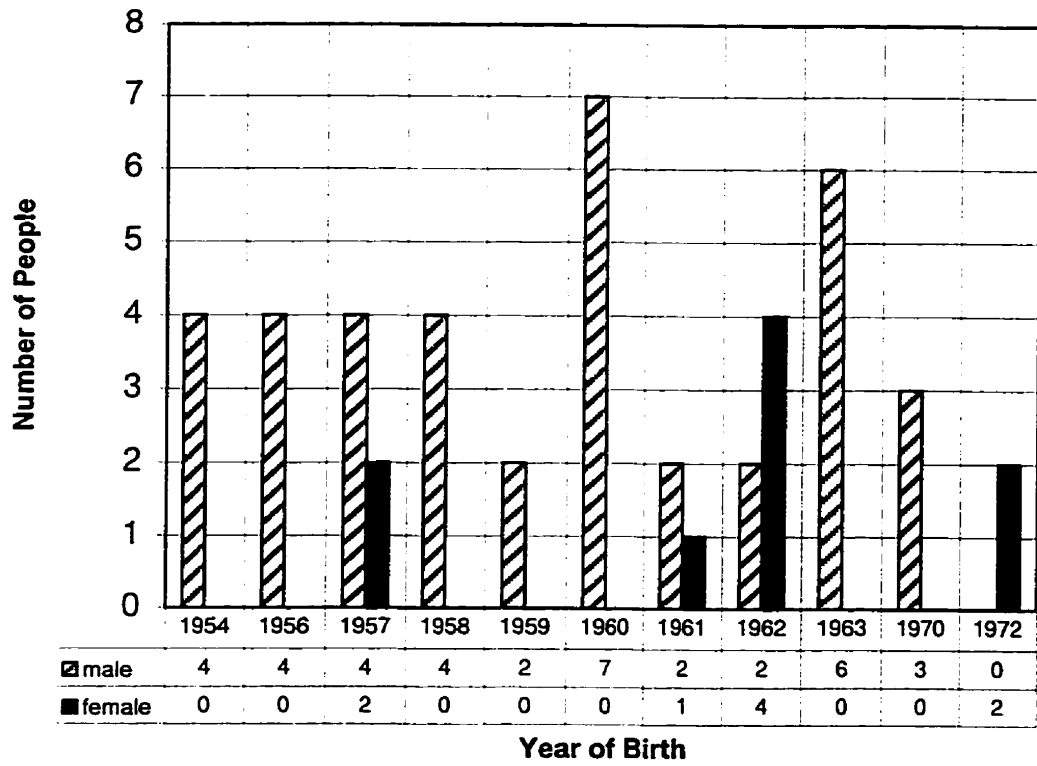
N = 51, Male total = 38, Female total = 13.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 5-3 Degree Earned in China

Master's
45%

PhD
8%

No degree
4%

Bachelor's
43%
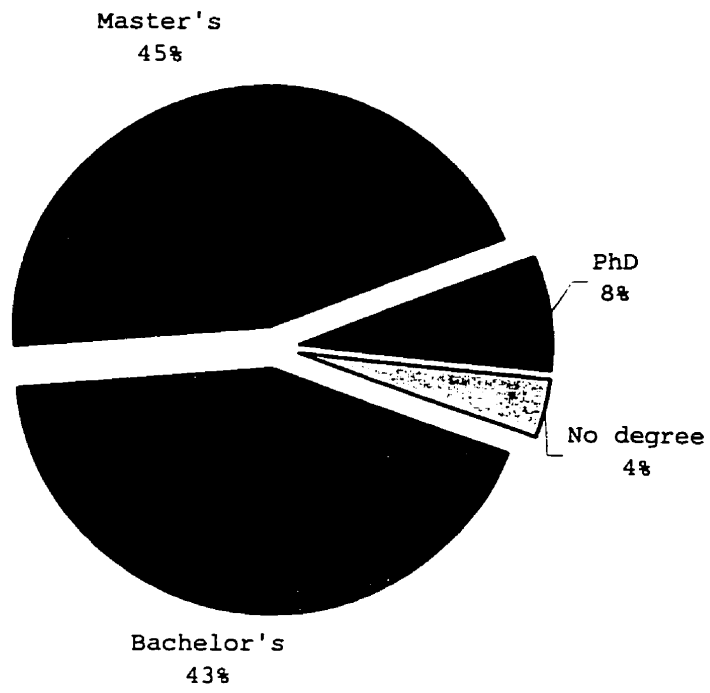
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

figure 5-4   Gender and Education in China

	Male	Female
■PhD	4	0
◪Master's	17	6
◻Bachelor's	16	6
▣No degree	1	1
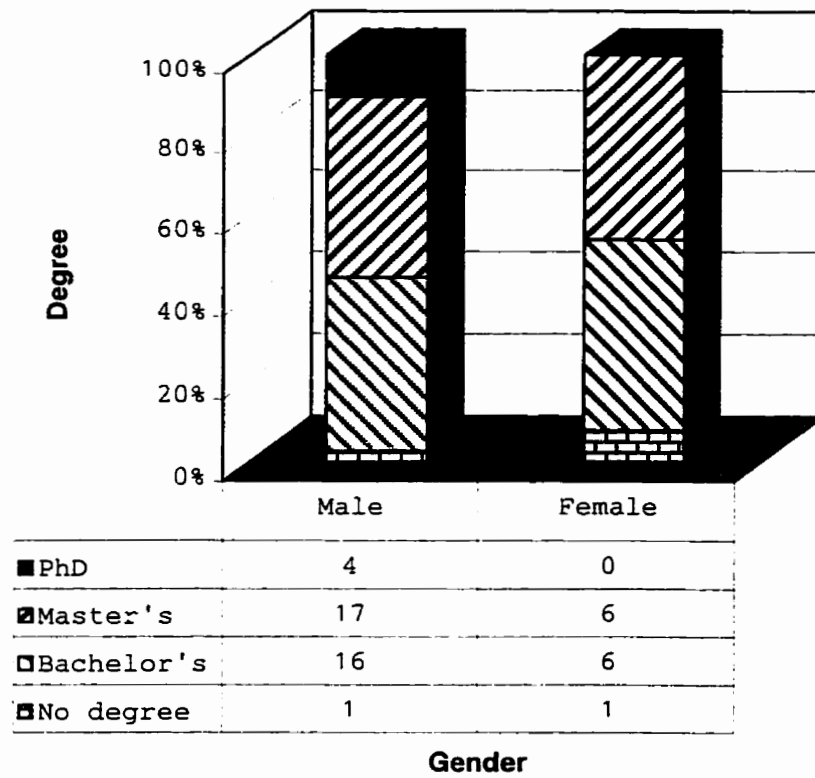
Gender

N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 5-5 Academic Field before Arrival
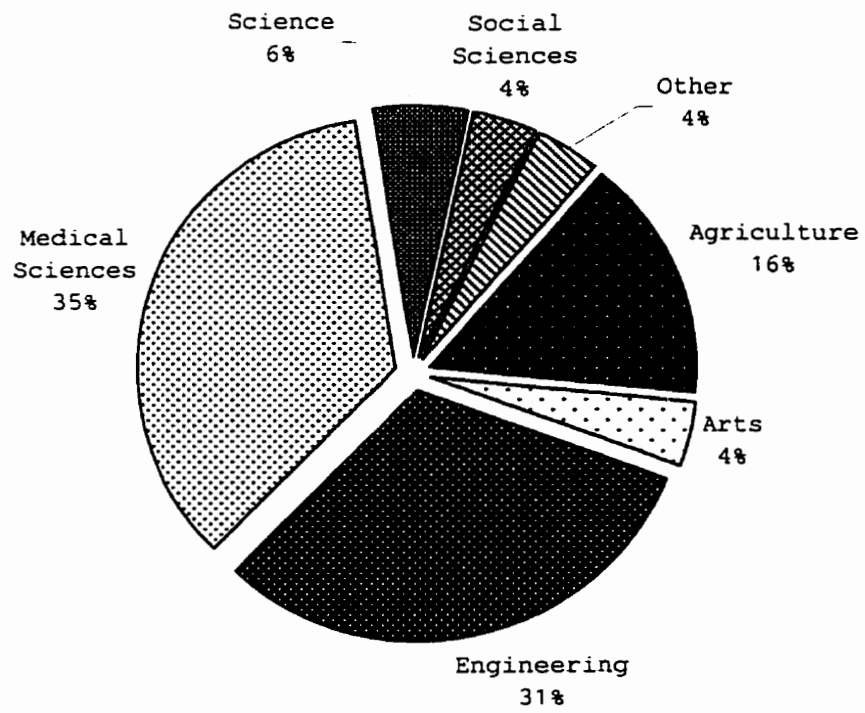
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 5-6   Length of Professional Work Experience
              in China

	0 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	8 years	9 years	10 years	11 years	12 years
■Female	1			2			2	1	1		1	2
▨Male	2	4	4	3	4	1	6	5	3	2	1	1

Length of Year
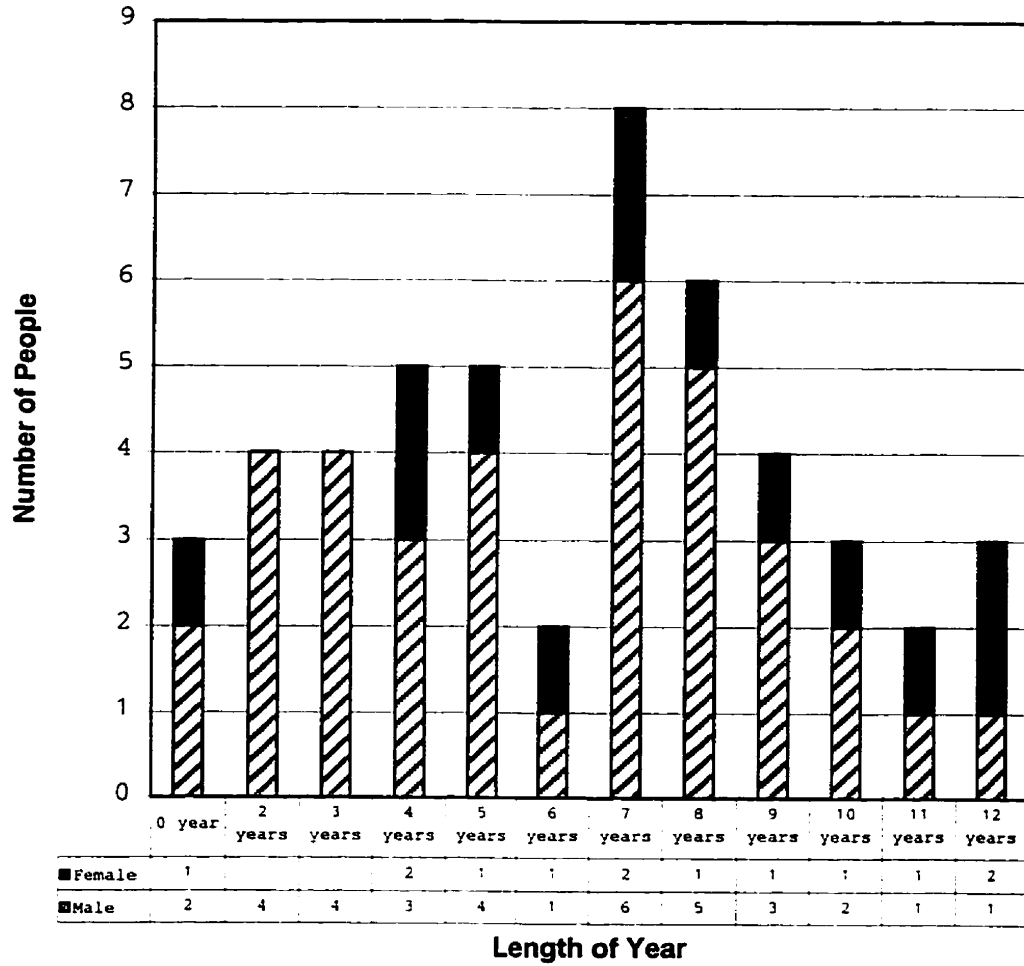
N = 49.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 5-7 Year of Entry and Gender Distribution

	84	85	86	67	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
■Female	2				2		2	2				4	1
□Male			2	2	2	6		4	4	8	3	4	3

Year of Entry
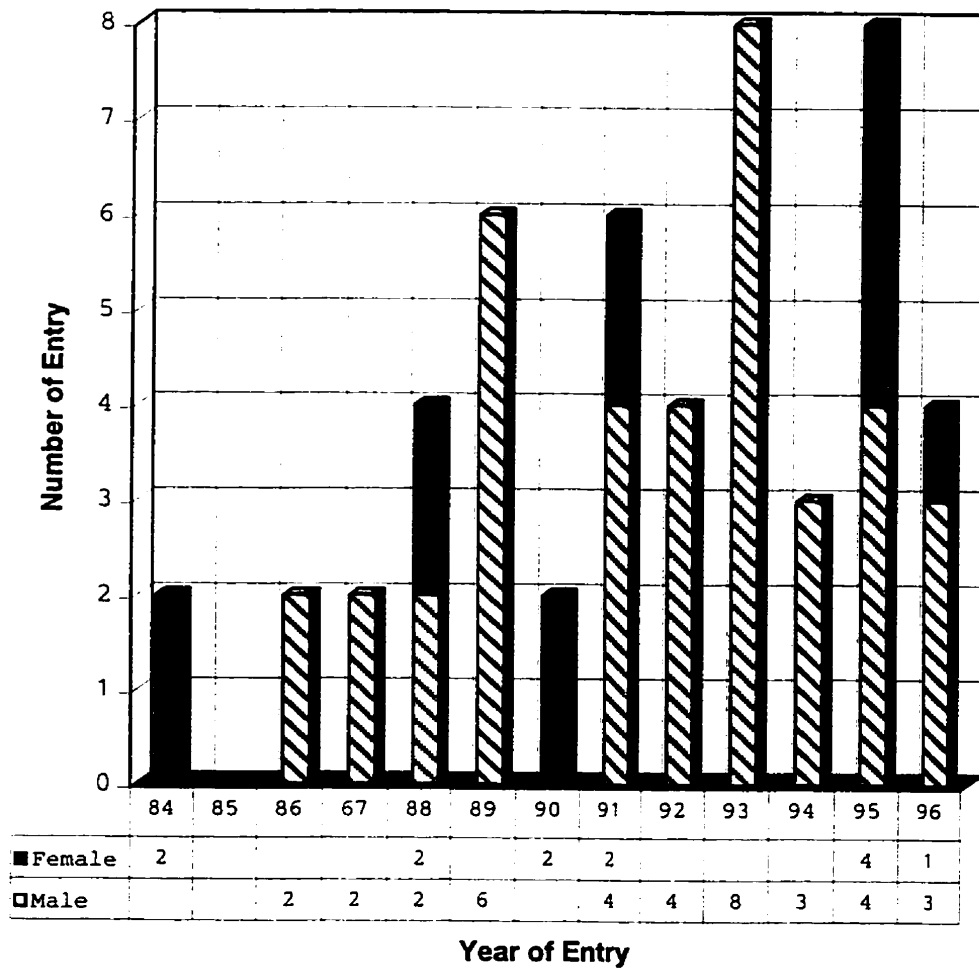
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 5-8   Gender and Entry Status

	B.S.	M.S.	Ph.D.	V.F	IMM
▨Male		15	12	3	3
■Female	2	4		6	1

Entry Status

N = 51.
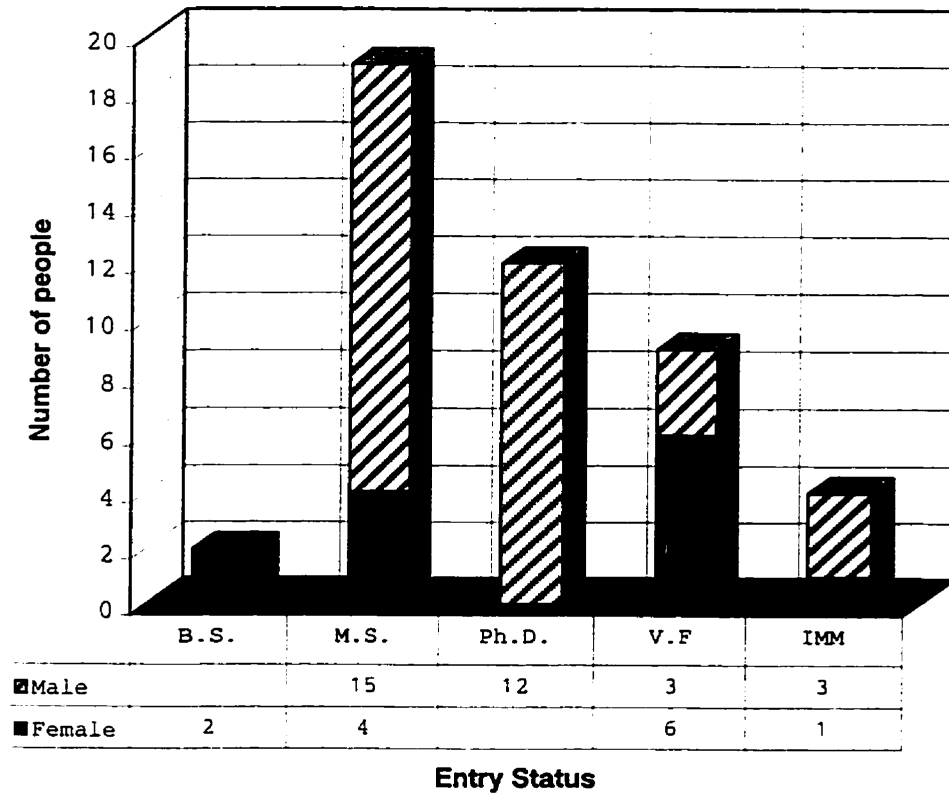
Source: Survey data.

B.S.: Enter as an undergraduate student.

M.S.: Enter as a Master's student.

Ph.D.: Enter as a Ph.D. student.

P.D.: Enter as a post-doctoral researcher.

V.S.: Enter as a visiting scholar.

V.F.: Enter as a visitor to join previously entered family members.

IMM: Enter as immigrant.

Table 5-3 Financial Resources at Arrival

	Number		Total
	Male	Female	Percentage
Canadian Government or other International Agency		2	4%
Canadian Universities And Government Agencies*	2		4%
Canadian Universities (Research Assistantship, Research Grant, Teaching Assistantship, Scholarship or Fellowship, etc.)	16	2	35%
Canadian and Chinese Government Agencies*	2	2	8%
Chinese Government Agencies (National Education Committee, World Bank Loan, etc.)	4		8%
Other (Brought money to Canada, Join Spouse, Personal sponsorship Bursary plan by friends, Relatives already in Canada, etc.)	14	7	41%
Total	38	13	100%

*Categories are overlap because people receive financial aid from more than one source
N = 51.
Source: Survey data

Table 5-4   The Reason for Field Change after Arrival

Reason for Change	Number	Percentage
I like the current field more	2	7.41%
It is easier to get a job	11	40.74%
I like the current field more and it is easier to get a job	6	22.22%
It is easier to get a scholarship	2	7.41%
No answer	6	22.22%
Total	27	100%

N = 27.

Source: Survey data.

Table 5-5   Field Change after Arrival by Field Distribution

Change			
From	To	Number	Percentage
Journalism	Business Administration	1	
Subtotal		1	4.76%
Arts	Computer Science	1	
Pharmacy		1	
Medicine		2	
Chemistry		2	
Industry		2	
Subtotal		8	38.10%
Pharmacy	Biochemistry	2	
Botany		4	
Subtotal		6	28.57%
Radiobiology	Immunology	1	
Medicine		1	
Subtotal		2	9.52%
Nursing	Respiratory Therapy	2	
Subtotal		2	9.52%
Pharmacy	Food Science	1	
Medicine		1	
Subtotal		2	9.52%
Total		21	100%

N = 21.
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-6 Year of Arrival, Landing and Citizenship

Year	Arrival			Landing			Citizenship		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1984		2	2			0			0
1985			0			0			0
1986	2		2			0			0
1987	2		2			0			0
1988	2	2	4			0			0
1989	6		6			0			0
1990		2	2	10	4	14			0
1991	4	2	6	2	2	4			0
1992	4		4			0			0
1993	8		8			0	4	2	6
1994	3		3	8		8	4	2	6
1995	4	4	8	6	2	8	2	2	4
1996	3	1	4	7	3	10	2		2
1997			0	5	2	7			0
Total	38	13	51	38	13	51	12	6	18

N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 5-9   Perceptions about Existing Chinese
             Communities
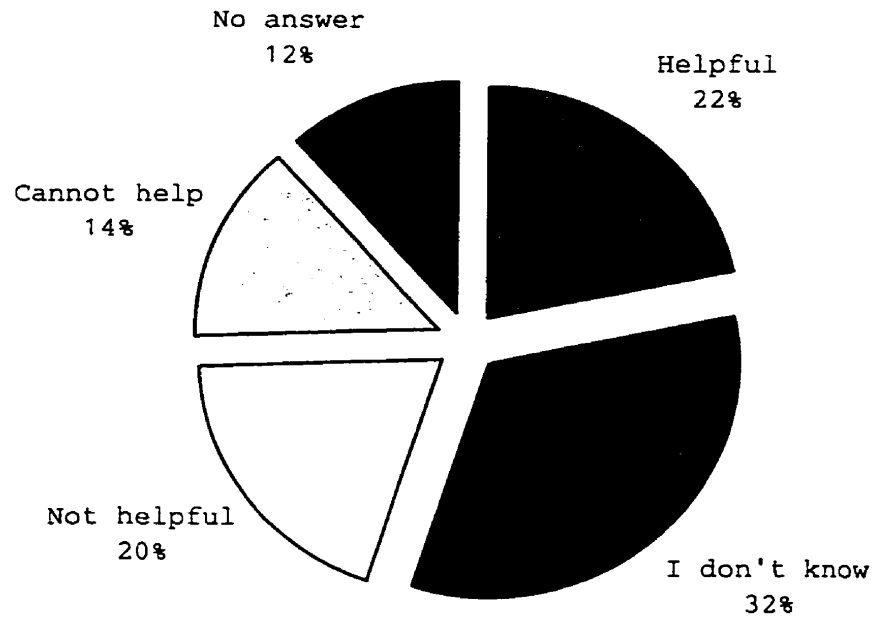
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-7   Church Contact

	Number	Percentage
Did not go to church	40	78.43%
Did go to church	11	21.57

	Number	Percentage of those who went to church	Percentage of the total
Have 5 church friends	2	18.18%	3.92%
Have 2 church friends	2	18.18%	3.92%
Have 1 church friend	2	18.18%	3.92%
Went to church but have no church friend	5	45.45%	
The total who have no church friend	45		88.23%

N = 51

Source: Survey data.

Table 5-8 Other Helpful Contacts

Contact	Number	Percentage of total
Parents of children's friends	4	7.8%
Computer association	3	5.8%
People in the same profession	2	3.9%
Academic contacts	2	3.9%
Total	11	21.57%

N = 51
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-9 Reasons for being Close to Chinese Community (CSSA)

Reasons Close	Number	Percentage	Percentage of Total
More comfortable with Chinese	12	39%	24%
Want to maintain Chinese culture and heritage	15	48%	29%
Not familiar with non-Chinese culture	2	6%	4%
Not easy to adjust to mainstream society	2	6%	4%
Total	31	100%	61%

N = 31
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-10 Reasons for not being Close to Chinese Community
(CSSA)

Reasons not Close	Number	Percentage	Percentage of Total
No time	6	30%	12%
Want to be familiar with non-Chinese culture	2	10%	4%
No answer	12	60%	24%
Total	20	100%	39%

N = 20
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-11   Most Friends by Nationality

Most friends	Number	Percentage of Total
Chinese	44	86.2%
Non-Chinese	2	3.92%
Chinese and Canadians	2	3.92%
No answer	3	5.88%
Total	51	100%

N = 51
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-12 Closest Friends by Academic Degree

Degree of friends	Number	Percentage of Total
Post-doctoral fellow	5	7.46%
Ph.D.	15	22.39%
Master's	28	41.79%
Bachelor's	19	28.36%
Total	67	100%

N = 67
Source: Survey data.

Table 5-13   Frequently Contacted Friends

	Mainland-Chinese		Other Chinese		Non-Chinese	
	Means	Test	Means	Test	Means	Test
Total	70.6		17.7		12.5	
Living in CRC* **now**						
Yes	76.1	T=2.57	17.5	T=-0.2	6.9	T=-3.7
No	67.2	P=.011	18.0	P=.843	15.7	P=.000
Period of **Arrival**						
Before 6/89	67.5		19.7		14.1	
06/89-10/90	72.5	F=.881	15.9	F=.978	12.0	F=.760
After 10/90	70.0	P=.416	18.2	P=.378	10.7	P=.469
Gender						
Male	69.8	T=-0.7	18.5	T=1.09	12.3	T=-.24
Female	72.1	P=.484	16.1	P=.276	12.6	P= .812
Landing Status						
Family/relative	65.8		22.4		13.1	
Refugee	81.8		14.4		3.3	
OM-IS-399	71.2	F=4.71	16.0	F=2.23	13.3	F=5.16
Other Indep.	58.8	P=.003	20.2	P=.077	21.0	P=.002

(to be
continued)

Table 5-13   Frequently Contacted Friends (cont.)

	Mainland-Chinese		Other Chinese		Non-Chinese	
	Means	Test	Means	Test	Means	Test
Education at present						
Less educated	78.0		20.2		2.7	
Fairly educated	73.1		17.9		8.9	
Well educated	68.8	F=3.38	16.3	F=.499	15.3	F=13.1
High qualified	62.7	P=.019	17.7	P=.684	22.1	P=.000
Occupation at present						
Admi./prof.	64.0		16.6		22.2	
Clerical	66.3		17.1		16.7	
Sales	60.3		26.8		12.9	
Service	74.0	F=2.77	15.6	F=1.85	10.6	F=6.57
Blue-collar	75.8	P=.029	18.4	P=.121	6.4	P=.000

*Chinese Residential Community
Source: Liu (1995:183)

CHAPTER 6.   HOW TO GET A JOB?

6.1   Motivation for Migration and Job Expectation

6.1.1   The push-pull factors.

Many studies have been done about the motivation for migration. One of the arguments

made by Graves and Graves (1974) is that, in general, more mobile and ambitious individuals

overcome human inertia and subject themselves to the trauma of severing close family ties

and face the drastic changes inherent in a new and unfamiliar environment. In her study about

recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Toronto, Zhang (1995) has also said that the more

competent and adventurous individuals actually migrate. We agree that, to some extent, this

group of Chinese people is competitive and their adventurousness played a role in their

decision-making process to migrate. However, migration is a rather complicated phenomenon

and many factors are involved in the decision-making process. Push-pull factors of

international migration may include age, gender, various economic circumstances and

opportunities between the giving and receiving countries, perceptions of the advantages of

emigrating or remaining, etc. Among recent research about Mainland Chinese immigrants (Lu,

1995; Tian, 1995; Zhang, 1995), a number of push-pull factors were frequently quoted,

including social and political reasons, family reunification, educational or occupational

advancement, better living conditions and income, and a better future for children. The

findings of this study in general match the conclusions of other research.

6.1.2   The intention to migrate before arrival.

During the interview, I asked respondents who had initially entered Canada as students

if they had intended to immigrate prior to their arrival, as well as their reasons for migrating.

For the first question, we found a clear difference between those who came before 1989 and

those who came after. No respondents who came before 1989 clearly stated that they

had an intention to immigrate, although two of them did say that they were not sure, which

we may interpret as a possibility of immigration. The reason for these responses was

obviously that, as we mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, there was little chance for Chinese

students and scholars to immigrate to Canada before 1989. On the other hand, six of them

distinctly stated that they did not have an intention to immigrate. By contrast, among those

who came after 1989, eight individuals clearly stated that they intended to immigrate to

Canada before they came, and twenty-four others said they were not sure if they would

immigrate to Canada before they arrived. Again we may interpret this findings as meaning

that, if possible, they did want to immigrate to Canada. Only one of them clearly stated that

she did not have the intention of immigrating before coming. These figures indicate that,

after China opened its door to outside world and allowed its citizens emigrate, Canadian

immigration policy became the key that determined the trend of Chinese immigration to

Canada.

6.1.3   A broader sense of social and political reasons for migration.

The push-pull factors in the decision-making process to immigrate are shown in the

right side of Table 6-1. The categories are drawn from the free responses related to

immigration motivation of the respondents. Traditionally, political and religious freedom

have been considered major reasons for emigration from Europe and from countries with

restricted civil rights. Mainland Chinese who obtained their immigrant status after 1989 for

humanitarian reasons can be officially put into this category. Since the OM-IS-339 policy

gave priority indiscriminately to all Chinese nationals in Canada (see Chapter Three), some

individuals may have taken advantage of this policy to immigrate for reasons that were not

political. This might be the reason why people who immigrated in this category have long

been criticized by the academic and Chinese community. It has been said in the Chinese community that they took advantage of the sacrifice of students in Tian'anmen Square to gain personal benefit. In her research conducted in metro Toronto, Zhang (1995, p. 117) argues that "political freedom is a rather elusive concept to the average Chinese who has grown up within the communist system and has been socialized accordingly. Even educated Chinese show a tendency to be politically inarticulate." In this study, however, data collected from respondents shows that political reasons may not be the major reasons, but did nevertheless play a role in their decisions to immigrate. Four respondents who came before 1989 answered that social and political reasons were considered during the decision-making process. Sixteen who came after 1989 said so as well. If claiming a political reason might be helpful for the people who came before 1989 to gain their P. R. status, it was not necessary for them to say so in our interview. Also, the responses were collected during the open-ended interview, not by a multiple-choice question. Respondents had full freedom to make their own choice. Therefore we have reason to believe that their responses were from their hearts. However, the political reasons here were not the same as those traditionally understood as immediate personal and political (specifically not religious) persecution. They had a broader sense. During the interview, people frequently mentioned the present Chinese political regime's shortcomings and failures, such as too much control over personal lives, too much corruption, and their detestation of political formalism, etc. People are concerned about the political uncertainty in China. The Tian'anmen Square massacre was mentioned by respondents as one of the reasons for their decision to immigrate. In general, their dislike for the Chinese social and political environment as a whole, which some respondents called the "large social and political environment," served as one of the push factors in their decision-making process.

For some people who live in Western society, the so-called Chinese social and political environment might be too abstract and too hard to understand. Many others may be preoccupied, under the influence of the Western media, with the persecution of dissidents, the horrible scenes from a Shanghai orphanage, or forced abortion in the countryside. It is not that simple for ordinary Chinese. Such images are not the mainstream of today's Chinese society. The general social and political environment for the Chinese people means their everyday life. When our respondents mentioned this general social and political environment, certainly it may directly relate to the political system, freedom of speech and political belief, freedom of movements, etc. Under more circumstances, however, when the respondents mentioned this general social and political environment, the pictures appearing before his or her eyes may be an argument with the leader of a work unit and the ensuing serious unhappiness which he or she had no way to end. It also may be the memory that he or she had to bribe a very low-rank government officer for a service that he or she had an absolute right to receive from that officer. It may even be just a memory of rude treatment while shopping by a sales girl who did not care about the concerns of the customer. This might be rather elusive for people who have no real Chinese life experience to understand. Here are some quotes from our interview records that might be helpful to give the reader a sense of the meaningfulness:

I don't like China. I have no one single memory which is good about that country. My parents were harshly treated in the Cultural Revolution. In China we were so poor and had so many difficulties although my husband was a master of medical science. (Female, age 30-35, nurse in China, in Canada since 1991).

I don't like that system. In China people are controlled so tightly. Everybody likes to use the power he holds, even though the power may be just a very tiny one, and he plays with it. Sometimes they could drive you crazy. You want to make a

photocopy? O.K., be careful when you meet the lady who is in charge of the copier, maintain a good relationship with her. You do this just in case someday you need her. There is no such thing as "business is business." Everything is *guanxi* (Chinese word which means networks and relationship). I really got tired of it. (Male, age 30-35, master and university instructor in China, Ph.D. in Canada).

In China, everybody but myself could control my fate. When I applied for going abroad to visit my husband, I needed so many people's approval, from the department head to the hospital head to the university president, then to the Party committee members and Party secretary. From the municipal public bureau to the provincial ones, I needed so many signatures and stamps. In the process anybody could kill me if they liked by shelving my paper a couple of months, and they did so. In China, at every important point of life, such as promotion and change of job or location of living, you almost certainly would encounter this kind of situation. I don't like it. (Female, age 30-35, medical doctor in China, in Canada since 1994, now studying computer science in university)

Although I had a good job and my social status was relatively high in China, I still decided to stay in Canada, because after stay in Canada for a while I found some advantages that I enjoy but could not have in China. For example, Chinese intellectuals are economically poorly treated. In today's China everybody is crazy about making money but there is no proper mechanism to guarantee social equity. There is no social security and welfare system for ordinary people. Although the rulers claim they are doing socialism, I believed that someday we will wake up and find it is capitalism all of a sudden and all of the millionaires are those former government officers, Party leaders etc. Rather than be washed out in a society that is in the stage of capitalist primitive

accumulation, I would prefer to chose a sophisticated capitalist society to live

in. When I had a chance to do so, why not? Although I may suffer for a while because

my major is not very marketable here in Canada, and I might have to change my field

to something else, I am confident that I can make it. (Male, age 35-40, associate

professor in China, in Canada since 1993, is now looking for a job)

The first quote above obviously comes with painful memory about the dark time of the

Cultural Revolution and some concern about the economic treatment of Chinese intellectuals.

The second quote is more cultural than political. While the third one involves political control

over individuals, we would also view it as a social problem. The last one probably is the

most persuasive one regarding the general social and political issues. Research done by Tian

(1996), Zhang (1995), and Liu (1995) strongly suggest that although many Chinese took

advantage of the OM-IS-399 to obtain immigrant status, the higher the educational level of

Chinese immigrants, the less likely their migration is politically motivated in the narrow

sense. In the following section we will discuss this and how our study supports their findings.

However, in a broader sense we could say that social and political concerns did play a role in

this process of migration decision-making.

6.1.4   Educational and family reunification reasons for migration.

Although the majority of our respondents entered this country as graduate students,

only 13% of the answers stated that education was the reason for immigration. All of these

answers were made by people who came after 1989 and changed their status relatively

recently. The reason is that most of the respondents changed their immigration status after

arrival. Education might be the major reason for the majority of the respondents to enter this

country. It could not, however, be an important reason for immigration, because they either

finished their education or were studying for their degrees in Canadian universities or

institutions at the time when they changed their status to permanent residents. For those who came relatively late the status change was a convenience for their education because, after the change, they did not have to pay the fees to renew their student visas periodically. They could also have access to opportunities that are only open to Canadian citizens and permanent residents, such as some scholarships and research grants, and employment opportunities. Family reunification was not an important reason for immigration either. Only 3% of the responses claimed that family reunification was the reason for immigration. One of the typical stories is that the respondent came as a master's student in 1993. During the following two years his wife was twice refused a visitor's visa by the Canadian Embassy in Beijing under the assumption that she had intent to immigrate tendency. Then he applied for immigration at a Canadian Embassy in the United States and was approved in 1996. The result is ironical but it is not unusual. For a group of people who qualify for the independent immigrant criteria, it seems a little taunting to refuse to issue a visitor's visa for their spouse under the suspicion of an immigration tendency. The Canadian Embassy in Beijing started last year to assess the Chinese student visa applicants using the immigrant standard point system as criteria. This seems to make more sense than what they did before.

6.1.5   Children's future as a reason for migration.

The attractiveness of Canada as a pull factor probably was more important than other factors because our respondents changed their status after their arrival and lived in Canada for some years before they made the decision to migrate. The attractiveness of Canada is firstly reflected among the children's reaction to Canada. Considering that 94% of our respondents have family with at least one child, this factor is important for their decision-making regarding migration. Typical responses about this were:

Our child is one of the most important reasons that we decided to stay in Canada. My son has loved Canada since the first day. When we were hesitating if we should apply for P.R. status, we tried asking him "If we go back to China, what could you do?" He clearly said he would not go. He even refused to go back to China to visit his grandpa and grandma, although he loved them so much. The education systems between the two countries are so different that if he went back, he would suffer a lot. Also after several years staying in Canada, he certainly could not compete with his counterparts any more. (Male, age 35-40, in Canada since 1993, university instructor and medical doctor in China, now medical laboratory technician)

When my daughter told me that if we have to go back to China she would commit suicide, we were shocked. I knew that many of our fellow Chinese students' children like Canada, but I did not realize my daughter was so extreme before she said so. I did not know if she was really serious but we had to take it very seriously. You know at that time, we still hesitated whether we should apply for PR, because life was so hard [here] and everything was uncertain. We did not know if we could find a job or not. Most importantly we did not know if we could get PR status or not. I really dared not imagine what would happen should we be refused. (Female, age 40-45, master in China, Canadian Ph.D. degree, in Canada since 1988, university instructor in China, now scientific researcher)

My child's future was one of the important reasons why I decided to apply for PR status. There are so many people in China. The future for our children is so uncertain. They have to be very competitive to survive in China. Look at today's education, they suffer too much! Too much homework, too many examinations. They lost their childhood in all those studies. Also, my son was born in Canada, the education he

received here is totally different and has different values from the Chinese

one. I could not imagine what would happen if we had to take him back to China.

(Male, age 30-35, in Canada since 1989, Ph.D. degree in civil engineering both in

China and Canada)

6.1.6   Personal and occupational advancement as the most important reason for migration.

The other attractive feature of Canada is that it is perceived that immigrating to Canada

could result in a better life, better working and living conditions, and better personal and

occupational development. This is likely the most important pull factor that resulted in their

decision to immigrate. Liu (1995) conducted a survey in Toronto and found that among the

recent immigrant Mainland Chinese, level of education accounted for significant differences

in the weight given to factors of personal development, income and living conditions. Highly

qualified and fairly well educated Mainland Chinese immigrants put more emphasis on

personal development than others did, while the less educated were more likely to immigrate

to improve their income and living condition. He also found that those who came as students

or employees put more emphasis on educational and occupational advancement (1995, p.

138). Our findings provided roughly the same results as Liu's. Our respondents belong to

those highly qualified and fairly well-educated Mainland Chinese. One of their main

motivations for immigration is to better realize the values that their qualifications led them to

expect. Table 6-1 shows that among the answers given for the reason to immigrate, personal

and occupational advancement accounts for the highest percentage. The question arises,

therefore, of what is their expectation? Evidence suggests that the respondents take it for

granted that their jobs should be professional ones. Their expectation is relatively high

because of their education, qualifications, previous experience and achievements in China. In this study the cases of non-professional jobs which many of our respondents had before their current jobs were under-reported because of their preference for professional jobs. Nobody thought about taking a nonprofessional job for his or her lifetime job, but only considered it a temporary measure. Nobody even thought a non-professional job was a job. As one respondent said: "If it is just for survival, it could not be called a job!" Having emigrated from China, respondents view non-professional, manual labour positions as a severe decline from their previous jobs, and, as a result, a matter of suffering and mere survival. Only after the principal concern of obtaining a professional position equal to that held in China was satisfied could other reasons be considered. In terms of this point, we are back to Gloria Rong Zhang's point that we mentioned earlier: for the average Chinese who has grown up within the communist system and has been accordingly socialized, political freedom is a rather elusive concept. The secondary importance of political factors has been especially influenced by two decades of China's open-door policy and economic development. The Chinese intelligentsia have relatively more political freedom than ever before and the immediate political persecution is not their concern, so political reasons do not play a critical role. In terms of the importance of personal and occupational advancement, thought of their children's future also remains a secondary factor. This group of people had relatively high social status and living conditions in China, and consequently their children's future was not that bad at all, at least it would be better than average ordinary Chinese children.

I would like to quote Zhang's (1995, p. 121) words here as a summary for the above discussion:

It can be said that the decision to migrate is frequently based on more than one motive. It tends to be the result of the interaction between various pull and push factors

which develop over time as well as the individual's personality structure, ...

"political and economic consideration may be inextricably linked or additive rather than mutually zero-sum motivations" (Rumbaut, 1990, p. 12). Apart from a chain migration caused by family reunification, migration is a rational and pragmatic decision. Multifaceted as the decision to migrate initially may have been, for the Chinese group under investigation, it probably was, apart from family reunification, primarily related to the immigrant's desire for a better "fate" and, in general, improved economic welfare.

6.1.7   The job expectation.

Although the different push-pull factors interacted to influence decision-making for immigration, one factor plays a major role in this process. This factor is an individual's expectation for a professional job and the perceptions that these individuals use to assess their prospects in Canada. One debate might arise here when we argue that personal and occupational advancement was the most important factor that affected the decision-making process for migration. The debate might be that these immigrants did not come to Canada and go through all the difficulties of immigration for a professional job. Many had one in China or would get one if they returned to China, and might have a more promising professional career in China without having to change fields. Therefore, occupational advancement could not play the critical role that pushes them to migrate. In response to this debate, three points need to be addressed.

Firstly, when we say that the expectation for a professional job plays a critical role, we do not mean that they had no promising professional career opportunity in China. What we mean is that, in their perception, they presume they would have a better professional future abroad. This expectation is based on their past experience, their high level of education

received both in China and in Canada, the knowledge and skills they carry, and their confidence built up over time in their past life. Of course their expectations are high and their perception is not necessarily accurate. Whether or not their expectations come true depends on many factors, such as the Canadian economic and job market situation, the professional field of each individual and his/her personality, etc. Although most of them did succeed in their professional job hunting, some of them encountered many difficulties. Those situations will be discussed in the next section.

Secondly, their career advantage in China served as a pull factor from the other side, that is the China side. Indeed the Chinese government has been trying for years to attract these students back to China. It has made their decision-making for migration more difficult. Therefore, the decision to migrate indicates that their perception of opportunity for a professional job in Canada was high. Data shown in Table 6-1 supports this analysis. In terms of integration after migration, this factor would give them more pressure for success in professional job hunting.

Thirdly, migration expanded their geographical scope of professional advancement. One question asked during the survey was "Where do you look for your job?" The answers suggest that, although most of them eventually found professional jobs in Winnipeg (we will present this data later), more than half of the respondents did not limit their scope of job-hunting locally or even to Canada. When they looked for jobs, the whole of North America, even the whole world, was in their scope. In the meantime we should keep in mind that for this group of people, China's job market almost always opens to them. This advantage in professional advancement was brought to them by migrating.

6.1.8   Summary.

In short, for this group of people, no job could be called a job unless it was a professional one. Satisfying the most important expectation for immigration, the acquisition of a professional job, was presumed to result in better working conditions and pay and a more attractive future than to be found in China. This characteristic brought them a great amount of pressure for success. It also brought them a great deal of difficulty in terms of the use of networks ties, because for a professional job seeker, high quality education, knowledge, experience and skills are more important than network connections. In the meantime, however, it also gave them a unique advantage in their job hunting.

6.2   Past and Current Job Situation in Canada.

6.2.1   Under-reported non-professional jobs.

As mentioned in the last section, the respondents had a tendency not to report non-professional jobs they had had. Twenty-six out of the fifty-one respondents reported that they had one or more jobs before they held the current professional one. It is believed, however, that almost all the Chinese students had some temporary jobs during their study period. First of all, it is difficult for ordinary Chinese people to be self-supporting unless they have relatives in Canada who fully support them financially. As we already know, few had this kind of connection in Canada. Therefore, financially they needed at least one job to survive during this period of time. Secondly, if we go back to check the data shown in Table 5-3 and the analysis in Chapter Five of this study, we can find related information. For people who were in the first major category, most of them received various kinds of financial aid from Canadian universities, which usually require work for about twelve hours a week. A considerable proportion did not receive full financial aid from universities to support their study and family. Therefore, on-and-off-campus work were very common. For

people in the second major category, which is named "other" in Table 5-3,

temporary jobs were necessary. People in this category either came under personal

sponsorship, which was not reliable because this kind of sponsorship usually was just a

piece of paper, or they came to join their spouses who usually lacked money. If the spouses

who came earlier happened to be under personal sponsorship, the situation would be even

worse and temporary jobs were definitely necessary. Actually, as reported by our

respondents, some people had as many as eight jobs before their current one. The details of

the forty-one jobs reported by twenty-six respondents are shown in Table 6-2. We see from

this table that 71% of those reported jobs were manual and minimum wage labor. Compared

with their qualifications and what they did in China, we can understand their desire for

change. Figure 6-2 shows the reasons for change. We see that the most common motivation

for change is underemployment. Underemployment is an especially important motivation for

change for those employed in low-paying jobs requiring less skill or training than possessed by

the respondents. Adding together those reasons for job dissatisfaction such as

underemployment, low wages, lack of enough work hours, and expectations for better or

more stable jobs, the percentage of dissatisfaction in previous jobs is as high as 65%. From

a different angle, this figure clearly suggests that the job expectations of our respondents do

not include low wage manual labor.

6.2.2 Current job situation.

After the first settlement period, at which time they had finished their Canadian

education, our respondents performed relatively well. At the time this research was

conducted, most of our respondents changed to better jobs, which were regarded as

professional and more or less related to their qualifications and education. Figure 6-3 shows

their current job status. 72% of the total held full-time professional jobs at the time

of study, including two persons holding managerial positions. Another 12% of the

respondents had part-time professional jobs. Two of the other eight people had finished their

degree and were looking for professional jobs. The remaining six persons, accounting for

12%, were either still in the university or, for various reasons, were trapped in different

situations. Their cases will be discussed later. Taking a closer look at their entry status and

field of study, the result is not surprising. Figure 6-4 shows that five out of nine respondents

who retained non-professional jobs entered as visitors. In terms of the relation between

educational level and job status, people who came as Ph.D. students were in the best

situation. All of them held full-time professional jobs at the time of our interviews. Two of

them were managers. The situation for people who came as master's students is more

complicated. Most of them, i.e. thirteen out of nineteen, had full-time professional jobs.

Some of those actually gained Ph.D. degrees after they finished their master's education.

However, the two people who graduated and were still looking for professional jobs are also

in this category. As figure 6-4 informs us, their fields of study are in the social sciences. The

figures strongly suggest that a Chinese immigrant's field of study is very important in acquiring

professional employment. Engineering is the best field. All respondents in this field found

full-time professional jobs. Then comes basic medical science. Two managers are from this

category. All those "unfortunates" fall into the last three categories, which are respectively

entitled "other," "science" and "social science." More detailed consideration regarding their

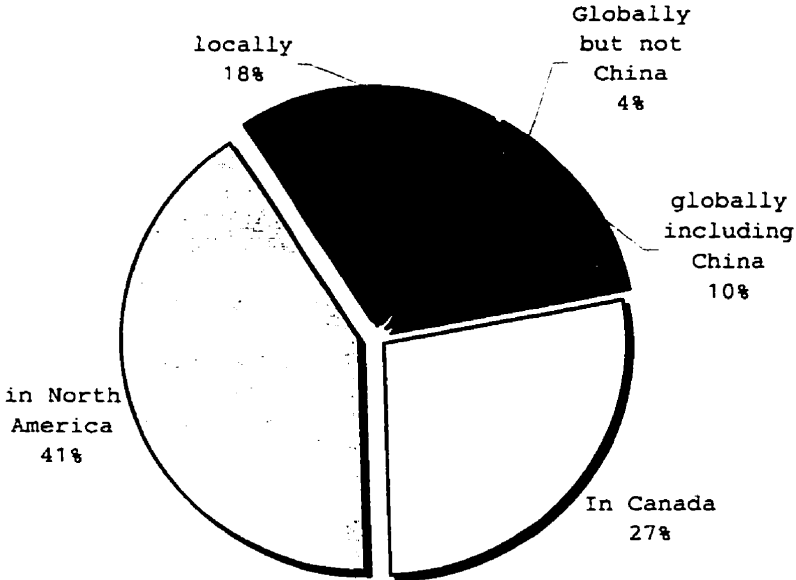experience follows in the next section.

There were some interesting differences in terms of job status and gender. Figure 6-6

indicates that the percentage of female respondents who held full-time professional jobs is

slightly lower than that of their male counterparts. However, all of the part-time professional

jobholders are females. This makes the percentage of female professional

jobholders much higher than males. The percentage of males in the category of non-

professional part-time is slightly higher than that for females. No one in the category of "full-

time professional (manager)" and that of "looking for a professional job" are females. It is

said that in Canada qualified professional women are often hired for part-time positions rather

than full-time ones. This difference in our study might be a meaningful one. However, we

must remain cautious. The employability of women indicated by these figures is not yet clear

because the number of respondents in these categories is small. To fully understand this matter

requires more intensive study, which is beyond the scope of this study.

This research was conducted in Winnipeg. All the respondents have been chosen from

those who had various connections with Winnipeg, especially with the University of

Manitoba. Although more than half of the respondents looked for professional jobs

throughout North America and globally, and an additional 27% looked for jobs in Canada, the

majority of them (accounting for ninety percent) eventually found their current job in

Winnipeg. The current residency distribution of our respondents is shown in Figure 6-7,

which also indicates the location of their jobs. In terms of the whole population, however,

this figure is not very representative, due to the limitation of our sampling method. Indeed,

many Chinese students who graduated from the University of Manitoba found professional

jobs elsewhere. Based on our observation, we can, with reasonable confidence, identify

Figure 6-1   The Geographic Scope of Job Hunting

locally
18%

Globally
but not
China
4%

globally
including
China
10%

in North
America
41%

In Canada
27%

N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 6-2   Reasons for Leaving a Job

Contract
short term
job
11%

Under
employment
37%

For a better
job
8%

For a more
stable job
8%

Laid off
8%

Low wage,
not enough
hour,
coflict with
study
12%

No answer
8%
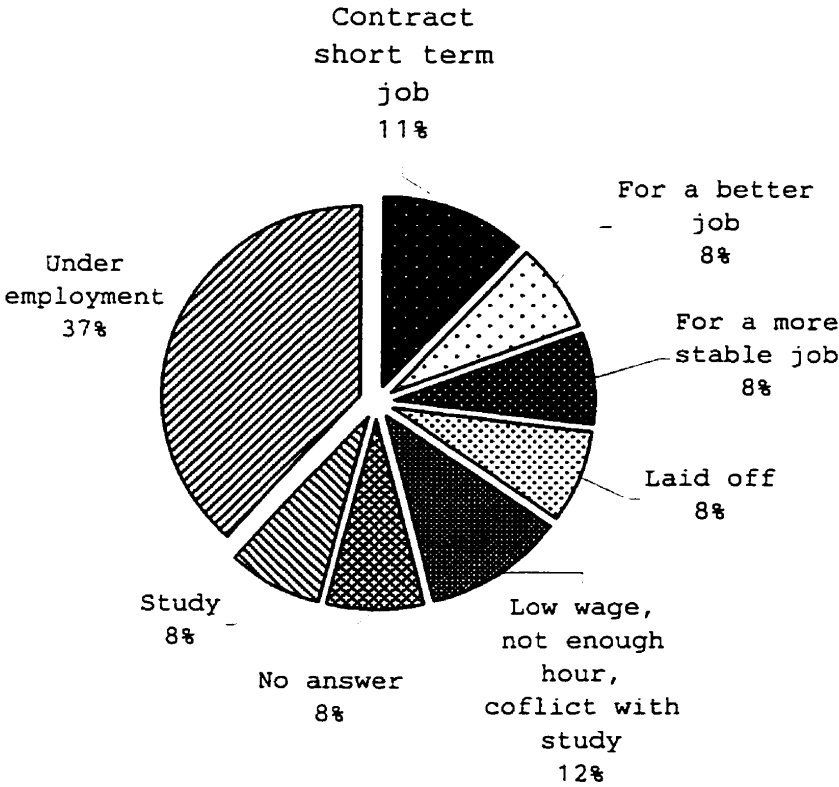
Study
8%

N = 26.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 6-3   Current Job Status

Non-
professional
part-time
12%

Looking for a
professional
job
4%

Part-time
professional
12%

Full-time
professional
(manager)
4%

Full-time
professional
68%
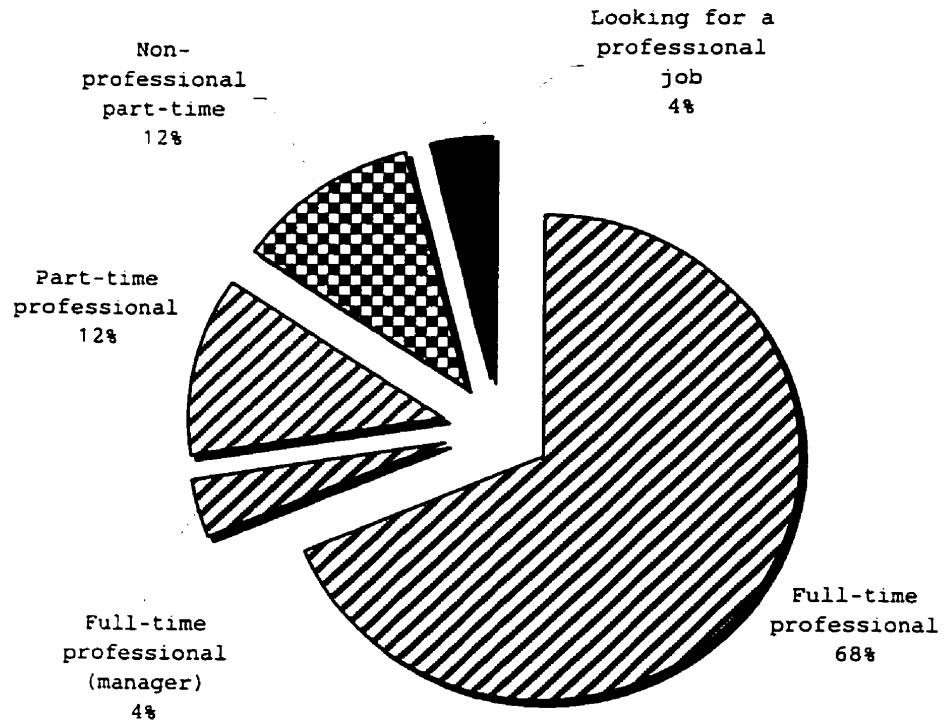
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 6-4 Current Job Status and Status at Entry

	Under-grad.	Grad.	Ph.D Student	Post-doctoral fellow	Visiting Scholar	Vistor	Immig-rant
■Looking for a professional job		2					
▢Full-time professional		13	10	1	4	4	3
▢Full-time professional (manager)			2				
▢Non-professional part-time		4				5	
▢Part-time professional	2						1

Status at Entry
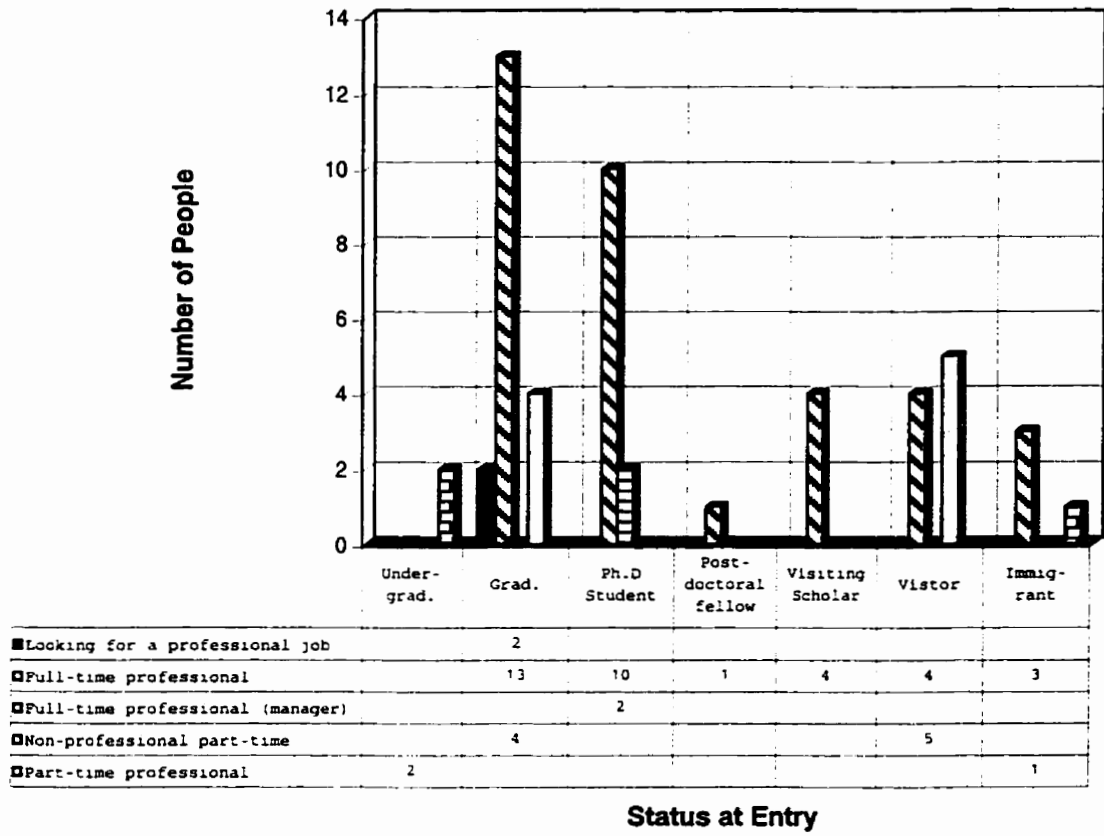
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 6-5 Current Job Status and Study Field

	agricul-ture	engineer-ing	medical science	other	science	social science
◨ Full-time professional	3	13	10		9	
■ Full-time professional (manager)			2			
▣ Partt-ime professional	1		2			
■ Non-professional part-time				3	3	3
❏ Looking for a professional job						2

Field Distribution
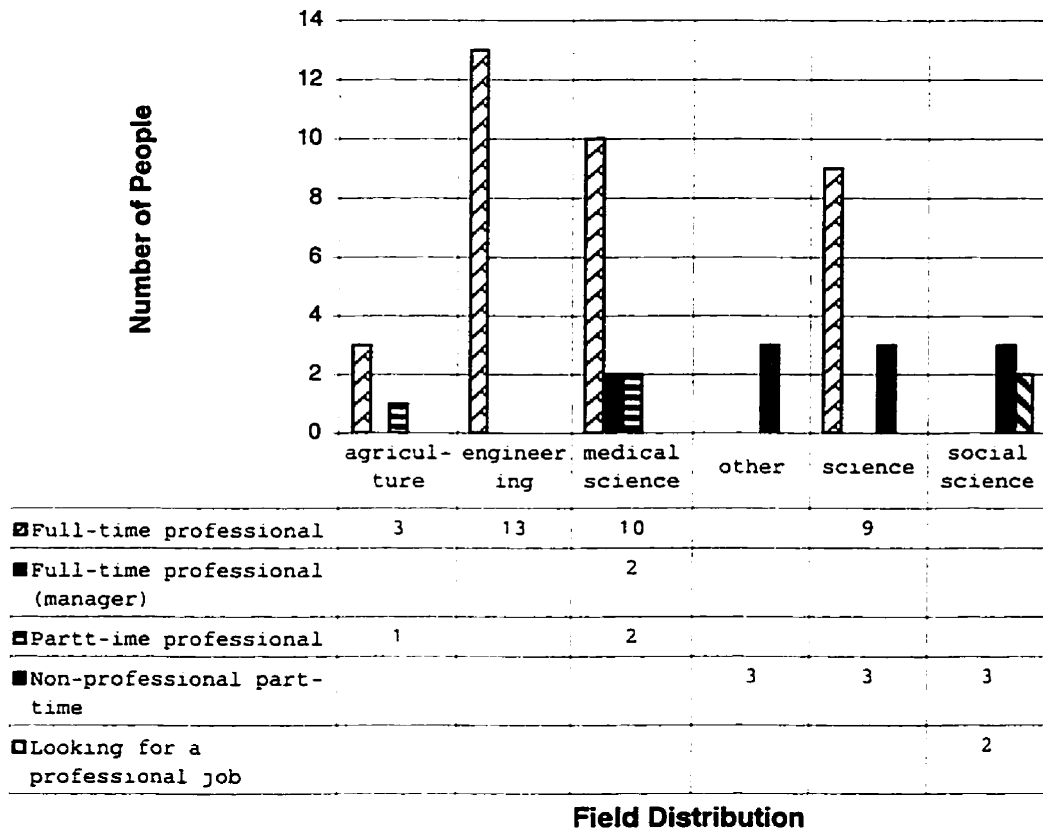
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Figure 6-6 Gender and Job Status

	female	male
■Full-time professional	8	27
❏Full-time professional (manager)		2
❏Part-time professional	3	
◪Non-professional part-time	2	7
❏Looking for a professional job		2

Gender
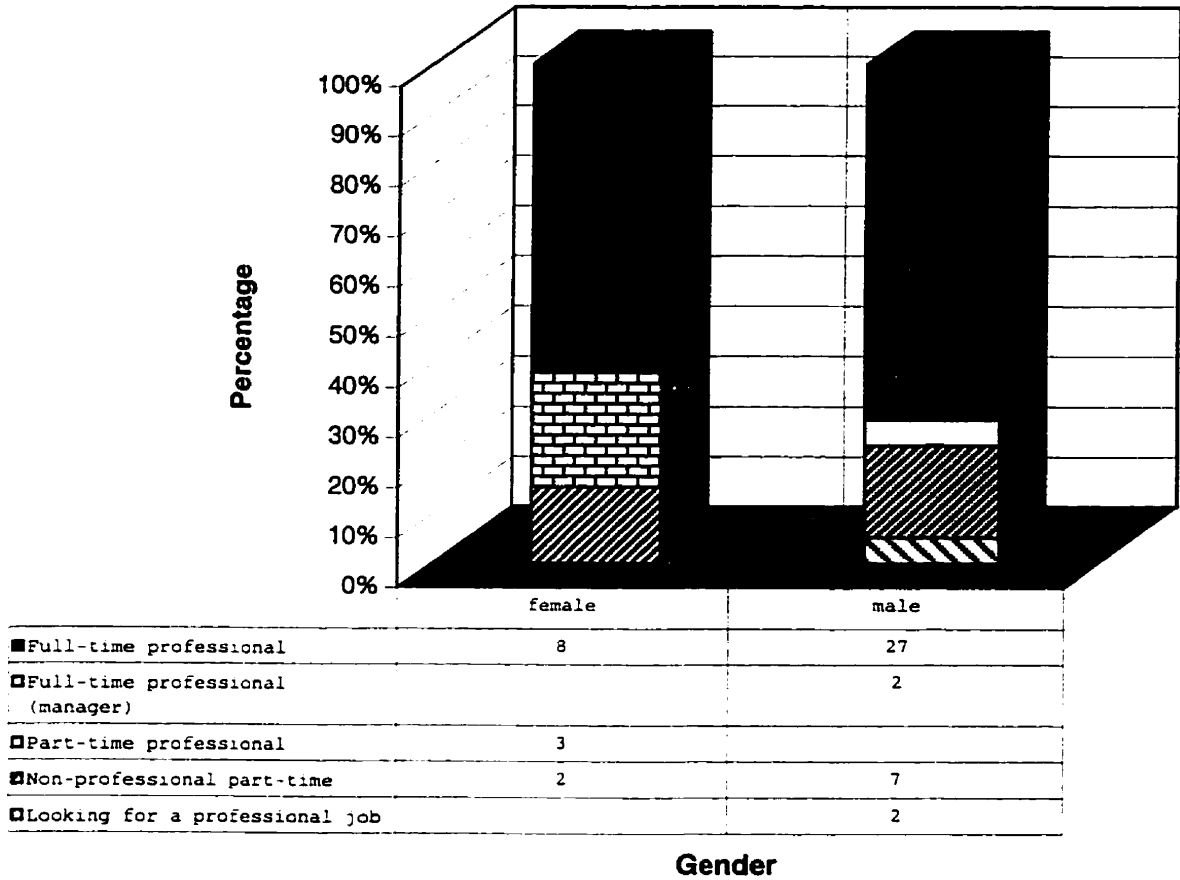
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

. Figure 6-7 Place of Residence

Winnipeg
90%

Calgary
2%

Columbus,
ohio,USA
2%

Saskatoon
4%

Singapore city
2%
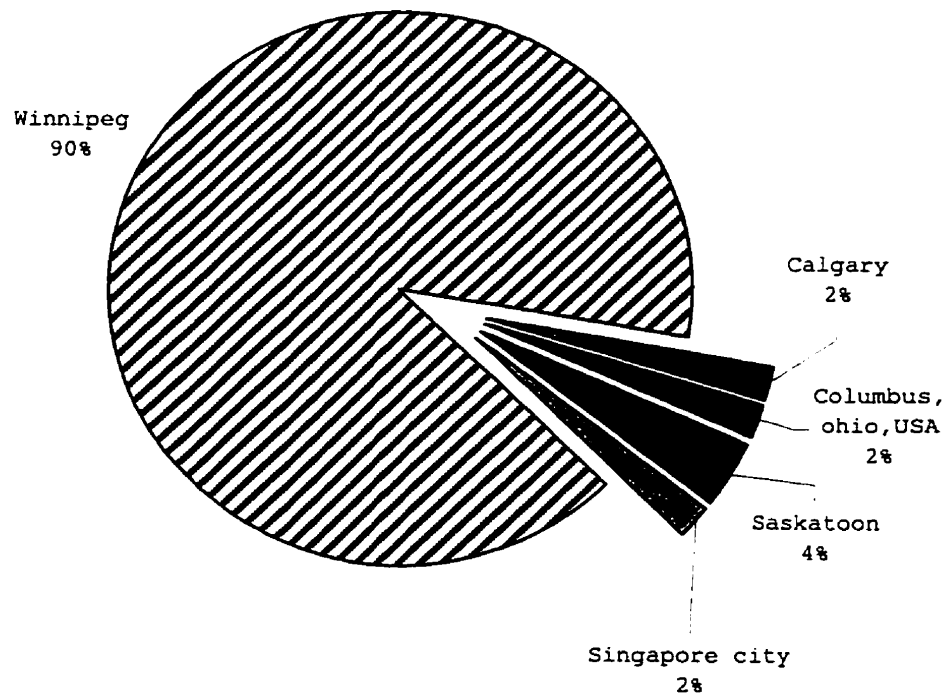
N = 51.
Source: Survey data.

Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal as other cities offering job opportunities for immigrants from Mainland China.

6.3 How to Find a Job

6.3.1 Identified structural barriers and individual disadvantages.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, many researchers identified that new immigrants in general, and ethnic minorities in particular, face structural barriers and individual disadvantages in job-seeking. To examine the variation of those barriers and disadvantages in this specific recent Mainland Chinese immigrant group, two questions were asked during the survey and interviews. The first question inquired about the most difficult factors involved in acquiring a professional job, while the second asked about the most important factors in the success of their job-hunting. Each choice indicates one of the possible barriers identified by researchers. The respondents could choose as many as were applicable to their experience. Structural barriers include systematic discrimination, non-recognition of credentials obtained abroad, and the need for "Canadian experience." Individual disadvantages include inadequate command of the official languages, lack of required skills, and lack of familiarity with Canadian society and culture.

The data shown in Figure 6-8 suggests that this group encountered both structural barriers and individual disadvantages. Among all the barriers and disadvantages, the most frequently reported difficulties were insufficient English skills and Canadian experience, regardless of gender and status at entry. These findings exactly match Liu's data for the whole recent Mainland Chinese immigrant population in Toronto (1995, p. 217).

I. Non-recognition of Chinese education and qualifications and lack of Canadian experience.

Chinese education and qualifications not being recognized in Canada was the second most frustrating factor reported by our respondents as a structural barrier. The proportion of respondents who complained of the non-recognition of qualifications is roughly the same, a little lower than that reported by Liu (1995, p. 218) for the highly qualified recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Toronto. In our study this percentage is about 12%, whereas in Liu's study it is about 14%. In our sample, the proportion of people who came with a medical science background is very high, accounting for 35% of the sample; a considerable portion of these were medical doctors in China. For these individuals, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to practice in Canada because of the structural barriers mentioned earlier.

Physicians' qualifications earned in a foreign country might be the most difficult ones to be recognized in Canada. First of all, the education systems for medical education in the two countries are different. In China, medical students are selected directly from high school through national examination. Usually only the most competitive individuals can enter medical universities. After five to seven years of study in a medical university, they obtain their bachelor's or master's degree and can directly practice in state-operated hospitals as assistant doctors. According to the length of years in practice, and their professional performance and research, they could be promoted within the *zhicheng* system to physician-in-charge *(zhuzhi yisheng)* , junior high-rank physician-in-charge *(zhuren yisheng)* and senior high-rank physician-in-charge *(gaoji zhuren yisheng)*. The latter designations are equivalent to associate professor and full professor respectively. All of our respondents from a medical profession were at the rank of physician-in-charge or higher and have qualified in a medical specialty. In Canada, however, these individuals have little chance to practice. In order to

practice they would have to pass three comprehensive examinations and then wait for the chance of an intern position. As a result, they have to start over again from the bottom with little chance of success. The situation for those in other professions, for example, teachers and accountants, is similar. Rather than start over again in their original professions, which are extremely competitive in Canada, for the same amount of time and effort, they usually change their professions to adapt to this situation. The majority changed to basic medical research, in which doctors have advantages in job-seeking but have less pay. Some change to other fields, such as computer science, for a more promising future.

For those who came from pure sciences, such as mathematics and physics, and from social sciences, their opportunities were restricted by the characteristics of the Canadian labor market. The career prospects of graduates with a master's degree in the pure and social sciences were greater if further education at the Ph.D. level occurred, thereby increasing the likelihood of employment at the professional level in a university. However, our respondents have a disadvantage in the teaching profession due to the language barrier. Therefore, change of field is a rational choice that many of them did choose. One of our respondents with a journalism background came to Canada as a visitor to join his wife and encountered this frustrating situation. He started over again by obtaining a bachelor's degree in business administration that was thought of as a promising area for a good job. Unfortunately, however, after years of frustrated attempts to find employment in his field, he remained a manual labor worker in a manufacturing industry. In this case, the respondent claimed that all the difficulties and barriers apply. Another respondent graduated with his second master's degree, one from China, and the other from Canada, in geography and, after some time, was still looking for a job when we interviewed him. He planned to change to computer science

or continue to study for a Ph.D. degree in geography, or to do both, taking computer courses while studying for a Ph.D. degree.

Compared with the general immigrant population, however, the percentage of those complaining about not-recognition of education and qualifications and lack of Canadian experience is not very high (see CEE, 1984, p. 49, McDade, 1988, p. vii). The reason, similar to that mentioned by Liu (1995, p. 219), is that the majority of our respondents came as graduate students. Their qualifications were at least partially recognized by Canadian universities. Actually, although a considerable proportion of our respondents had to retake their degree at the same level because their education in China was not fully recognized, in comparison with other Canadian employers and institutes, Canadian universities are still the institutions that most often recognize international qualifications. Their acceptance, and consequently the education offered to our respondents added the value of Canadian qualifications to these new immigrants. The work experience gained in Canadian universities as research or teaching assistants also provided them a valuable Canadian experience the immigrants otherwise could hardly have. This is especially true for those studying basic medical science research and engineering because what they did in university laboratories was, in many cases, basically the same as what they would be asked to do by their future employers. The situation may be due to the fact that Canadian universities have a greater number of international connections than other Canadian institutions and employers. In comparison with other professions, such as medicine, teaching, pharmacy, or law, engineering has the fewest restrictions on post-graduates entering the profession. This is the most important reason why all of our respondents who took engineering successfully found professional jobs. The high demand for this profession in the Canadian labor market is another factor that explains their success.

II.   Insufficient English proficiency.

The language barrier is identified as a personal disadvantage and, to some extent, as a structural barrier as well. It is frequently noted that employers reject ethnic minority immigrant applicants for jobs because of their English deficiency. This occurs even for jobs requiring little English proficiency. Minority workers are denied access to employment by recruitment procedures such as word-of-mouth recruiting, culturally biased testing procedures, and oral interviews (SCPVM, 1984, p. 33).

In this study, insufficient English proficiency has the same weight among our respondents as the barrier of no Canadian experience.   Once again, compared with Liu's findings (1995, p. 218), the percentage of our respondents who experience difficulty in their command of English is much lower than that in Liu's findings among the highly qualified recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Toronto (20% and 52% respectively). I do not have a clear answer why it is like this. I do, however, agree with Liu's argument. He says that "Generally, the higher the level of education, the better the MCIs' language skills due to China's foreign language education, which begins at middle school (at least in cities) and continues into undergraduate and graduate education" (Liu, 1995, p. 220). Therefore, we might assume that the educational level of our respondents is even higher than the subgroup of Liu's samples, which is called highly qualified MCIs. I cannot be certain on this point, because Liu's data did not provide the detailed composition of his subgroup classified as highly qualified MCIs.

Another reason why the better-educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants have higher levels of English proficiency is that they all were tested before arrival. Chinese who came as graduate students had to pass the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) and have a minimum score of 550. This language requirement could be higher for those who

had financial aid from Canadian universities. Canadian universities' language

requirement played an important role in channeling better immigrants. However, even for our

target group of highly qualified and very well educated individuals, the language barrier is

still one of the most frequently reported difficulties in their experience of job-hunting. The

language barrier also determined the method they used to find jobs. This will be discussed

later when we discuss job-hunting methods.

III. Gender and racial discrimination.

It is noticeable that no one claimed gender was a barrier in his or her job-hunting

experience. And only a small proportion (about 10%) of the total respondents complained

that they were the victims of racial discrimination when they tried to enter the professional

labor market. This findings almost exactly matches Liu's findings in Toronto. The two

figures on this are 10.3% and 9.8% respectively, and our figure is a little bit lower. Liu's

findings also suggest that there is no subgroup variation regarding this matter, where the

percentage of the total sample that complained of racial discrimination is 10.5%. Because our

two figures for the similar subgroup are so close and there is no subgroup variation, we can

use Liu's analysis to support our findings here:

> As stated in the literature (CEE, 1984, p. 47), recent immigrants tend not to
>
> identify the problem they are facing as one of discrimination. The low rate of positive
>
> response is simply due to the respondents' short history of settlement. Most of them
>
> have not yet realized the existence of discrimination in the labor market. Rather, they
>
> tend to attribute their problems to language deficiency, lack of Canadian experience
>
> and required skills, unfamiliarity with the labor market, and so on (Liu, 1995, p. 220-
>
> 221).

IV.   Lack of skills needed in the Canadian labor market.

For some respondents, the lack of skills needed in the Canadian labor was the most

difficult factor in their job-hunting experience. However, this percentage (7.8%) is much

lower than the 25.8% identified for the total recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Toronto

by Liu (1995, p. 221). However Liu says that he did not find any subgroup variation in his

data. This difference might be an indication that Liu's sample for the subgroup classified as

highly qualified MCIs is more diverse than ours in terms of study field. Taking a closer look

at the individual cases, we found that there is a connection between field of study and lack of

skills needed in Canadian labor market. Four respondents, accounting for 7.8% of the total,

agreed that the lack of skills needed in Canadian labor market. Those who studied pure

science and social science more likely complained of this barrier. This finding is not

surprising. And these respondents fully realized their disadvantage. As discussed in the

earlier section, their adaptation to this situation was to change themselves and their field of

study. Some of their changes were successful and some were not, as in the case of the

journalist who changed to business administration. The identifiable trend is to change to

computer sciences.

6.3.2   Lack of social networks in Canadian society.

The most interesting aspect for this study is the response to the choice of social

networks. In his study about the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Toronto, Liu (1995,

p. 221) says he did not find significant subgroup variation regarding this matter. However,

our data shows a large difference from his findings. Only two out of the fifty-one

respondents chose "lack of social networks in Canadian society" as one of the greater

difficulties in their experience of job-hunting. This figure accounts for only about 4% of the

total for this group. Compared with Liu's figure for the same variable, the percentage for the whole recent Mainland Chinese immigrants is much higher, up to 26.8%. We examined this matter from another angle by asking our respondents if the social network factor is important for them in order to find a professional job. The percentage for this question is a little higher and closer to Liu's figure, accounting for about 18% of the total for the same group. This is very interesting because it suggests an important point.

The point is that subgroup variation does exist. Psychologically, both the highly qualified and the less educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants were aware of the significance of networks but treated the issue differently due to the different resources available to each subgroup and the different significance of the various barriers to each subgroup. For those who are less educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, the network is an important and possibly the sole resource. Therefore they were eager to establish their networks and maximize their benefits. According to Liu's study, the language barrier is the most significant barrier for these people and it forces them to rely heavily on personal networks. Networks played a very important role at all stages of their labor market participation, from their first stable jobs and their initial allocation in the labor market to their current jobs. However, since recent Mainland Chinese immigrants have very limited social contacts, their personal networks are generally made of other recent Mainland Chinese immigrants. As such, there is very little room for them to use their networks in their labor market adventure. Therefore, it is not surprising that who complain about lack of networks were predominantly from this subgroup. This increases the ratio of the whole recent Mainland Chinese immigrant population in Toronto complaining of a lack of networks. Liu (1995) has proved that the long-term effect of their reliance on personal networks is negative because of the homogeneous characteristics of this group. Low-paid, service and blue-collar

occupations in personal service and manufacturing industries characterized jobs

found with network help. This finding supports Granovetter's theory about the weakness of

strong ties that we summarized earlier.

For our respondents, members of a highly qualified subgroup of the recent Mainland

Chinese immigrants, however, the situation is greatly different. First of all, they have much

more resources than the other subgroup. As we mentioned earlier, although they still feel

their English proficiency is inadequate, they have much better command of this official

language and to some extent they are less likely to rely solely on networks to find jobs. They

have specialities, scarce in the labor market, which are required for professional employment.

They have higher education and professional work experience in China that are, to some

extent, accepted by Canadian society, and, in particular, by Canadian universities. Most

importantly, their education and experience were augmented with Canadian values after they

finished their education and obtained their Canadian post-graduate degrees. All of those

resources benefited them and were responsible for their being the most successful subgroup

in the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community. How beneficial were those resources?

This is indicated by answers to the question, "What is the most important thing that made you

successful in your job-hunting adventure?" Figure 6-9 shows answers to this question.

Among the total 135 answers collected, the experience in Canada and skills required by jobs

are the most cited. The other factors, excepting social networks, are so close in number of

citations that this suggests that all of those resources played positive roles in their job-hunting

experience. This figure clearly explains why they have fewer complaints about their scarcity

of resources in networks. Psychologically speaking, when they consciously knew the

disadvantages accompanying lack of weak social networks, they were less likely to expect

positive support from social networks.

In this regard, we believe a quote from one of our respondents might be helpful to give our reader a vivid idea of the meaningfulness of networks. While responding to our questioning about why he did not choose "lack of networks" as a difficulty in job-hunting, one of our respondents said:

Yes, it was. I know *guanxi* (Chinese word that means networks and relationship) is important. But it is not China here. It's Canada. Who knows who I am? We are newcomers. All of my friends are Chinese students, they have the same problem as I. Also, employers hire people because people can get things done, not because people have *guanxi* with them. I can get things done. I can be hired. Network is not our strength; we don't depend on it. Therefore, it really did not frustrate me. (Male, age 30 -35, university instructor in China, in Canada since 1989, Ph.D. in electronic engineering, now an electronic engineer).

Several figures are interesting in this regard. When responding to the question, "What is the most important thing that made you successful in your job-hunting adventure?", three answered "underemployment, nothing is important." Six people chose social networks alone as their answer. Ten people chose everything but social networks. And forty-two did not choose social networks as an important factor of their job-hunting success. This percentage is as high as 82% of the total.

In brief, for this group of recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, the barrier of lack of networks contact is an obvious reality. Compared with other subgroups of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, however, their attitude to this is different. It may not be critical for their professional career or economical well being due to their wealth of resources, but it is critical for them in choosing their job-hunting method.

6.3.3   Methods of job-hunting: formal and informal.

Granovetter's (1974) classification of job-hunting methods is important for the analysis here. Basically, his categorization is based on one standard when an intermediary is used. The goal is to see if the method used by job seekers is through a personal or an impersonal channel. When an impersonal intermediary, such as advertisements or public and private employment agencies, is used, it is a formal method. Conversely, if personal contacts are used, the method is informal. The distinguishing of tie strength between weak and strong ties happens only in this domain. An individual who uses the other method, direct contact with a firm, does not use a formal or personal intermediary and has not heard about a specific opening from a personal contact. Granovetter and many other researchers, as mentioned in Chapter Two, did not pay enough attention to the first and third methods because they found that, regardless of religious and ethnic background or educational level, informal, personal contacts were the primary channels through which individuals found out about job opportunities. Among personal contacts, weak ties are more effective than strong ties in terms of job-hunting and social integration.

In our study, however, we found quite a different picture. For this specific recent Mainland Chinese immigrant group, the job-hunting methods vary with the nature of jobs. In their first stage of settlement, they looked for an interim job. Utilising an informal contact method, they acquired minimum wage, physically laborious positions unrelated to their training and qualifications. Instead of weak ties, strong ties played a critical role in those cases. For jobs they sought as their careers, however, the primary channel they used to secure job information was formal and impersonal. The direct contact method is also quite frequently reported in both categories.

I. Informal personal methods for interim jobs

During the survey and interviews, respondents were asked to answer whether their current job was their first job. If it was not, they were asked how many jobs had they held before the current job and what kind of jobs they were. Also, they were asked what kind of job search methods they used for the current job and for previous jobs. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the jobs before the current one were considerably under-reported. Using the data available, however, it is possible to discover some patterns in this matter, because the trend shown in these data is so obvious.

Among the twenty-six respondents who reported that they had held jobs before their current jobs, which were usually manual labor minimum wage jobs as pointed out earlier, twelve (46%) reported that information for their previous job was first secured through Chinese friends. Compared with the figure cited in Chapter Two, this number is lower than that (60%) for blue-collar job seekers. In his study, Liu (1995, p. 157) calculated the percentage of people who relied on personal networks to find their first job according to their educational level at entry. His figures are as follows: for those with secondary or less education, the figure is 36.4%; for those with a non-university certificate, 50%; some university, 20%; bachelor's degree, 15.1%; above bachelor's degree, 9.4%. Our figure of 46% is much higher than what Liu found for people with the same level of education, and is almost equal to the number for people with somewhat lower education (non-university certificate) in Toronto. One reason for this may be found in the fact that we did not count all of the jobs that our respondents had during their first settlement stage, especially those jobs they had as research assistants and related campus jobs, due to their under-reporting of those jobs. This difference should not affect the argument here: for these respondents, personal networks were more often used to find their interim jobs. Strong ties instead of weak ties were more active

during this stage. This is not surprising, because of their short period of time in Canada. This difference in findings indicates the value of contextualizing job-hunting in multiple dimensions, including settlement stage as well as educational level.

The major reason our respondents relied on personal strong ties to find their interim jobs is that most of those interim jobs were unskilled manual labor. Their previous education and qualifications were not necessary for those jobs; and sometimes those qualifications even prevented them from getting the jobs they urgently needed for survival, because the employer might think that they were not suitable for those jobs or that they could not work long. Actually, "You are overqualified for this job," was often used to refuse their applications by employers. For this reason, respondents usually did not mention their real backgrounds. Under those circumstances, their advantages compared with other recent Mainland Chinese immigrant subgroups turned out to be a disadvantage. Therefore, like other subgroups of Chinese immigrants, personal strong ties became the most frequently used method for job-hunting. They received help from friends and also helped others. One of our respondents, for example, who used to work in a garment factory, referred three Chinese students to his employer as sewing machine operators.

II.   Other methods for finding interim jobs.

Not only were personal strong tie networks used to find interim jobs, our respondents also used other methods to find interim jobs. We have six respondents (23%) who found their interim jobs through newspaper advertisements, two (8%) through directly contacting employers, five (19%) through government agencies, and one (4%) through a church contact. It is interesting that all those skilled or research interim jobs, although there were not very many of them, were not found through personal strong network ties. This findings supports Granovetter's theory that a personal strong tie network method has its weaknesses. When

recent Mainland Chinese immigrants relied on their personal strong tie networks to find jobs, they trapped themselves in the lower side of the labor market, because their networks were narrow and highly homogenous and all the available contacts were in a difficult situation. This was especially true at their first stage of settlement.

III. The use of the informal personal method in hunting for professional jobs.

Evidence suggests that the informal personal method was one of the most important methods used by our respondents to find professional jobs. Figure 6-10 shows that thirteen out of the fifty-one respondents used this method to find professional jobs. (One of the jobs was a part-time job.) This accounted for about 25% of the total. Compared with other methods used by our respondents, this percentage is relatively high. Compared with Liu's figure of 33.3% (1995, p. 225) for roughly the same subgroup, however, this percentage is lower. The possible reason mentioned earlier might be that our respondents are higher qualified than those Liu classified as a group to generate his figure. The above mentioned 33.3% is the figure for people with an education above the bachelor's degree at entry time. Our figure is for people with an education above the bachelor's degree at entry and who have finished post-graduate education, many with a Ph.D. level education in Canada. This may make a major difference.

Although this method is used more than other methods by our respondents to find professional jobs, it already shows a big difference from that researchers found in their studies of the general population. Compared with Granovetter's (1974) figure for professional jobs which shows that 56.8% of job seekers find out about a job via personal contact (see Chapter Two of this study), our number is only less than half of that number. One more important point we want to make here is that among those who used a personal informal

method to find information about jobs, only a very small portion used weak ties, while most of them used strong ties.

In terms of the strength of ties used by those thirteen people who used a personal informal method, only three can be classified as weak ties. Two of them acquired the job information from acquaintances, while the other received information from a friend met at an academic conference. This number accounts for 23% of the thirteen people who used a personal informal method, and less than 6% of the total. The interesting thing is that each of the three acquaintances are non-Chinese, and the ways of help were the same, that is to give information of job availability. Two of them were employees of the same company and learned the job opening information from their employers. The other one became acquainted with our respondent at an academic conference and gave the job opening information three months later. He knew this information because he had previously graduated from the U. S. university that was hiring. This number might be too small to suggest anything, however, it does support Granovetter's (1974) theory that weak ties tend to broaden an individual's connections to distant parts of society.

Unfortunately, not very many weak ties were available to our respondents. Ten out of the thirteen respondents who used a personal informal method did not use weak ties to secure the job information. Instead, all of them used strong ties. Two of the helpers were non-Chinese and the academic advisors of our respondents when they were Ph.D. students in Canadian universities. All the other helpers were recent Mainland Chinese immigrants and came as graduate students. Among them we have one special case in that the helper was the husband of our respondent. The ways of help were roughly the same: four of them gave information of job availability; six of them gave information of the job openings and at the same time referred the respondents to the firms or institutes that were hiring. The advisor-

student relationship is worthy of a few sentences for our specific target groups.

Almost everyone of them had at least one academic advisor and usually those advisors were non-Chinese, their professional status was well established and they were highly respected in Canadian society. This relationship opens a window to Canadian society for Chinese students. Due to the Chinese tradition that pays special personal respect to teachers,* Chinese students usually maintain a good relationship with their advisors. This became a special network resource that other subgroups of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant could not have. Indeed, in many cases the reference or recommendation letter from an advisor is helpful or necessary for the respondents in order to get professional jobs.

It is also interesting to look at the relationship between those helpers and the firms or institutes hiring. Among the ten helpers who maintain strong ties with our respondents, four were employees of the companies or institutes that were hiring, as professional workers, and heard the information about job openings from the employers directly. Six got the job opening information from the companies or institutes that were hiring because they had professional contacts with and knew people of those companies or institutes. It is evident that only after a group has proper and enough contacts in a certain area can the members of that group take advantage of those contacts to gain social mobility within that area. The use of strong ties is an indication that our respondents as a group did not have enough contacts in professional areas. Under this circumstance strong ties are effective for this specific group.

Another interesting finding is that among the thirteen respondents only three chose social networks as one of the most important factors for their success in job-hunting

---

* This Chinese tradition can be illustrated by a Chinese idiom, "*yiri weishi, zhongsheng weifu,*" which means "one day to be your teacher, to be respected as your father forever."

adventures. This is interesting because it suggests that even when they use social

networks to find jobs, they still think social networks are not their strength. Their reliance is

not on social networks.

IV. Other impersonal methods used to find professional jobs.

1. Answering advertisements

Although the informal personal method resulted in the most professional jobs,

answering job postings or advertisements was the method most widely used by the

respondents. Figure 6-10 shows that sixteen respondents, accounting for 31%, used this

method to find their jobs. Four of the jobs were non-professional part-time jobs. The number

of full-time professional jobs found through the use of this method equalled the number acquired

by the informal personal method. Various media were used as information sources. The

Winnipeg Free Press was the most frequently reported information source, while other

sources like professional newsletters and company posters in the University of Manitoba

Employment Center. were also reported. The advantage of this method is that job seekers

know about job openings and match their skills and qualifications with the jobs prior to their

application. They know where to go and know they are qualified for those jobs. The

advertised jobs are more competitive because more people are aware of those jobs and try to

get them. If under equal competition, however, our respondents have more advantage due to

their high level of education and qualifications.

It is very interesting to find that most complaints about language barriers were from

people who used this method to find their jobs. Nine out of sixteen reported that insufficient

English proficiency was the greatest difficulty in their job-hunting experience. Considering

that we have only ten cases that reported the language difficulty, 90% of them were in this

category. This percentage suggests that when immigrants compete with Anglophone

Canadians, the language barrier turns out to be the primary difficulty. From another point of view, compared with Liu's findings (1995, p. 223-224) for less educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, when these encountered the language barrier, they were more likely to rely on personal networks to find jobs. Here our finding for well educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants was that, when they encountered a language barrier, they tended to rely on their other resource, that is, their qualifications, to compete with Anglophone Canadians.

2. Directly contacting employers

Directly contacting an employer was the third important method used by our respondents. Its major difference from other methods is that the people who use a direct contact method do not know about the job openings before they contact the employers. Sources used by our respondents to search for potential hiring company information include the Yellow Pages, World Wide Web home pages and business company lists. The advantage in using this method is that, like the use of an informal personal network method, the target is the hidden job market. Jobs are there, but may not be advertised. Sometimes the job opening remains a possibility and becomes real only when a proper applicant emerges. The jobs are less competitive because fewer people know they are available or exist. The advantage for our specific group is that they can estimate their qualifications and look for the related company or institute on their own initiative. The evidence in our survey data suggests that this method yielded good results. Figure 6-10 shows that nine people, which account for about 18% of the total, found professional jobs this way. Seven of them were full-time professional jobs, of which two were managerial, and the final two were part-time professional jobs.

The difficulties encountered by people who used the direct contact method is also worthy of some discussion. Amongst the nine people who used this method, two found a lack of Canadian experience was the most difficult factor in their job-hunting experience. Two reported the economic recession in Canada; the other two reported an absence of suitable skills required for the job as the most difficult factor in their job-hunting experience. It is interesting that the only two people among our respondents who complained about the economic recession were from this category. This number is relatively low because the people of our target group had very few chances, if any, to legally work full-time in Canada before they had their landed immigrant status. The earlier they started to look for jobs after 1990, at which time they changed their residency status in Canada, the more likely they would encounter the last recession that happened in Canada. It is not surprising that they used a direct contact method during the recession because few professional jobs were needed and even fewer advertised.

It is also not surprising that half of the people who felt that they had no suitable skills for the available jobs were from this category. When a job seeker tried to find a job by using the direct contact method, it was not clear what kind of jobs were available and what kind of qualifications were required by a firm or institute. Often the qualifications of the job seekers did not match the available jobs.

3. Using Government or private employment agencies

Using government or private employment agencies was another way for our respondents to find jobs. Six respondents could be put into this category. Among them, two used the facilities in Human Resource Canada to find job information. Two received job information from the University of Manitoba Employment Office. One used a private employment service on the basis of a service fee. The last one is a little special, and found a

job by participating in the co-op program of the University of Manitoba. As shown in Figure 6-10, four jobs found this way were full-time professional ones and two were part-time non-professional ones. People using this method account for about 12% of the total.

4. Using the Internet

Almost all of our respondents had Internet access and many of them were actively using the Internet for academic research and personal communication with others. The Internet is also widely used within the recent Mainland Chinese student and scholar immigrant community. Considering this fact, it is a surprise that only two of them found their jobs through the Internet. Many of our respondents tried it but failed. It is not very clear why it is like this and further study on this issue is needed.

V. Summary.

In brief, the data shows that, for this recent Mainland Chinese immigrant group, the informal personal method played different roles under different circumstances. It is the most important method for those looking for non-professional manual labor jobs. It is not, however, the primary method used by them for seeking professional jobs. In contrast with other studies mentioned earlier, instead of weak ties, strong ties played the most important role under both circumstances when informal personal methods were used to find jobs. Other methods such as answering advertisements, directly contacting employers, and using a government or private employment agency, etc. were very important for our respondents. When they sought interim temporary jobs, those methods together account for about 54 percent of the total methods used, whereas, when they sought professional jobs, those methods together account for as much as 75 percent. Many factors, such as their educational background, professional qualifications, economic situation in Canadian society, structural barriers and individual disadvantage. affected which method was used. Understanding the
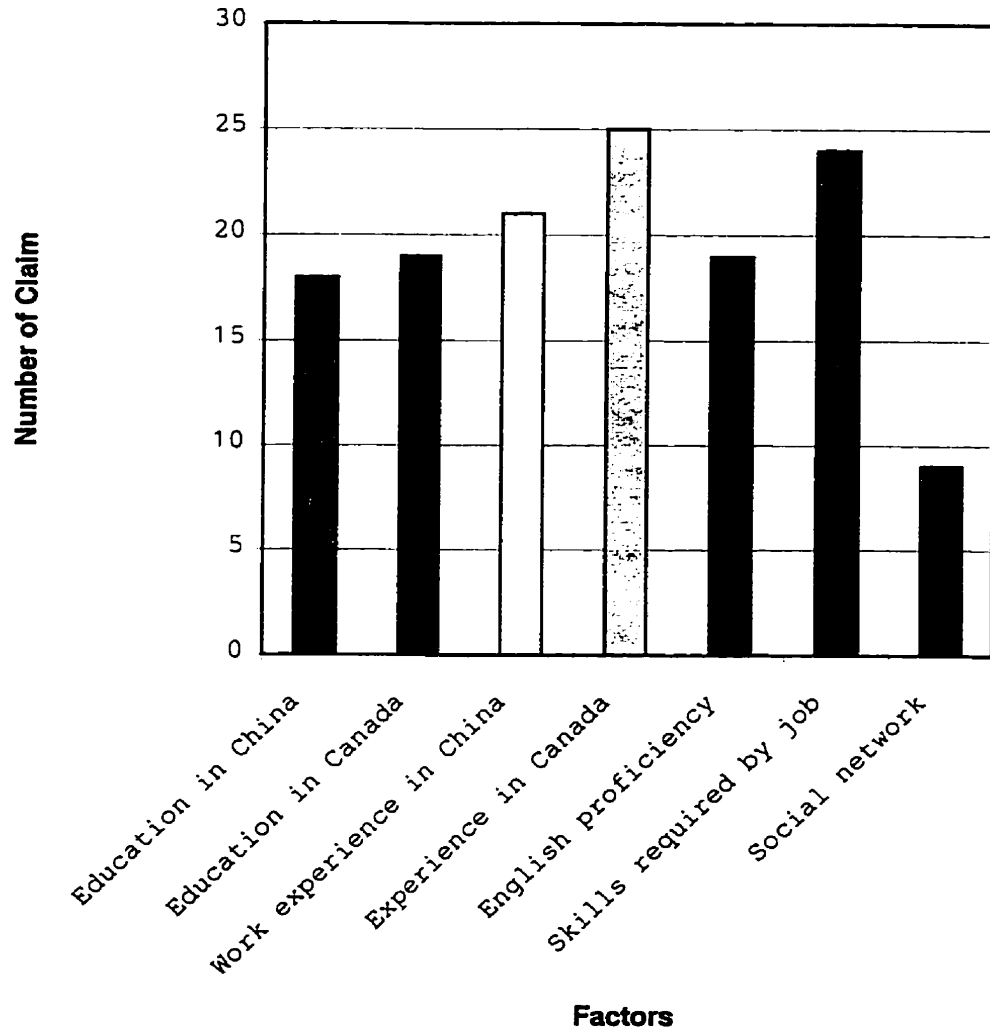
mechanism behind their choice of job-hunting method is of significance in

understanding their integration in Canadian society. This will be discussed in the next

section.

Figure 6-8   The Most Negative Factors for
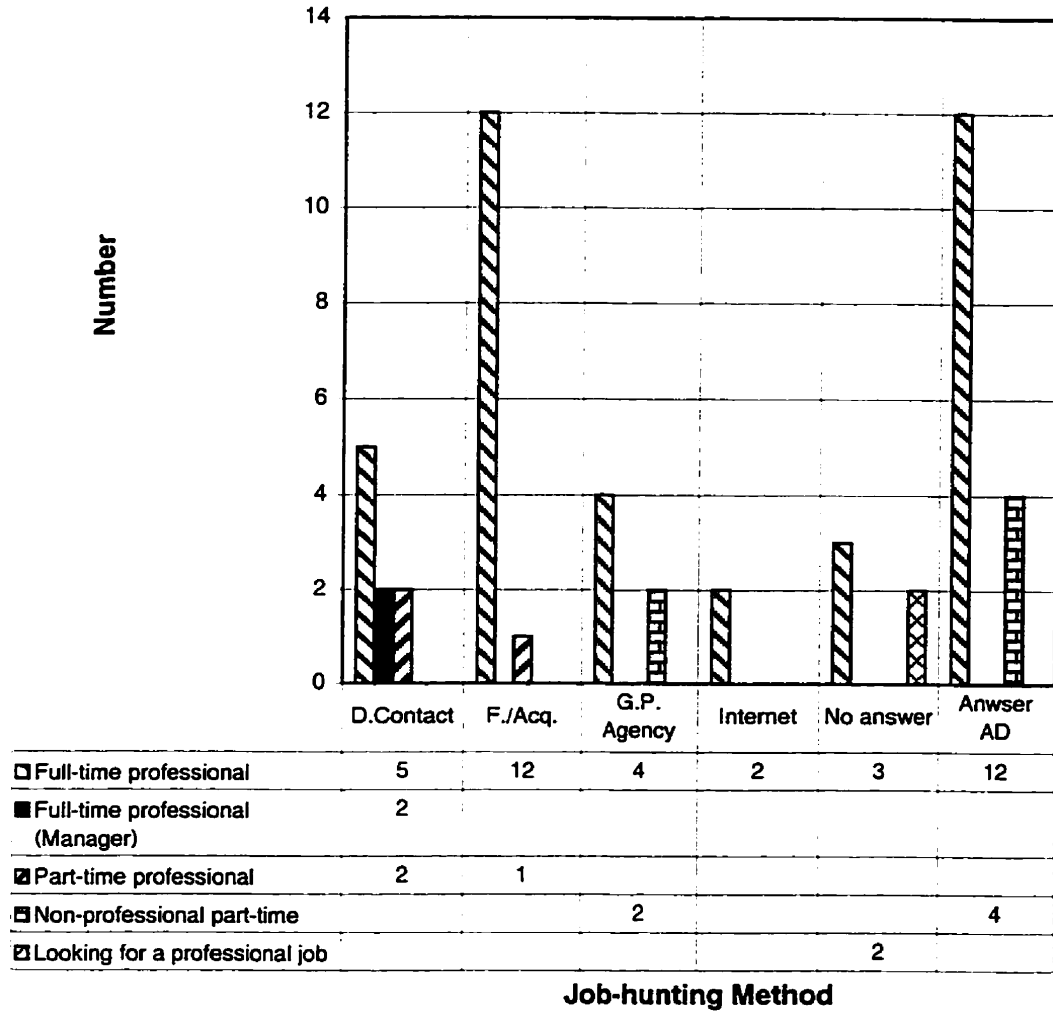   Getting a Job
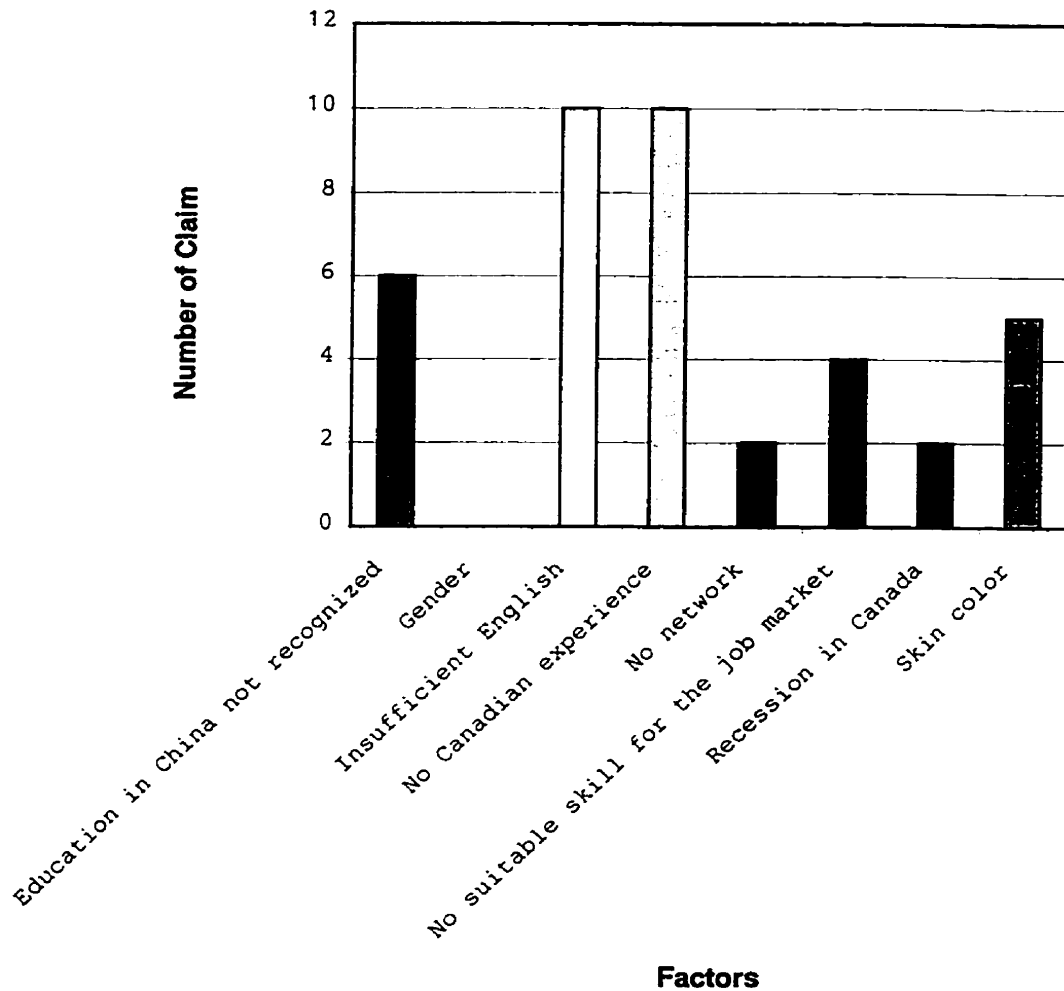
N = 51. 39 answers were collected.
Source: Survey data

Figure 6-9   The Most Important Positive Factors for
Getting a Job

N = 51. 153 answers were collected.
Source: Survey data

Figure 6-10 Job-hunting Method and Job Status

	D.Contact	F./Acq.	G.P. Agency	Internet	No answer	Anwser AD
❑ Full-time professional	5	12	4	2	3	12
■ Full-time professional (Manager)	2					
▨ Part-time professional	2	1				
▨ Non-professional part-time			2			4
▨ Looking for a professional job					2	

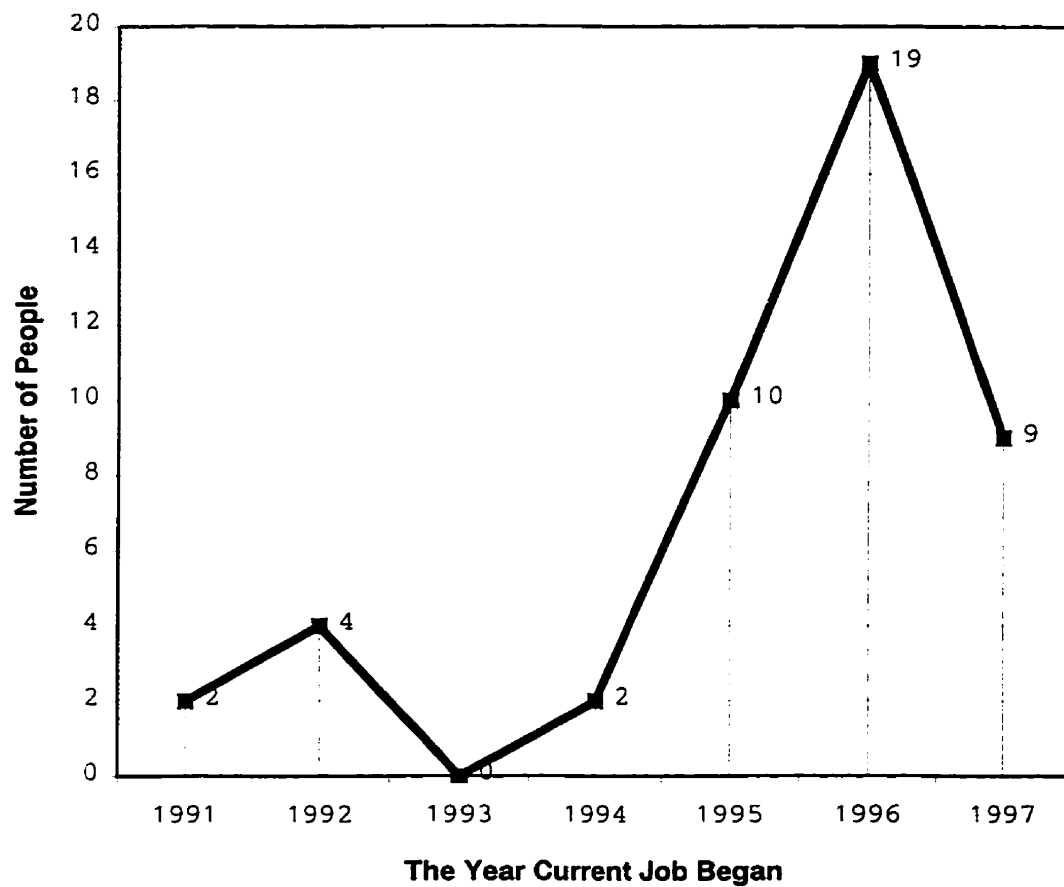**Job-hunting Method**

Note:
D. Contact: Direct contact employer; F./Acq.: Friends or acquaintance; G. P. Agency: Government or private employment agency
N = 51.
Source: Survey data

Figure 6-11   The Year in which the Current Job Began

N = 51. Five people did not answer.
Source: Survey data.

Table 6-1   Intention to Migrate before Arrival and Push-Pull Factors in Migration

Period of Arrival	Gender	Intention to Migrate before Arrival*			Reason for Immigration**				
		Yes	No	Not sure	Soc. & Pol.	Edu.	Fam.	P.& O. Adv.	Chi.
Before 1989:	Male		4	1	3			5	4
	Female		2	1	1			3	3
After 1989:	Male	6		20	12	8	1	24	11
	Female	2	1	4	4	4	2	6	10
Total		8	7	26	20	12	3	38	28
Percent -age		20%	17%	63%	20%	12%	3%	38%	28%

Note:

**Soc. & Pol.: Social and Political Reasons; Edu.: Educational reasons; Fam.: Family reunification; P. & O. Adv.: Personal and occupational advancement; Chi.: Children's welfare and future. Multiple reasons were given and the percentages were calculated on the bases of total 101 answers collected.

N = 41.

Source: Survey data

Table 6-2   Jobs other than the Current Job

Job type	Job title	Number	%
Manual labor	Dishwasher	5	
	Home-care	2	
	Waiter or waitress	3	
	Delivery driver	2	
	General labor	4	71%
	Kitchen helper	3	
	Sewing machine operator	2	
	Caretaker	5	
	Cleaner	3	
Skilled or research worker	Computer drafter	2	
	Lab technician	5	
	Mechanical designer	2	29%
	Research assistant	3	

N = 26, 41 Jobs Reported.
Source: Survey data.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Discussion

7.1.1 A disadvantaged social group: structural barriers: individual disadvantages and their effects on job-hunting.

The evidence presented in Chapter Six suggests that our target group faces all of the identified structural barriers and individual disadvantages that immigrant groups usually have to face. The barriers and disadvantages include non-recognition of education and qualifications, inadequate Canadian experience, English deficiency, lack of skills in the labor market, lack of familiarity with Canadian society and culture, etc. However, compared with other subgroups of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, the effect of those barriers and disadvantages for this particular immigrant group is group specific. Those barriers and disadvantages affect the methods of job-hunting and adaptation of our respondents to a considerable extent. However they have variable significance for the different methods used by the respondents.

Compared with the general immigrant population, as discussed in Chapter Six (6.3.1-I), the target group has a lower percentage of complaints about non-recognition of their education and qualifications and lack of Canadian experience because of their special situation. This situation is that the majority of them entered this country as graduate students and their education and qualifications were recognized to some extent by Canadian universities. Also, the education received in Canadian universities added some Canadian value to their qualifications. However, the structural barrier of non-recognition of qualifications is still critical for those in some particular fields such as medical and teaching professions, pure sciences and social sciences. Generally speaking, manual labor does not

need any qualifications. Those professions in high demand, such as engineering and computer science, have lower structural barriers for foreign-earned qualifications. In contrast, those professions in higher social strata with relatively less demand, such as medical professions, pharmacy, teaching and law professions have more structural barriers. The adaptation strategy that our respondents usually took is that they changed themselves by taking another field according to the Canadian labor market situation (see 6.3.1-I). Medical doctors, for example, changed to basic medical research. Many of them take computer science. The barrier that asks the immigrant for Canadian experience has the most significant negative effect on people who use a direct contact method of job-hunting (see 6.3.3-IV).

Our respondents have the highest level of English language proficiency among the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant groups, because of their better education in China and the fact that they were pre-tested by Canadian universities before arrival (see 6.3.1-II). Even so, insufficient English proficiency is still the most common complaint as a barrier restricting entry into the labor market (see Figure 6-8). The language barrier has the most significant effect on people who choose the formal method of answering advertisements to find jobs (see 6.3.3-IV-1). In general, lack of skill did not affect our respondents significantly because of their high level of education and qualifications. However it did have some negative effect on people who used the formal job-hunting method of direct contact. The problem is matching qualifications with job opportunities. When people use the direct contact method, it is likely that the qualification of the individual does not match the available job (see 6.3.3-IV-2).

In general, this recent Mainland Chinese immigrant group is disadvantaged. All identified structural barriers apply to this group as a whole. In terms of the subgroup comparison, we could not find a uniform pattern of structural barriers affecting the job-hunting process. Compared with other subgroups of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant

population, however, our target group has been more affected by some structural

barriers such as non-recognition of qualifications. This is especially true for some special

fields such as social science, medicine and teaching, but is not very important for those high

demand professions such as engineering and computer science. This subgroup is less affected

by barriers such as language deficiency and the lack of skills needed for jobs. Variations

have been identified between different effects of those barriers and the different job-hunting

methods used. Individual differences have also been identified. People who are in the

"wrong" profession or those with a low demand in the labor market have more difficulty and

may claim that all the barriers apply (see 6.3.1-I). For other people in the "right" professions,

such as engineering, however, the negative effect of structural barriers might be minimal.

7.1.2   Lack of social networks.

Evidence presented in Chapter Six (see 6.3.3) also suggests that the informal personal

method is not the primary method used by our respondents. When looking for interim jobs,

46% of the respondents used the informal personal method; but this method was used by only

25% of the respondents when they looked for professional jobs. We also found that weak ties

are rarely used in either situation. This result is greatly different from other researchers'

findings that found 56.8% to 76% used informal personal methods and weak ties to find jobs

(see Chapter Two). To explain this difference, my major argument is that, for this specific

recent Mainland Chinese immigrant group, a lack of social networks is the key factor

affecting their way of job-hunting. We agree with Granovetter's claim (1982) that informal

methods and weak ties provide a greater advantage for getting a job and achieving social

integration (see Chapter Two). Individuals and social groups that lack social networks in the

society, however, can do nothing more than utilize this method to the extent that their

network resource allows.

Our data supports this argument. In this study we have many pages

discussing the high density and high homogeneity characteristics of this community and their

scarcity of network resources and weak ties (see 5.3, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3). Our respondents made

maximal use of their informal personal networks (up to 46%) when possible, in order to find

interim jobs. This is because those jobs do not need special qualifications and because they

maintain strong ties mainly within the lower social strata (see 6.3.3-I). The percentage of

those using an informal personal networks method decreased to 25% when they looked for

professional jobs because they had fewer network resources in higher social strata. There

were only three respondents who used weak ties to find jobs, accounting for less than 6% of

the total (see 6.3.3-III). This simply means that there are few weak ties available for use by

this special group to achieve their social mobility. Indeed, this is a question about

accessibility and the appropriateness of personal networks and weak ties. The availability of

alternative resources also plays an important role. We will discuss these later. Let us first

present our argument that, for new immigrant groups, the lack of social networks and weak

ties is a structural barrier.

In terms of the use of job-hunting methods, the barrier of a lack of networks and weak

ties is critical because without it people would be forced to use either strong ties or other

methods. The previously identified individual and structural barriers usually affect certain

subgroups of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrant community. The network resource

barrier, however, affects this community as a whole regardless of class and educational level

(see 5.3, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3). Indeed, it is an important structural barrier for disadvantaged

immigrant groups that has long been ignored by researchers. The effects of using an informal

method are heterogeneous. Firstly, I will argue that the availability of informal resources is

variable in different social groups. Some earlier researchers noticed this difference. For

example, Rees and Schultz (1970, p. 203) found that "those who are most

disadvantaged, such as Negroes and recent migrants to the area, will have less access to

(informal sources) than others." Cain (1976) found that informal recruiting operates to

perpetuate race-and sex-based wage differences because white men hold most of the good

primary sector jobs and recruiting is informal. As a result, young white men will be able to

use informal channels to obtain primary sector jobs. We do not know why Granovetter

ignored those findings when he generated his universal theory. It is evident that personal

contact does not have a uniform effect on the job referral of all social groups. In her study

conducted among 1,311 men and women in five Toronto ethnic groups, Calzavara (1983)

found that, although for the majority of Canadians the informal personal method is almost

always the most frequently used method, for other groups the use of an informal personal

method varies with ethnic group, network size and density, and the degree of ethnic

homogeneity. In terms of ethnicity, for example, the percentage who use informal personal

contacts to obtain jobs is variable: For majority Canadians, it is 52%; for German Canadians,

it is 40%; for Ukrainian Canadians, 45%; for Italian Canadians, 56%; for Jewish Canadians,

43%. The use of weak ties is also different from one ethnic group to another. Calzavara

found that, of her five groups, the Ukrainians in Toronto most often used weak ties (59%) to

find jobs; Jewish Canadians were the second (51%); Germans and Italians were third (50%)

and fourth (44%) respectively. These four groups all have a higher percentage for using weak

ties to find jobs than majority Canadians (40%). Calzavara's data also suggests the following

general rules. The smaller the size of networks, the less likely the group will use a personal

informal method to find jobs. The higher the degree of ethnic homogeneity, the more likely a

group will use their intra-ethnic group contacts. The higher the network density a group has,

the less likely the group will use weak ties to find jobs.

Let us consider the characteristics of our target group: as a visible minority and as new immigrants, they belong to those disadvantaged groups in this society. Data of this study strongly suggest that their network resources are very limited, while the degree of ethnic homogeneity and the network density in this group are very high (see 5.3). It is not surprising that an informal personal method could not be the primary method for their job-hunting. The lack of network resources as a barrier is not an individual issue but applies to the group. In other words, it is a structural barrier. It is intertwined with many other structural barriers such as the language barrier, lack of Canadian experience, non-recognition of foreign-earned qualifications, etc. The negative effect of each barrier is mutually reinforced. For example, when individuals in this group have communication difficulties with the members of mainstream society, they will tend to make up for this by looking for information and help from within their own group. As a result they might trap themselves in the enclave labor market or even stay out of employment. Without employment they may never gain Canadian experience. Consequently, they could not improve their official language proficiency because they have little chance to communicate with Canadians. This so-called "vicious cycle" could start at any point but end up with the same result. Our data and analysis support Tepperman's (1988) argument mentioned earlier in Chapter Two: groups, not individuals, are the appropriate units for analyzing social mobility because individual opportunities depend largely on the opportunities available to the groups to which individuals belong.

It is necessary to be very careful interpreting the data presented in Chapter Six (see 6.3.2). This data says that only 4% of the total respondents complained that lack of networks was the most difficult factor in their job-hunting experience. This does not mean that lack of social networks and weak ties is not important for our respondents or that this structural

barrier does not exist. Rather, one should note that 82% of the respondents did not

choose social networks as an important positive factor for success in job-hunting. This

indicates that they do not have enough networks and weak ties to facilitate their social

mobility and integration. Most of them chose other methods than the informal network

method. When some of them did use an informal personal method, they used strong ties

instead of weak ties. This occurred because they were motivated less by personal choice than

by necessity. As we discussed in Chapter Six (see 6.3.2), the reason that few people claimed

lack of networks as a barrier was because of their psychological expectations.

Psychologically speaking, when they consciously realized that social networks and weak ties

were not to their advantage, they were less likely to anticipate their providing positive

support. This also suggests that their choice of other job-hunting method is a rational one.

7.1.3   The appropriateness of the informal personal method of job-hunting.

Our data also supports Calzavara's argument that "the use of personal contacts (and

specific ties) is a function of not only their availability but also their appropriateness in

gaining access to a particular job, their financial payoff, and the availability of alternative

sources" (1983, p. 17). I discussed network availability above. I intentionally avoided the

issue of financial payoff because of the sensitivity of this matter and the special cultural

characteristics of the target group that makes its members reluctant to talk about personal

income to a stranger. Now I will discuss the appropriateness of the personal contact method

in gaining access to a particular job, and the availability of alternative sources.

Rather than arguing that the availability of informal resources is variable in different

social groups, I will argue that the assumption that personal contacts have a uniform effect on

job-hunting cannot be made among different classes and even within a social group. In a

study made among five thousand American families. Corcoran et al. found that "Regardless of race/sex group, workers with college and advanced degrees and professional workers were considerably less likely than the average worker to report having used informal information and influence channels in obtaining their current jobs"(1980, p. 16).

Gaining access to a particular job can be discussed at two different levels. For those less educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, informal personal contacts may be appropriate because their contacts and the jobs they sought matched each other. As Liu's data suggested, for the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, jobs found through networks were over-concentrated in manufacturing and so-called "other service," which includes accommodation, food and beverage service (1995, p. 228). For the same reason, the informal personal contact method may have been appropriate for our respondents when they sought interim jobs as a temporary measure for survival during their study period in Canadian universities. Under other circumstances, however, the informal personal contact method may not have been appropriate, because the available contacts they had did not match the jobs they sought. Once again to use Liu's data, the jobs found without network help were over-represented in the so-called quaternary sector which includes business service, government service, finance, insurance, real estate, education, health and social services (1995, p. 229). In other words, at least for the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, the informal personal contact method is more appropriate for finding non-professional jobs than professional jobs. This is another reason why only 25% of our respondents used informal personal contacts to find their professional jobs.

The ethnic composition of the networks influences the ethnicity of the contact and therefore affects the appropriateness of a personal contact method in job-hunting. This phenomenon is well analyzed by Calzavara:

This relationship [between the ethnic homogeneity of the networks and the ethnicity of the contact] may explain why members of ethnic group who are concentrated in low-paying jobs continue to use intra-ethnic group contacts even though they are not the most rewarding job source. For individuals with a high degree of ethnic homogeneity, using personal contacts means using an intra-ethnic group contact. This finding provides support for Migur's (1970) speculation that segregated networks lead to a split in job information. This is especially true if there is occupational segregation. Individuals using personal contacts will obtain jobs in segregated occupations and work settings. The Toronto data show that ethnic occupational segregation is reinforced through the use of personal contacts. For example, 75 percent of those using an intra-ethnic group contact obtained a job that is ethnically segregated. Job segregation in turn reinforces networks clustering through shared economic interests and concerns, interaction at the work place and in voluntary organizations such as unions and business associations. Both the networks and the personal referral process tend to maintain the status quo. As a result, for those groups with good job resources, networks homogeneity and personal contacts are advantageous. For those groups with few job resources or access to 'trap' jobs, networks homogeneity and personal contacts are a disadvantage (Calzavara, 1983, p. 13-14).

7.1.4   Tie strengths and Chinese immigrant integration.

It is important to understand that, although I have argued that informal personal contacts do not have a uniform effect on the job referral of all social groups, I did not mean to undermine the significance of "the strength of weak ties" theory. I did not mean that the

target group gained any advantage for integration into Canadian society because of their lack of social networks, or by using strong ties to secure job information. In fact, their lack of social network resources, especially a lack of weak ties, is a major reason for their social segregation. Generally speaking, recent Mainland Chinese immigrants are still in their early stage of adaptation. Evidence suggests that they have not yet integrated themselves well into the host society. Furthermore, they are not yet well-integrated into the established local Chinese communities or institutes. They are "somewhat distant from both the mainstream society and the established Chinese society formed mainly by Chinese of non-Mainland origin" (Liu, 1995, p. 163). We believe that the "strength of weak ties" theory is still a powerful tool in analyzing the social integration of our target group.

Without any doubt, "the strength of weak ties" theory helped us to understand better the situation of our target group. It is also clear that the lack of weak ties is one of the important reasons why the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants are a group that has not yet well integrated into the society. The question raised here is that while we fully recognize and agree with the strength of weak ties and the possible negative aspects of strong ties, we should also realize the value of strong ties under some special situations.

Many researchers have pointed out that strong ties could also have some values (see Pool, 1980; Baltzell, 1958; Frank, 1981; Murray et al., 1981; Boorman, 1975; Delany, 1980; Wellman, 1979; Ericksen and Yancey, 1977; Stack, 1974; Lomnitz, 1977). To summarize, those arguments concentrated on the easy access and the availability of strong ties. Strong ties have greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available. In particular, strong ties are more easily available for people in lower social strata because of the pyramidal social structure. Usually highly insecure individuals are under strong pressure to depend on strong ties. Those in urgent need of a job turned to strong ties since they were

more easily called on and willing to help, however limited the information. When the unemployment rate is low, weak ties tend to be used. When the unemployment rate is high, however, the strong ties tend to be used. If one hears of a job, one offers the information to strong ties, if any are unemployed. In general, our study supports all these ideas (see 5.3). It is very evident that, for the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, the strong ties are of greater availability than weak ties. At this level, Granovetter adapted those ideas in a 1982 paper, and that did not incapacitate his integration theory. Taking a closer look at our data, however, we find that, beside the strengths of easy access and availability, strong ties might also have some strength in terms of integration under some special circumstances.

When the respondents in this study use an informal method and strong ties to find interim jobs, the result on the respondents is not the same as that on those in the other recent Mainland Chinese immigrant subgroups. For those less educated recent Mainland Chinese immigrant subgroups, the informal strong ties method channels them into the so-called "other service" and manufacturing industries, mainly the low-paid unskilled or semi-skilled services of blue-collar jobs. The long-term effect of this method is negative. They are usually trapped in that job situation and hardly have any further mobility (Liu, 1995, p. 228-231) because they had no other resources available. For the subgroup represented by the respondents, however, the effect is not necessarily negative. Although the jobs might be the same, those jobs were taken only as interim ones and provide the necessary income to support their studies in universities. In the long run, the effect is positive. They take those jobs much like Canadian students take part-time unskilled or semi-skilled jobs while they study in universities. Under other situations, when they use strong ties to find their professional jobs, the strength of strong ties is not only related to easy access and availability, but also might be an advantage for integration. This can be understood from the characteristic that this special

group is trying to establish their careers in areas that have been traditionally

dominated by non-Chinese. Although they may use strong ties, mainly Chinese friends, to

find their jobs, as long as they enter those areas, they have a greater chance to expose

themselves to Canadian colleagues, English language, and Canadian culture than those

working in garment factories or Chinese restaurants where most workers are poorly educated

new immigrants or their Chinese counterparts. From this point of view, we understand that

the effect of tie strengths is not unvaried.

The integration strengths of strong ties discussed here depend on an important premise

regarding the availability of alternative sources. This is a key to understand the strategies that

our respondents used to cope with the barriers they encountered during their job-hunting

adventure and struggle for integration.

7.1.5   The availability and significance of alternative resources.

The recent Mainland Chinese immigrants as a whole are disadvantaged in Canadian

society. For different subgroups of this population, however, the alternative sources vary. The

major difference between our target group and other recent Mainland Chinese immigrant

populations is that this subgroup is very well-educated and highly qualified (see 5.1, 5.2). To

a considerable extent, the education and qualifications of this group are even higher than

those of average Canadians. Their education and qualifications become their most valuable

alternative resources. These alternative resources are critical when the recent Mainland

Chinese immigrants face structural barriers, such as language insufficiency and lack of social

networks. The effects of those barriers and the methods of coping with those barriers vary

with the availability of alternative resources. Figure 6-9 indicates that many factors, such as

education in China and Canada, work experience in China and in Canada, English proficiency

and skills required by jobs, etc. could become alternative resources. Those resources were

used by them to break their network deadlock and help them succeed in their job-hunting adventures. For those who lack these alternative resources, mainly the less educated ones, the effects of language insufficiency and lack of social networks is more serious. They tend to rely more heavily on homogeneous personal networks and strong ties. This reliance on personal networks and strong ties is negative in the long run (Liu, 1995). For the group represented by our respondents, however, the language barrier has less negative effect and the coping methods tend to be use of alternative resources. Therefore, the informal personal method of job-hunting turns out to be a less important method used by this group. In contrast, 75% of the respondents used formal impersonal method to find jobs. Those methods require the job seekers to have resources other than social networks (see 6.3.3).

It is obvious that the availability of alternative resources is of great significance for the integration of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants. This availability is responsible for the relative success of our respondents in their job-hunting adventure. Their success in job-hunting in turn opened great opportunities for this group to be better integrated into the mainstream society.

7.2   Conclusion

The major concern of this study is the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants' integration in Canadian society. Our approach has been to examine this phenomenon through the special angle of job-hunting. Previous research on this matter in general populations have focused on the relationship of job-hunting methods to the strength of weak ties. The results of this previous research have been incorporated into a universal theory which is called "the strength of weak ties" theory by Granovetter in 1982. This theory suggests that use of informal personal networks is the major method used by the majority of the general population to find

their jobs. Compared with the strong ties of the networks, weak ties are of greater

utility in terms of job-hunting efficiency and the social integration of the job seekers.

The result of our study, however, indicates that for our target group, the well-educated

and highly qualified recent Mainland Chinese immigrants, the situation is quite different.

Compared with Granovetter's result that claimed 56.8-76% of job seekers used an informal

personal method to find jobs, only 25-46% of our respondents used this method to find their

jobs. This finding suggests that the assumption that the informal personal network method has

a uniform effect on all social groups cannot be made. We also found that people consciously

differentiate the use of job-hunting methods when they look for different jobs. An informal

personal network method is used more in looking for interim low-paid jobs (46% of the total)

but less in looking for professional jobs (25% of the total). This result implies that the effect

of the informal personal network method is not only variable for different social groups but

also for different circumstances of the same group.

This study found that all the identified structural barriers and individual disadvantages

apply to our target group. However, the lack of social networks is a key barrier that prevents

the new Chinese immigrant group from taking advantage of the informal personal network

methods to find professional jobs. As far as we know, this is the first time that lack of social

networks was identified as a structural barrier of immigrant integration. Due to this structural

barrier, the informal personal method of job-hunting is appropriate for the recent Mainland

Chinese immigrant group under some circumstances, but inappropriate under other situations

(see 6.33, 7.1.3).

I also found that the strong ties may have value not only in terms of availability and

easy access, but also in terms of integration. We reached this conclusion by comparing the

different effect of strong ties for this target group and for other recent Mainland Chinese

immigrant subgroups (see 7.1.4). The availability of alternative resources is the key

that determines whether or not the strong ties are helpful for the recent Mainland Chinese

immigrants' integration (see 7.1.5).

7.3 Limitations of this Study and Suggestions for Further Research

Although Chinese immigrants in Canada have more than one hundred years of history

and have been the subject of much research, the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants are very

new for our academic circles and policy-makers. The available data about this target group as

a subgroup of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants are even more limited. There is no

previous research for this specific group to help our study. The majority of our respondents

came to this country after 1989 and changed their immigrant status even later. The last

available census did not include accurate information about this group, and the 1997 census

data are not yet available. Liu's (1995) research project is the first about recent Mainland

Chinese immigrants as a whole, and his data provided almost the only source of comparison

for this study. The other two authors, Tian (1996) and Zhang (1995), also provided some

useful insights for the target group. However the background data and research were still

very limited. Due to the lack of census data and research, this project as a pilot study

inevitably has some limitations.

Our sampling method is hindered by those limitations mentioned above. Due to the

lack of census data, it is hard to have an accurate estimated size of the target population and

consequently a proper sample size. The accessibility problem of the target group prevented us

from using random sampling to ensure the assumed equal access to target population (Rea &

Parker, 1992). The snowball sampling method used by this study as a non-probability

sampling method has its weakness in that the statistical results from the sample may be

subjective and therefore the findings based on it might be limited (Kalton, 1983, p. 90-93).

During the research I have been cautious whenever I drew conclusions from these data and tried to back them up with comparable data. When I dealt with data and findings such as gender difference, I took additional precautions because the sample is relatively small.

Due to their short time of stay in Canada and the long-term process of social integration, the trend identified in this study needs to be further tested and follow-up studies are necessary. This study focuses more on the early stage of adaptation and integration. It is argued that this special subgroup of recent Mainland Chinese immigrants is more successful in job-hunting and consequently has a better chance to be integrated in the mainstream society because the areas its members entered are traditionally dominated by non-Chinese. However, it is one thing to say that they have a better chance of integration, while quite another to actually see that they succeed in their integration. Therefore, further studies focusing on their post-job-hunting integration are necessary.

With the passage of time, and the availability of the 1997 census data, future researchers might be able to use a random sampling method to develop a larger data pool for more insightful research about the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Canada. That is what I hope to see in the near future.

APPENDIX A. STATEMENTS OF THE PURPOSE OF RESEARCH AND INVITATION TO INFORMANTS

Dear Sir/Madam,

This survey/interview is part of a research project about recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Canada. I am interested in the new Chinese immigrants' job search experience, particularly about how the new Chinese immigrants use their social network resources to access job information and opportunities. This research is expected to provide a better understanding about the new generation Chinese immigrants in Canada, and to be beneficial for this group and future newcomers for their integration into the host society.

This project has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba. All the questions are designed to guarantee your privacy and confidentiality. All information you provide be treated anonymously and in summarized form. In the process of the interview, if any question makes you feel uncomfortable, we will terminate that question. You have right to terminate the interview at any time. If you consent a tape recorder will be used. Any tape record or material, including the answers of the questionnaire will be destroyed upon the completion of the research and will not be disclosed to any third part or authority. If you feel uncomfortable about the tape recorder, we will not use it. The only inconvenience for you is that to participate in this study will take you about 30 minute's time. By completing the questionnaire or answering my questions, you are consenting to participate in the survey/interview and you will be entitled to receive the results of this research on request.

If you have any questions, concerns and comments after the interview and survey, you can contact me by phone at (204) 339-8453, by fax at (204) 275-0846 or by E-mail at

junyang@cc.umanitoba.ca. You can also contact Dr. Judd, my adviser, in the

Department of Anthropology, at (204) 474-6328 (phone), or (204) 275-0846 (fax).

Thank you for your co-operation!

Sincerely,

Jim Young

Graduate student of The Department of Anthropology

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Canada R3T 5V5

APPENDIX B THE CHINESE EQUIVALENT OF THE STATEMENTS OF THE
PURPOSE OF RESEARCH AND INVITATION TO INFORMANTS

关于研究目的的说明(中文本)

尊敬的女士/先生:

本问卷/采访是一项有关近年来在加拿大的大陆中国移民的研究的一部分．该研究所感兴趣的是新一代大陆华人移民的求职经历,尤其是新一代大陆华人移民怎样使用有限的社会关系资源以获取工作信息与机会．该研究是为了更好地理解加拿大的新一代华人移民，并有助于现有华人移民社群本身及其新来者更好地溶入加拿大主流社会．

该研究已经获得曼里托巴大学文学院和人类学系研究道德委员会的批准．所有问题皆经过特别考虑以确保信息提供者的保密和隐私权．您所提供的所有信息将以匿名和概括的方式处理．在采访和问答过程中，如果您对任何问题感到不快或不愿回答，我们将取消该问题．您有权在任何时侯中止访谈．如果您同意，我们将用录音机以节约记录时间．所有访谈录音带，纪录材料，包括您对问卷的回答在研究完成后将被销毁，并不得向任何第三者及任何当权者透露．如果您不愿被录音，我们将不使用录音机．问卷/采访约需30分钟．填写该问卷或回答提问表明您同意参加该研究并有权了解有关结果．经要求，您将在研究完成后得到有关结果．

如果您在访谈/答卷后有任何问题，关注或评论，您可以通过电话（204-339-8453)电传(2042750846)或电子邮件(junyang@cc.umanitoba.ca)与研究者联系．您也可以打电话(2044746328)，发电传(2042750846)与研究者的导师Judd博士取得联系．

谢谢您的支持与合作！

杨隽

曼里托巴大学人类学系

加拿大温尼泊市

邮政编码： R3T 5V5

.

APPENDIX C. QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Which city of China do you come from?_____

2. You are a male ___or female_____

3. Your was born in (Year)_____

4. Currently you are a resident of

    Winnipeg

    Other city in Canada (please specify)_____

    Other city in North America(please specify)___

    City other than above(please specify)_____

5. Before you came to Canada, you had

    a) a bachelor degree_____

    b) a master ' degree_____

    c) a doctoral degree_____

    d) a post-doctoral scholar_____

    e) other qualification (e.g. college diploma, certificate, etc.. please specify)_____

    _____

    f) no degree_____

6. Before you came to Canada, you were a

    a) full professor, or equivalent_____

    b) associate professor, or equivalent_____

    c) instructor or equivalent_____

    d) other professional designation (please specify)_____

    e) I had no title or designation_____

7. How many years of experience did you have in your profession before you came to Canada?

   Number of years_____

8. Your previous academic field in China was

   1. arts (please specify)_____

   2. social science(please specify)_____

   3. engineering (please specify)_____

   4. medical science (please specify)_____

   5. science (please specify)_____

   6. agriculture (please specify)_____

   7. other(please specify)_____

9. Do you have any educational and professional experience in a country other than China and Canada?_____If yes, which country_____and in what field_____?

10. When did you come to Canada?_____

11. When you came to Canada, you were:

    1) an undergraduate student_____

    2) a graduate student for master's degree_____

    3) a graduate student for Ph.D. degree_____

    4) a post-doctoral scholar _____

    5) a visitor to join your spouse_____

    6) a visiting scholar_____

    7) other (please specify)_____

12. Your visa was issued in the Canadian Embassy in China or in another country?

in China_____in other country (please specify)_____

13. Did you have any financial aid from various sources when you arrived in Canada or immediately after your arrival?

from Canadian university(please specify)_____

from Canadian government agency(please specify)_____

from Chinese government(please specify)_____

from private agency(please specify)_____

from personal sponsorship(please specify)_____

from other sources(please specify)_____

you are self-financed (you brought money to Canada)_____

14. Have you completed the degree that you pursued in Canada?_____

If yes, when have you completed it_____

If no, what is the reason?_____

_____

15. Your current status in Canada is

    a) Canadian citizen_____

    b) permanent resident_____

    c) visa student with Chinese citizenship_____

    d) visiting scholar with Chinese citizenship_____

    e) family member of student/visiting scholar/permanent resident/citizen_____

    f) other (please specify)_____

16. If you are a permanent resident in Canada, the year you became a PR in Canada was

_____

and you were :

    a) Independent applicant_____

    b) Relative of your spouse who was independent applicant_____

    c) Refugee_____

    d) other (please specify)_____

17. If you are a Canadian citizen, when did you become a Canadian citizen?_____

18. Your current academic or professional field in Canada is:

    1. arts (please specify)_____

    2. social sciences (please specify)_____

    3. engineering (please specify)_____

    4. medical science (please specify)_____

    5. science (please specify)_____

    6. agriculture (please specify)_____

    7. other(please specify)_____

19. If you came to Canada in the first place as an immigrant, did you have a job offer before

you came?

    Yes (please specify)_____

    No_____

20. If your current academic or professional field is different from that in China, what is the

reason for change?

    a) I like the current field more_____

    b) The current field was easier for me to get a scholarship in order to come Canada_____

        _____

    c) The current field is easier for me to get a job in Canada_____

    d) other (please specify) _____

21. Have you ever changed your field of study after you came to Canada? If no, go

to the next question. If yes, what is the change and why change?

a) change from _____ to _____

b) why change?_____

_____

22. You currently have:

a) a full time professional job (please specify)_____

b) a part time professional job (please specify)_____

c) a non-professional job (please specify)_____full time_____part time_____

d) you are looking for a professional job_____

e) you are a full-time student_____

f) you are not available for work because _____

23. When you look for a job, you looked for it

a) locally_____

b) in Canada_____

c) in North America_____

d) globally but not including China_____

e) globally including China   _____

f) in China _____

24. When did you get your current job (month:_____year:_____)?

25. How did you get the information about this job?

a) from relatives_____from friends_____from acquaintance_____(go   to

question 25)

b) from your colleagues(go to question 26)_____

c) from the Internet (go to question 27) _____

d) from government or private employment agency(go to question 28)_____

e) you placed or answered job advertisements(please specify)_____

f) you contacted the employer directly_____

g) others(please specify)_____

26. If you got the information about a job that you finally accepted from relatives, friends, acquaintances, or colleagues, please specify:

a) his/her relation to you [1. Relative (specify kinship relation, please):_____

2.Friends_____, 3. Colleague_____, or 4. Acquaintance_____]

b) his/her relation to the company/agency_____

c) how did he/she have access to that information_____

d) did he/she help you to get the job in any specific way other than provide the information(e.g. personal referring)_____

_____

e) did he/she have some say in your getting the job?_____If yes, how much say do you think he/she had?_____

f) his/her gender: male_____female _____

g) his/her age_____

h) his/her ethnic background_____

27. If you got the information about a job that you finally accepted from the Internet, please specify:

a) you placed an advertisement on the Internet _____

b) you checked the job links and found the company/organization_____

c) you directly checked the home page of the company/organization_____

d) your employer found you through your home page which presented your resume _____

e) other (please specify)_____

28. If you got the information about a job that you finally accepted from a government or private employment agency, please specify the agency_____ ____and tell me how they helped you:

a) they provided you with training about job hunting skills such as resume writing, information search, interview skills, etc._____

b) they referred you to employers that hired you_____

c) they provided you with special training for work skills with financial sponsorship____ _____

d) they placed you in a job and paid a portion of your wage_____ _____

e) they directed you to a volunteer job that promised and eventually hired you_____

f) they did other things to help you find your job (please specify)_____ _____

g) their service was free of charge_____

h) they charged you for their service _____at $_____

i) they could not help you because of_____ _____

29. Is the current job your first job? If yes, go to question 30. If no, did you use the same methods as you specified above to find your previous jobs? (yes_____no____) If no, could you please specify what kind of methods you used to find your previous jobs?

a) get info and help from relatives, friends, acquaintances (please specify)_____

b) get info and help from your colleagues (please specify)_____

_____

c) get info and help from Internet (please specify)_____

d) get info and help from a government or private employment agency(please specify)___

_____

e) you placed or answered job advertisements (please specify)_____

f) you contacted the employer directly (please specify)_____

g) others(please specify)_____

30. How many jobs did you have before your current job? What kind of job were they? And

what is the reasons you changed your job? Please specify:

a) Number of jobs you had (do not include the current job):_____

b) what kind of jobs they were:

#1_____from_____to_____(date)

#2_____from _____to_____(date)

#3_____from _____to_____(date)

#4_____from _____to_____(date)

#5_____from _____to_____(date)

#6_____from _____to_____(date)

#7_____from _____to_____(date)

#8_____from _____to_____(date)

#9_____from _____to_____(date)

#10_____from _____to_____(date)

c) the reasons of change:_____

_____

_____ _____

_____

_____

_____

31. Are you satisfied with your current job?

    a)   Yes, I am_____ (go to question 32)

    b)   No, I am not_____ (go to question 31)

32. If you are not satisfied with your current job, what are you going to do in the future?

    a)   continue to look for a good job in my field _____

    b)   change yourself in someway (please specify) _____

          _____

    c)   go back to university to get another degree (please specify)_____

    d)   you may go back to China _____

33. How long did you for your present job?

    a)   less than one month_____

    b)   one to two month_____

    c)   two to three month_____

    d)   three to four month_____

    e)   four to five month_____

    f)   five to six month_____

    g)   more than six month_____

34. Which of the following factors is helpful for your success in your job hunting adventure?

    a)   your education in China_____

    b)   your education in Canada _____

c) your experience in China _____

d) your experience in Canada_____

e) your English language ability_____

f) your skills that were required for the job_____

g) your social network and contacts_____

h) other (please specify)_____

35. What is the most difficult part of your job hunting adventure?

a) your insufficient English ability_____

b) you don't have Canadian work experience_____

c) your education in China is not recognized in Canada _____

d) your experience in China is not recognized in Canada_____

e) you do not have skills that are suitable for the Canadian labor market_____

f) your gender _____

g) your skin color _____

h) other (please specify)_____

36. Have you ever worked for employers of Chinese ethnicity or in Chinese owned business?

(Yes _____No _____). If no, go to question 41. If yes, please answer questions 37

to 40.

37. What kind of businesses were they? Please specify:

_____

38. What kind of work did you do in those Chinese owned businesses? Please specify:

_____

39. How did you find out about jobs in Chinese owned businesses?

a) from Chinese relatives_____friends_____acquaintances_____colleagues_____

b) from non-Chinese friends_____acquaintances_____colleagues

_____

c) from the Internet (please specify)_____

d) from a government or private employment agency (please specify)_____

e) you placed or answered job advertisements(please specify)_____

f) you contacted the employer directly_____

g) others(please specify)_____

40. Do you think it is easier to find jobs in Chinese owned businesses than to find jobs in non-Chinese owned businesses?

a) yes, because English language ability is less required in the Chinese owned business_

_____

b) yes, because jobs in Chinese owned businesses can be easily reached through chains of relatives/friends_____

c) yes, but I have other reasons, (please specify)_____

_____

d) no, finding a job in Chinese owned businesses is not easier than finding a job in non-Chinese owned businesses_____

41. Do you go to church? (yes_____no_____). If no, go to question 44. If yes, please answer question 42 and 43.

42. Do you think it helps you to get a job by participating the activities in church?

a) Yes, a lot _____

b) yes, a kind of_____

c) no, not at all_____

43. How many people that you eventually come to feel close to did you meet

through church? (number of people: _____) Please give information on

the first two:

#1:gender_____age____ethnicity_____

education_____career_____

help you get job_____ or not_____? if he/she help, how?

a) by giving the job information_____

b) by hiring you_____

c) by referring you to related person_____

by some other ways(please specify)_____

_____

_____

#2:gender_____age____ethnicity_____

education_____career_____

help you get job ___or not_____? if he/she help, how?

d) by giving the job information_____

e) by hiring you_____

f) by referring you to related person_____

by some other ways(please specify)_____

_____

_____

44. Do you have a host family? Yes__no_____. If no, go to question 47. If yes, please

identify the following items:

a) their ethnic background_____

b) their educational level_____

c) their social status_____

45. Did they help you get your job? Yes_____no_____. If yes, how did they help you to get

your job?

a) by giving the job information_____

b) by hiring you_____

c) by referring you to a related person_____

d) by some other way (please specify) _____

46. How many people that you eventually came to feel close to did you meet through your

host family? (number of people: _____) Please give information on the first

two:

#1:gender_____age____ethnicity_____

education_____career_____

help you get job or not_____if he/she help, how?_____

_____

_____

#2:gender_____age____ethnicity_____

education_____career_____

help you get job or not_____if he/she help, how?_____

_____

_____

47. Do you think the existing Chinese community (not including the Chinese Scholars,

Students and Professional Association) helpful or not for your job-hunting in Canada?

a) very helpful_____

b) helpful_____

c) not helpful_____

d) they can not help_____

e) I do not know_____

f) other (please specify)_____

48. Do you prefer to stay very closely involved with the Chinese community?(Yes ___No___

) If no, go to the next question. If yes , why?

   a) I feel it is not easy for me to adjust in mainstream Canadian society_____

   b) I feel more comfortable and confident in dealing with Chinese _____

   c) I am not familiar with non-Chinese culture and social customs _____

   d) I want to maintain Chinese heritage and my own characteristics _____

   e) other (please specify) _____

49. If you prefer not to stay closely involved with the Chinese community, why?

   a) I feel it is easy for me to adjust in mainstream Canadian society_____

   b) I feel more comfortable and confident in dealing with non-Chinese _____

   c) I don't think it is necessary to maintain Chinese culture and customs in Canada _____

   d) I want to be familiar with the culture and customs of the mainstream society_____

   e) other (please specify) _____

50. Are most of your friends Chinese or non-Chinese Canadian?

   a) Chinese _____

   b) non-Chinese Canadian _____

51. Please give the information of the first two Chinese friends you feel most close:

#1:gender_____age___from mainland:_____from Taiwan_____or from Hong

Kong_____education_____career_____

_____resident of city _____helped you get job or not_____

_____if he/she helped, how?_____

_____

_____

#2:gender_____age____from mainland:_____from Taiwan_____or from Hong

Kong_____education_____career_____

resident of city _____helped you get job or not_____

if he/she helped, how?_____

_____

52. Have you ever attended any academic or professional workshops and conferences in

Canada or abroad? (yes _____no _____). If no, go to question 56. If yes,

please answer question 53 to 55.

53. What kinds of workshops and conferences have you ever attended in Canada or abroad

and where were the location of the workshops or conferences?

a) workshops or conferences   b) locations

1. _____   1._____

2. _____   2,_____

3. _____   3._____

4. _____   4._____

54. Do you think that attending those workshops and conferences helped you to get your

job?

a) yes_____

b) no_____

c) why_____

_____

55. Please give information on the first two friends you knew through your participating in

those workshops and conferences:

#1:gender_____age_____ethnicity _____If Chinese, he/she is

from mainland:_____from Taiwan_____or from Hong Kong_____

education_____career _____

resident of city _____helped you get job or not_____

if he/she helped, how?_____

_____

_____

#2:gender_____age_____ethnicity _____If Chinese, he/she is

from mainland:_____from Taiwan_____or from Hong Kong_____

education_____career _____

resident of city _____helped you get job or not_____

if he/she helped, how?_____

_____

_____

56. Please identify any other contacts of the following that you have and feel important for

helping you to get your job in any direct or indirect way:

a) sports club (please specify)_____

b) Bible study group (please specify)_____

c) English study group (please specify)_____

d) computer association (please specify)_____

e) voluntary team (please specify)_____

_____

f) parents of your children 's friends (please specify)_____

_____

g) other (please specify)_____

57. Please provide the following information regarding your spouse:

a) gender_____

b) his/her age_____ education _____

c) he/she currently has a non-professional job: full time_____part time_____

d) he/she currently has a professional job: full time_____part time_____

e) he/she came to Canada in _____ as _____

f) has he/she had any post-secondary education in Canada? Yes_____and the field

was _____; no he/she has had no post-secondary education in Canada_____

58. Other than your spouse and child(ren), do you have any of the following relative live in

North America? If so, where _____?

a) parents_____

b) brother(s) and/or sister(s)_____

c) grandparent(s)_____

d) other relatives (please specify)_____

59. Today 's date is _____(month)_____(day)_____(year).

60. If you want comment upon this questionnaire and have something else you would like to

tell me, please feel free to write them down in the space below and/or on a piece of paper

to be attached. You may write either in English or in Chinese. Thank you very much.

APPENDIX D THE CHINESE EQUIVALENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

关于在加拿大中国留学生就业情况的问卷调查

调查人：杨隽(曼里托巴大学人类学系)

1997年4月于WINNIPEG

问题

1. 您从中国的什么地方(城市)来？ _____

2. 您的性别是：男性_____女性_____

3. 您出生于 _____年

4. 现在您居住于:

   温尼泊_____

   加拿大的其它城市(请说明)_____

   北美的的其它城市(请说明)_____

   其它不属于上述范畴的城市(请说明)_____

5. 在来加拿大之前，您已经获有

   学士学位_____硕士学位

   博士学位_____博士后经历_____

   您有其他学历(如大专文凭，证书等，请说明)_____

   您没有学位_____

6. 在来加拿大之前，您有

   正教授或同级职称(请说明)_____

   副教授或同级职称(请说明)_____

   讲师或同级职称(请说明)_____

别的专业技术职称(请说明)_____

您没有专业技术职称_____

其它(请说明)_____

7. 在来加拿大之前，您有多少年的专业工作经历？

年数_____

8. 您在中国的专业是什么？

文艺(请说明)_____

社会科学(请说明)_____

工程(请说明)_____

医学(请说明)_____

科学(请说明)_____

农学(请说明)_____

其它(请说明)_____

9. 您有在中国和加拿大以外的其它国家有过受教育和专业工作的经历吗？(是
_____否____). 如果是，在哪个国家？(国家_____)

是何专业(专业_____)

10. 请问你什么时侯来到加拿大?_____

11. 你来加拿大 时,您是作为一个

学本科的留学生_____

攻读硕士学位的研究生_____

攻读博士学位的研究生_____

博士后研究人员_____

访问者以与您的配偶团聚_____

访问学者＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其他(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

12．您的入境签证是由加拿大驻中国大使馆还是驻其它国家大使馆签发？

驻中国大使馆＿＿＿＿＿驻其它国家大使馆(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

13．您申请入境或初入境时是否获得过各种形式的经济资助？

从加拿大大学(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

从加拿大政府机构(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

从中国政府机构(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

从私人非营利性机构(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

从亲朋个人资助(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您自助(您带钱来加拿大)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

14．您完成了您来加拿大攻读的学业吗？

是的，完成了＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿完成时间＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

没有完成＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿没有完成的原因＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

15．您现在在加拿大的身份是:

加拿大公民＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

加拿大永久居民＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

持中国护照的留学生＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

持中国护照的访问学者＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

上述人员得家庭成员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其他(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

16．如果您是或曾经是加拿大永久居民，是哪一年您成为加拿大永久居民的？（年分＿＿＿＿＿＿）您的移民类别是:

　独立移民申请人＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　您的配偶是独立移民申请人＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　难民＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　其他(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

17．如果您是加拿大公民，您什么时侯成为加拿大公民的？（时间:＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿）

18． 您现在(在加拿大)的专业是什么？

　文艺(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　社会科学(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　工程(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　医学(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　科学(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　农学(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　其它(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

19．如果您最初是作为移民来加拿大，您是否在来加拿大之前即已获得工作？

　是的(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　不是＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

20．如果您现在的专业不同于您在中国的专业，是什么原因使您改变专业的？

　我更喜欢现在的专业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

　现在的专业更容易获得资助以便获得来加的签证＿＿＿＿＿＿

　现在的专业更容易获得加拿大的工作＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其它(请说明)_____

_____

21. 到了加拿大之后您是否曾经又换过专业？(换过 ____没换过 _____)如换过，换过什么专业？为什么换专业？

从(专业)_____换到(专业)_____

为什么换专业:_____

_____

22. 您目前有一个

全日专业工作(请说明)_____

非全日专业工作(请说明)_____

非专业工作(请说明)_____

_____(全日_____非全日_____)

您正在找专业工作(请说明)_____

_____

您是一个全日制学生_____

您不能工作因为以下原因_____

_____

23. 当您找专业工作时，您找:

当地的工作_____

全加拿大的工作_____

全北美的工作_____

全球但不包括中国的工作_____

全球包括中国的工作＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

中国的工作＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

24. 您什么时候找到您现在的工作的？(年＿＿＿月＿＿)

25. 您怎样得到有关这个工作的信息的？

从亲戚＿＿＿＿朋友＿＿＿＿熟人＿＿＿＿同事＿＿处得到信息(请转问题26)

从国际电子网络得到信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(请转问题27)

从政府或私人就业机构处得到信息＿＿＿＿＿＿(请转问题28)

您刊登了求职广告＿＿＿＿＿或答复了招聘广告＿＿＿＿(请说明)＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您直接与雇主取得联系(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其它(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

26. 如果您从亲戚，朋友，熟人或同事处得到该工作的信息，请说明：

此人与您的关系：亲戚(请说明亲属关系)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿朋友＿＿＿＿熟人＿＿＿＿同事＿＿＿＿

此人与该公司/机构的关系 ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人怎样获得有关信息？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人是否在提供信息之外还以别的方式(如推荐)帮助您获得该工作？＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人是否在您的工作上有发言权＿＿＿＿＿＿＿如有，有多大的发言权？

请说明．_____

此人的性别：男性_____女性_____

此人的年龄：_____

此人的种族：_____

27. 如果您从国际电子网络得到该工作的信息，请说明：

您在国际电子网络上发了求职广告_____

您通过搜索国际电子网络链接找到最终雇佣您的公司/机构_____

您直接找到了最终雇佣您的公司/机构的家页_____

您的雇主通过载有您的简历的您的家页找到了您_____

其它(请说明)_____

_____

28. 如果您从政府或私人就业机构处得到该工作的信息， 请说明该机构_____

_____并请告诉我他们怎样帮助您：

他们给您提供了有关求职技巧诸如写简历，信息检索，面试技巧等的培训_____

他们向雇佣您的雇主推荐了您_____

他们给您提供了有关专业技能的培训， 培训期间他们并提供了经济资助或补

贴_____

他们安排您工作并付给您部分工资， 您的雇主则付您其余部分的工资_____

他们安排您为雇主作志愿工作， 您的雇主承诺而且最终雇佣了您_____

他们做了其它努力帮助您找到了工作(请说明)_____

_____

他们的服务是免费的_____

他们的服务是收费的_____收费是$_____

他们未能帮助您，因为＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

29. 现在这个工作是您在加拿大的第一个工作吗？如果是，转问题30．如果不是

，您在您找先前的工作时，是否使用上述相同的方法？(是＿＿＿＿否＿＿)

如果否，请您说明您使用了什么别的方法找到先前的那些工作好吗？

从亲戚＿＿＿＿＿朋友＿＿＿＿＿熟人＿＿＿＿＿同事＿＿＿＿＿处得到信息和帮助

(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

从国际电子网络得到信息和帮助(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

从政府或私人就业机构处得到信息和帮助(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您刊登了求职广告＿＿＿＿＿＿＿或答复了聘任广告＿＿＿＿＿(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您直接与雇主取得联系(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其它(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

30. 在您得到现有工作以前，您曾经有过多少工作？都是些什么工作？您为什么改

变您的工作呢？请说明：

您曾经有过的工作数＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

都是些什么工作？（请说明）

#1＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#2＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#3＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#4＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#5＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#6＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#7＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#8＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#9＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

#10＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(时间)从＿＿＿＿＿＿到＿＿＿＿＿＿

您改变您的工作的原因：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

31. 您对您现在的工作满意吗？

是的，我很满意＿＿＿＿＿我较满意＿＿＿＿＿(请转问题32)

不，我不满意＿＿＿＿＿(请转问题31)

32. 如果您对您现在的工作不满意，您准备怎么办？

在我专业内继续寻找较好的工作＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

以某种方式改变我自己(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

回到大学学一个新学位(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

如果长期找不到专业工作，您可能回到中国去＿＿＿＿

33. 您用了多少时间才找到现在的工作？

不到一个月＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿1-2个月＿＿＿＿＿＿

2-3个月＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿3-4个月＿＿＿＿＿＿

4-5个月＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿5-6个月＿＿＿＿＿＿

超过6个月＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

34. 在您的求职过程中，什么是使您成功的重要因素？

您在中国所受的教育(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您在加拿大所受的教育(请说明)_____

您在中国的工作经历(请说明)_____

您在加拿大的工作经历(请说明)_____

您的英语能力_____

您有您的工作所要求的技能(请说明)_____

您的社交联系(请说明)_____

其它(请说明)_____

35. 在您的求职过程中，什么是使您最感困难的因素？

您的英语能力不足_____

您没有在加拿大的工作经历(请说明)_____

您在中国所受的教育不被加拿大雇主承认(请说明)_____

您在中国的工作经历不被加拿大雇主承认(请说明)_____

您没有加拿大劳动就业市场需要的工作技能(请说明)_____

_____

您的性别_____

您的肤色(种族)_____

其它(请说明)_____

36. 您曾经为华人老板或华人拥有的企业工作过吗？(是_____否____)如果您没有

为华人老板或华人拥有的企业工作过,请转问题41．如果 您曾经为华人老板或

华人拥有的企业工作过，请回答问题37到问题40．

请说明都是些什么性质的华人企业: _____

37. **在这些华人企业里，您都做过些什么样的工作？请说明:** _____

_____

_____

38. **您怎样得到有关这个工作的信息的？**

从华人亲戚_____朋友_____熟人_____同事 _____处得到信息和帮助

从非华人亲戚_____朋友 _____熟人 _____同事 ___处得到信息和帮助

从国际电子网络得到信息_____

从政府或私人就业机构处得到信息和帮助_____

您刊登了求职广告_____或答复了招聘广告_____(请说明)_____

_____

_____

您直接与雇主取得联系(请说明)_____

其它(请说明)_____

39. **您认为在华人公司求职比在非华人公司求职更容易吗？**

是的，因为华人公司对英语水平要求不高_____

是的，因为华人公司的工作更容易通过亲属，朋友关系得到_____

是的，但您认为在华人公司求职比 在非华人公司求职更容易是出于别的原因

(请说明)_____

不， 在华人公司求职并不比在非华人公司求职更容易_____

40. **您去教堂吗？(是_____否_____)如否，请转问题44. 如是，请回答问题**

41到问题43

41. **您认为通过参加教会的活动，您得到求职方面的帮助吗？**

是的，很大的帮助_____

是的，一些帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

不，没有帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

42. 有多少您后来感到比较接近的人是您在教堂认识？（人数＿＿＿＿＿）请您给出前两人的有关信息好吗？

第一人：性别＿＿＿＿＿年龄＿＿＿＿＿种族＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

教育程度＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿职业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿或未帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您找工作．如此人帮助您找工作，他或她是怎样帮助您的？（请说明）:

此人向您提供工作信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人雇佣了您＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人把您推荐给相关人员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

第二人：性别＿＿＿＿＿年龄＿＿＿＿＿种族＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

教育程度＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿职业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿或未帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您找工作．如此人帮助您找工作，他或她是怎样帮助您的？（请说明）

此人向您提供工作信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人雇佣了您＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人把您推荐给相关人员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

43. 您有过东道主家庭(HOST-FAMILY)吗？（是_____否____）如否，请转问题47．如是，请给出下列信息:

他们的种族_____

他们的教育水平_____

他们的社会经济地位_____

44. 他们帮助您找工作了吗？（是_____否____）如是，他们怎样帮助您？

向您提供工作信息_____

雇佣了您_____

把您推荐给相关人员_____

以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)_____

_____

45. 有多少您后来感到比较接近的人是您在东道主家庭认识的？（人数_____）请您给出前两人的有关信息好吗？

第一人: 性别_____年龄_____种族_____

教育程度_____职业_____

帮助_____或未帮助_____

_____

您找工作. 如此人帮助您找工作，他或她是怎样帮助您的？(请说明)

此人向您提供工作信息_____

此人雇佣了您_____

此人把您推荐给相关人员_____

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)_____

_____

第二人: 性别＿＿＿＿＿ 年龄＿＿＿＿＿ 种族＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

教育程度＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿ 职业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿或未帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您找工作. 如此人帮助您找工作, 他或她是怎样帮助您的?（请说明）

此人向您提供工作信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人雇佣了您＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人把您推荐给相关人员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

46. 您认为现存华人社群(不包括主要由大陆移民组成的中国学生, 学者和专业人

士联合会)对您在加拿大的发展有帮助吗?

很有帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

有帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

没有帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

他们没法帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

我不知道他们能否帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其它(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

47. 您是否愿意积极参与华人社群的活动(是＿＿＿＿＿否＿＿＿＿＿)如否, 请转

下一问题. 如是, 为什么?

您感到难于调整自我以溶于加拿大主流社会＿＿＿＿＿＿

您感到与中国人相处更自信更亲切＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您对非华人文化和习惯不熟悉＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

您想保持您的中华传统和您的个人特点_____

其它(请说明)_____

48. 您如果不愿意积极参与华人社群的活动，为什么？

您感到易于调整自我以溶于加拿大主流社会_____

您感到与非中国人相处更自信更亲切_____

您认为在加拿大保持华人文化和习惯不必要_____

您试图熟悉主流社会的文化和习惯_____

其它(请说明)_____

49. 您的大多数朋友是华人还是其他族裔的加拿大人？

华人_____

是其他族裔的加拿大人_____

50. 请您给出两个您最感亲近的华人朋友的有关信息好吗？

第一人：性别_____年龄_____来自大陆_____来自台湾省_____

来自港澳_____现居住城市_____

教育程度_____职业_____

帮助_____或未帮助____您找工作．如此人帮助您找工作，他或她

是怎样帮助您的？

此人向您提供工作信息_____

此人雇佣了您_____

此人把您推荐给相关人员_____

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)_____

_____

_____

第二人: 性别＿＿＿＿年龄＿＿＿＿来自大陆＿＿＿＿来自台湾省＿＿＿＿

来自港澳＿＿＿＿现居住城市＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

教育程度＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿职业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿或未帮助＿＿您找工作。如此人帮助您找工作，他或她

是怎样帮助您的？

此人向您提供工作信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人雇佣了您＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人把您推荐给相关人员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

51. 来加拿大后，您曾经参加什么学术或专业讲座或会议吗？(是＿＿否＿＿)如否

，请转问题56。如是，请回答问题52到55。

52. 那都是些什么学术或专业讲座或会议，那些讲座或会议都是在哪里开的？

讲座或会议: 讲座或会议的地址:

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿   ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿   ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿   ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

53. 您认为参加学术或专业讲座或会议有助于您找工作吗？

是的，有助于＿＿＿＿＿＿为什么有助于＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

不是，无助于＿＿＿＿＿＿＿为什么无助于＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

54. 请您给出两个您从参加学术或专业讲座或会议结识的朋友的有关信息好吗？

第一人：性别＿＿＿＿＿年龄＿＿＿＿＿种族＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

如系华人，他/她来自大陆＿＿＿＿＿来自台湾省＿＿＿＿＿来自港澳＿＿＿＿

现居住城市＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

教育程度＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿职业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿或未帮助＿＿＿您找工作．如此人帮助您找工作，他或她

是怎样帮助您的？

此人向您提供工作信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人雇佣了您＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人把您推荐给相关人员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

第二人：性别＿＿＿＿＿年龄＿＿＿＿＿种族＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

如系华人，他/她来自大陆＿＿＿＿＿来自台湾省＿＿＿＿＿来自港澳＿＿＿＿

现居住城市＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

教育程度＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿职业＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

帮助＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿或未帮助＿＿＿您找工作．如此人帮助您找工作，他或她

是怎样帮助您的？

此人向您提供工作信息＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人雇佣了您＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人把您推荐给相关人员＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

此人以其它方式帮助了您(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

55. 请确认其它您认为对您找工作有直接或间接重要性的社会联系:

运动俱乐部(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

圣经查经班(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

英语学习小组(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

计算机协会(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

志愿者小组(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

子女朋友的父母(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

其他(请说明)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

56. 请给出有关您配偶的以下信息:

她/他的性别＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(男)＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(女)

她/他的年龄＿＿＿＿＿＿＿教育＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

她/他现有一个非专业性的工作＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(全日＿＿＿＿＿＿＿半日＿＿＿＿＿＿＿)

她/他现有一个专业的性工作＿＿＿＿＿＿＿(全日＿＿＿＿＿＿＿半日＿＿＿＿＿＿＿)

她/他于＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿年作为＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿来到加拿大

她/他是否在加拿大受过大学以上教育？(是＿＿＿＿＿＿＿否＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿)

如是，其专业是＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

57. 除您的配偶和孩子面外，您是否有任何下列亲戚居住在北美？如是，居于北美

何处＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿？

父母＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

兄弟姐妹＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

祖父母_____

其他亲戚(请说明)_____

58. 如果您对该问卷有任何建议或您还有其他事儿想告诉我，请写在下面的空白或用副页写下来．您可以用英语或中文．

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

59. 今天的日期是_____(年)_____(月)_____(日)．

APPENDIX E. OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Note:

Questions are intended only for outline purposes. The real questions should be elaborated upon and contextualized in the field. According to the participants differences in age, gender, education and work experience in China, the length of stay in Canada and the job they obtained in Canada, questions may vary from case to case.

Some questions, like the first and the second ones, require more detailed and exact information. The others are more open-ended. The outlined "information sought" is for the interviewer's use as a check list for each question. The "possible probes" will only be asked after informants' first response and when the information sought is still missing.

Open Statements:

A. Personal introduction

B. Objective of the research:

The purpose of this research is to understand the job search experience of the recent Mainland Chinese immigrants. I am interested in how Mainland Chinese students and scholars access and use social network resources to find their job.

C. Consent (see Appendix I)

There is no best answer for the questions of the interview. Please just tell me about your experience from your own point of view.

Questions:

1. Can you tell me a little about your past before you came to Canada?

Information sought in this question: Date of birth; City before coming,

Degree obtained, Profession designation, Professional work experience, Personal satisfaction

of life, etc.

Possible probes such as:

- What is the last position you held in China?

- Were you satisfied with your life in China in terms of economic and social status?

2. Can you tell me something about how you and your family came to Canada?

Information sought in this question: year of entry; entry status; study field; degree

pursued; the way family members enter Canada; PR status change; immigration class;

financial situation immediately after entry, etc.

Possible probes such as:

- Are you sponsored by the Canadian or Chinese government, or by any kind of other

  sponsorship, such as scholarship, or personal sponsorship?

- Before you came to Canada, did you have the intention to emigrate to North

  America? If not, what is the major reason that led you to make the decision? If yes,

  how were you sure you would have the chance to become an immigrant?

**3. Can you tell me something about your current job and how you found this job? Did
you get any help from anybody?**

Information sought in this question: What kind of job? How long has the job been

held? Information source of job. The access to and the actual use of social resources.

Network information related to job search. Job satisfaction.

Possible probes such as:

- How long did it take for you to find your present job? If it was a long time, why did it take so long? If it was not a long time, what was the reason, do you think?

- Can you tell me something about the person who helped you find your present job? How did he/she help you in your job search?

- Are you satisfied with your present job? If yes, why are you satisfied? If no, why not and what are you going to do in the future?

4. **Is the current job the first job you have held since you have been in Canada? If it is not the first one, can you tell me something about the first job and how did you find that job? Also, did anybody help you get that job?**

The information sought and the possible probes are the same as the last question.

Additional probes such as:

- What was the reason you changed your job?

5. **In your experience of job hunting, what was the most important thing that made you successful and what was the biggest barrier that kept you from employment?**

Possible probes such as:

- Do you think that your education and professional experience obtained in China are fully recognized by Canadian employers or not? What portion of your education was most important for your getting your job, that received in China or that received in Canada? If you did not have a degree from a Canadian university, would you have gotten your job? Why?

- When did you start feeling confident with your English? What language do you use at home? Do you think that English is an employment barrier for you?

6. **Are you a member of the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) at the University of Manitoba? Can you tell me something about CSSA?**

Possible probes such as:

- Why do you choose to be a member of CSSA ?((Probe: making friends, get help, get information about China or Canada, access to information about how to live in Canada, access to privileges of CSSA members, etc.?)

- Do you participate in CSSA 's activities often? What kind of activities? Why do you choose these kinds and ignore the others?

- Do you think you have benefited directly or indirectly from your contact with CSSA members in getting your jobs? Do you share your experience with those friends? How?

7. **Did you have a host family when you first came to Canada? If yes, can you tell me something about your relationship? Do you think you have benefited directly or indirectly from those relationships in getting your job?**

Information sought in this question: information regarding host family, including age, gender, ethnic identity, employment situation, etc., and their relationship with informant 's job search.

8. **Do you go to any church? If yes, can you tell me something about your church and your contacts in the church? Do you think you have benefited directly or indirectly from the contacts in church in getting your job? If yes, how?**

Information sought in this question: information on church contact; such as age, gender, ethnic identity, employment situation, etc., and their relationship with informant 's job search.

Possible probes such as:

- Do you go to Chinese church or to another Canadian church? How do you chose the church you go to?

- Under what circumstances do you go there?

9. **What do you think about the Winnipeg Chinatown and the local Chinese community other than the CSSA?**

Information sought in this question: relationship between recent Chinese immigrant and their earlier counterparts.

Possible probes such as:

- Do you ever participate in the activities organized by the local Chinese communities? If yes, what are they and organized by whom? How did you know those organizations and activities, and why did you participate in them?

- Do you know anybody through your those participation that you feel is somehow close and beneficial? Do you think you have benefited directly or indirectly from those relationships in getting your job?

10. **Do you have any other contacts that you did not mention to me in the above conversation that are important to you and that somehow affect your job search process?**

Possible probes such as:

- Contacts or memberships such as sports club, Bible study group, computer association, English study groups, and voluntary team, etc.

- Contacts through the Internet.

- Contacts through study in the universities, through professional associations, or through attending professional seminars and conferences

- Possible probe questions such as:

- How often do you participate their activities? How did you know those organizations and activities, and why did you participate them?

- Do you know anybody through your participation that you feel is somehow close and beneficial? Do you think you have benefited directly or indirectly from those relationships in getting your job? How?

APPENDIX F THE CHINESE EQUIVALENT OF THE OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEW

SCHEDULE

开放式采访提纲

注: 这里所列问题仅属提纲性质. 实际提问的问题应根据采访的具体情景而定. 根据受访者的年龄, 性别, 在中国的教育背景和工作经历, 以及在加拿大居住时间长短和所获工作, 实际提问的问题 可有不同.

有些问题如第一和第二问题, 要求具体的细节和准确的信息. 其余则要求更开放的答案. 所谓"所求信息"仅供采访者作为每一问题的参考. 所谓"可能的启发"只有在受访者对所提问题作出第一反应而所需信息仍然阙如的情况下可使用.

开场白:

A. 自我介绍.

B. 研究目的: 该研究之目的是了解近来中国大陆在加移民找工作的经历. 我所感兴趣的是来自中国大陆的留学生和学者怎样利用有限的社会关系网络找到专业工作.

C. 采访中不存在对与错的答案. 请您只是从您的亲身经历和您自身观点作出回答.

问题

1. 请您告诉我一些关于您过去在中国的情况好么？

所需信息: 出生年月, 原住城市, 已有学历, 专业职称, 专业工作经历, 对活满意程度, 等等.

可能的启发： 您在中国的最后一个工作是什么？专业职称，专业工作经历，对过 去从经济收入和社会地位的角度讲，您对您在中国的生活满意吗？

2．请您告诉我一些关于您和您的家人移居加拿大的情况好吗？

所需信息： 入境时间，入境身份，求学专业，所攻学历，家庭成员入境加拿大方式，改变移民身份时间，移民类别，初来加拿大时经济状况，等等。

可能的启发： 您曾否获得过加拿大或中国政府的资助，或者获得过任何别的奖学金或私人资助？获得过任何别的拿大方式，您来到加拿大之前，您是否就有移民北美的想法？如果不是,什么使您后来作出该决定？如果是，您怎么肯定您有移民机会？

3．请您告诉我一些关于您目前的工作和您怎样找到这个工作的情况好么？您是否曾经获得过什么人的什么帮助？

所需信息： 工作性质，工作时间，就业信息来源，对社会关系的可获得性和关于求职的信息网络，对工作的满意程度，等等。

可能的启发： 您用了多长时间才找到现在的工作？如果费时很长，为什么？为什么？请您告诉我一些关于帮助您找到工作的人的情况好吗？他们是怎于帮助您找到工样的？您是否满意您现在的工作？如果满意，为什么？如果不满意，为什么？您打算将来怎么办？

4．现在的工作是您来加拿大后的第一个工作吗？如果不是，请您告诉我一些关于第一个工作和您怎样找到这个工作的情况好么？

所需信息和可能的启发： 是什么原因使您改变工作的？

5．在您的求职经历中，使您求职成功的最重要的原因是什么？最大的障碍什么？

可能的启发： 您认为您在中国获得的教育和工作经历得到加拿大雇主的充分承认还是没有得到充分承认？如果您未曾获得过加拿大大学的学位，您也可能得到这份工作吗？为什么？从什么时候开始您感到能比较自信地用英语同加拿大人交谈？您在家里使用什么语言？为什么？您是否认为英语是您获得专业障碍什么？

6．您是曼里托巴大学中国学生学者联合会(CSSA)的会员吗？请您告诉我一些关于曼里托巴大学中国学生学者联合的情况好么？

可能的启发 为什么您选择作一个CSSA会员？（启发：交朋友，求助，获取有关中国和加拿大的信息，获取有关在加拿大生活的信息，享受CSSA会员的优惠，等等．）

您通常参加哪些CSSA的活动为什么？您认为您从参与CSSA的活动中直接或间接受益而获得您现有的工作吗？您是否与您的CSSA朋友分享您的经历？怎样分享？

7．您刚到加拿大时是否有东道主家庭(HOSTFAMILY)？如有，请您告诉我一些关于东道主家庭的情况以及您们之间的关系好么？您认为在您找工作时您直接或间接受益于种关系吗？

所需信息： 东道主家庭(HOSTFAMILY)及其年龄，性别，种族，就业，社会地位等等．

8．您上教堂吗？如果您上教堂，请您告诉我一些关于您的教堂的情况以及您在教会中人与人之间的关系好么？您认为您在找工作时您直接或间接地受益于这种关系吗？如果是，您怎样受益于此？

所需信息： 与教会会众联系的信息，如其年龄，性别，种族，就业，社会经济状况以及与就业之间之关系．

可能的启发： 您去华人教堂还是别的加拿大人教堂？您怎样选择教堂？您在什么情况下去教堂？

9．您怎么看Winnipeg的唐人街和CSSA以外的当地华人社区？

　　所需信息： 近期华人移民与早期华人移民之关系．CSSA以外的当地华人社区

　　可能的启发： 您曾经参加当地华人社区组织的活动吗？如果您曾经参加当地华人社区组织的活动,都是些什么活动？由谁组织的？您怎么知道这这类活动？通过活动您认识了什么人并感到亲近吗？您认为在您找工作时您直接或间接地受益于这种关系吗？

10．您是否还有其它在以上交谈中尚未提及，而您认为对您很重要，又在某种程度上影响您求职的社会联系？

　　所需信息： 其他社会联系如通过参加专业会议结通过国际计算机互联网络接识的朋友，或会员资格如运动俱乐部，圣经查经班，计算机联合会，英语学习班，志愿者小组，等等．

　　可能的启发： 您经常参加他们的活动吗？您为什么参加这类活动？通过参加专这类活动您认识了什么人并感到亲近？您认为您在找工作时您直接或间接地受益于这种关系吗？如果是，您怎样受益于此？

谢谢您的帮助！

APPENDIX G. ETHICS STATEMENT

<u>Rights of the Individual</u>

1. A basic principle of this research is that individual and collective rights must be
    maintained. Informants maintain the right to know the nature of the research. An
    informal informational statement will be communicated to the informants stating
    the nature and purpose of the research. Risks to the informants are not perceived as
    a component of the research proposed, but precautions will be taken to ensure that
    risk is minimized where the issue arises. The issue of confidentiality will be dealt
    with below (see II 5).

<u>Informed consent</u>

2. A clear statement of the purpose of the research will be read or expressed to the
    informants. The informant will hold the right, and will understand his/her
    prerogative, to terminate research if at any point he/she feels uncomfortable with
    carrying on in the research relationship. To guarantee the rights of the informants and
    provide a better mutual understanding, the names and phone numbers of the advisor
    in the Department of Anthropology will be provided in the statement of purpose of
    the research. Informants can dial those numbers to complain if they feel it is
    necessary.

3. It would be nice to get a written consent from the respondents, but it is inappropriate
    to the culture and settings. Because 1). Chinese are not used to using signature to
    identify themselves, they usually use a stamp; 2). Chinese are not familiar with
    Canadian conventions and the Canadian legal system and may not fully understand

the legal significance of a document. Therefore they usually are not willing to sign any paper. However, verbal agreement upon understanding of the research will be sought.

4. Informants will be informed of the explicit interest of the research in describing and analyzing the job search pattern of the recent mainland Chinese immigrants. The verbal consent form (attached) will include the following points:

   a) the purpose of the research is to understand recent Mainland Chinese immigrants in Canada. I am interested in the new Chinese immigrants ' job search experience, particularly about how the new Chinese immigrants use their social network resources to access job information and opportunities. This research is expected to provide a better understanding about the new generation Chinese immigrants in Canada, and to be beneficial for this group and future newcomers for their integration into the host society.

   b) that time will be the only inconvenience to the informants.

   c) that he/she can withdraw at any time

   d) that if he/she consents, a tape recorder maybe used.

   e) that there are no anticipated risks to the informants.

5. Verbal consent will follow from an informal articulation of the research. If consent is not granted, the researcher will not pursue the research relationship.

6. Confidentiality is an essential aspect of the research and discreet use of information on cultural and personal lives of informants will be maintained. Confidentiality will be made explicit to the informants. The informants will understand that real names will not be used and that conversations and interviews will not be relayed to others.

The researcher will explain and discuss confidentiality between researcher and informants.

Deception

7. There is no element of deception in this research.

Risk and Benefit

8. Direct elements of physical or psychological risk are not seen to be a part of this research. There is, however. a potentially sensitive element involved in the very nature of this research because the target group is a disadvantaged minority group and some persons might have experiences such as working illegally. The researcher as one of the members of this targeted group is fully conscious of the potentially sensitive aspects of the research. All efforts have been made to avoid any sensitive questions when preparing the questionnaire and interview schedule. In the event that the researcher learns of especially sensitive information that would place the informants at risk through the writing of the material, this material will not be included in the writing of the research. Any information that could put informants or third parties at risk will be kept confidential. No information will be released to the community or provided to authorities. No real name will ever be used.

9. Third party risk is not anticipated, but a potential element of third party risk could enter into the research, as indicated in the above point (see #8). In the case where information gained implicates a third party and thereby places the informants or others at risk, this information will not be included in the writing of the research. Any information that could put informants or the third part at risk will be kept confidential.

No information will be released to the community or provided to authorities. No real name will ever be used.

Privacy

10. Privacy will be assured through a policy whereby an informant's discussion with the researcher will not be repeated within the community context. The informants will understand that their real names and place names will not be used in the writing of research, and that the informant has the prerogative to decline discussion of topics uncomfortable to her/him. The informant has the prerogative to decide the setting in which the interview or conversation between researcher and informants will take place. The informants will understand that the information given will not be used in direct relation to the informants in a personal manner, and all information provided will be treated anonymously and in summarized form.

11. For all the questions asked in the research, the informants will understand that he/she is under no obligation to answer if he/she is not comfortable with the topic or setting and alternatives will be sought or the line of questioning abandoned .

Confidentiality and Anonymity

12. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained through coding of real names in field notes, and substitute names being used in the written document. The information discussed will be used in the end document, but not in association with real names and places.

13. Information from informants will be written in a broad, collective way, except in the case of specific case examples, where real names or places will not be used to assure that identity cannot be deduced by the combination of facts.

14. No individual information will be released, and all the questionnaires and interview notes or tapes will be destroyed after the data have been compiled.

Research on Captive and Dependent Populations

15. Although the target group is a minority in the society, they cannot be viewed as a captive and dependent population. In the case that informants, such as a female member of a household, voluntarily seeks for approval from other person for participation in the research, such approval will be sought.

Research on Children

16. Children will not be direct participants in this research.

Research in the Humanities

17. Historical and/or biographical information will be needed for this study and confidentiality of information will be assured.

Acquisition and Use of Cultural Properties

18. No acquisition of cultural properties will be needed in this research

19. Any information acquired may be made available upon request from the researcher, unless this would violate confidentiality.

Research on other Cultures, Countries and Ethnic Groups

20. The researcher will present himself as a graduate student researcher. It is expected that a 'researcher' is a known quantity, and the researcher will be identified as such. Written consent is expected to be inappropriate to the setting (see II 3). However, the purpose of research will be clearly communicated and time spent at a relational level, allowing confidence between researcher and informants to be established.

21. Some form of remuneration for time spent with the researcher will be recognized, and will likely be in the form of a small, personal gift.

22. In any research, it is possible that dangers may arise in undertaking the research. In the event that dangers to informants arise, the research will have to be terminated to protect the informants. Intentions and risks will not be concealed from the informants.

23. Caution will be exercised in understanding the norms of privacy and confidentiality of the Chinese culture. The researcher will be attentive to the concepts of privacy and confidentiality from the Chinese culture's view and research will be carried out in accordance with the Chinese understanding.

24. The final research report will be conscious of the responsibility inherent in any research to respect the dignity of the people with whom research was undertaken, and written in such a manner as to communicate a respect for the people and culture involved in making the study possible.

REFERENCES

Agar, M. H. (1980) . The professional stranger: an informal introduction to ethnography. San

Diego: Academic Press, Inc.

Anderson, F. (1974) . Networks of contact: The Portuguese in Toronto . Waterloo: Wilfred

Laurier University Publications

Baltzell, E. D. (1958) . Philadelphia gentleman: The making of a national upper class. New

York: Free Press.

Blalock , H. M., Jr. (1972) . Social statistics. 2nd ed. McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Boorman, S. A. (1975) . A combinatorial optimization model for transmission of job

information through contact networks. Bell Journal of Economics. 6. 216-249.

Boyd, M. (1989) Family and personal networks in international migration: recent

developments and new agendas. International Migration Review. 23(3). .638-669

Cain, Glen G. (1976) . The challenge of segmented labor market theories to orthodox theory:

A survey. Journal of Economic Literature XIV (December 1976) : 1215-57

Calzavara, L. M. (1982) . Social networks and access to job opportunities. Doctoral

Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto. [Unpublished].

Calzavara, L. M. (1983) . Social networks and access to job opportunities: A study of five

ethnic groups in Toronto. Research paper no. 145, Center for Urban and Community

Studies, University of Toronto.

Chierici, R.C. (1989) Demele: "Making It" Migration and Adaptation among Haitian Boat

People in the United States, N. Y.: AMS Press.

Cochran, W. G. (1963) . Sampling technique. 2nd ed. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Commission on Equality in Employment (1984) Report of the commission on equality in

employment. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

Corcoran, M. et al.. (1980) . Information and influence networks in labour markets. In G. Duncan and J. Morgan (Eds.). Five thousand American families-patterns of economic progress. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Cramer, D. (1986) An item factor analysis of the original relationship inventory. Journal of sociological Pers. Relat., 1. 121-7.

Daenzer, M. S. W. (1989) . The post-migration labour force adaptation of racial minorities in Canada . University of Toronto, Faculty of Social Work

Delany, J. (1980) . Aspects of donative resource allocation and the efficiency of social networks: Simulation models of job vacancy information transfers through personal contacts. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of sociology, Yale University.

Dirks, G. E. (1995). Controversy and complexity: Canadian immigration policy during the 1980. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press

Donnelly, N. and Hopkins, M. (1993). Introduction. In Donnelly, N. and Hopkins, M. (Eds.) Selected papers on refugee issues: II . Arlington, VA: AAA.

Donnelly, N. D. (1989) The Changing Lives of Refugee Among Women, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.

Employment and Immigration Canada (1989) . OM IS 339-current processing procedures for persons from people's republic of china (PRC) June 1989.

Employment and Immigration Canada. (1990a) . Procedures for nationals of the People's Republic of China seeking to remain in Canada- OM IS 399 supplement 2, October 19, 1990

Employment and Immigration Canada. (1990b) . Dependents in China of special measures applicants OM IS 399 in Canada

Ericksen, E. and Yancey, W. (1977) . The locus of strong ties. [Unpublished paper], Department of Sociology, Temple University.

Fahim, Hussein (ed) (1982) Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries. Durham,

North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Fawcett, J. T. (1989) "Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems," International Migration

Review, Vol. 23(3), pp.671-680

Fine, G. and Kleinman, S. (1979) . Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis.

American Journal of Sociology, 85, 1-20.

Flaherty, J. A., Gavaria, F. M., Pathak, D. S. (1983) . The measurement of social support:

The social support networks inventory. Comprehensive Psychiatry, 24, 521-529.

Frank, O. (1981) . A survey of statistical methods for graph analysis. In S. Leinhardt (ed),

Sociological methodology 1981. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. pp. 110-155.

Gittings, J. (1989) . China changes face: The road from revolution 1949-1989. Oxford ,

New York: University Press.

Granovetter, M. (1974) . Getting a job: A study of contacts and careers. Cambridge,

Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Granovetter, M (1974) . The strength of weak ties. American Journal of sociology, 78, 1360-

1380.

Granovetter, M (1982) . The strength of weak ties: A networks theory revisited.In P. V.

Marsden and N. Lin (Eds.). Social structure and networks analysis. pp. 105-130

Gurak, D. T. & Cases, F.(1992) "Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration System,"

in Kritz, M. M., Lim, L. L. & Zlotnik, H., Eds., International Migration Systems, A Global

Approach, Clasrendon Press, Oxford, pp.150-176

Henry, F. & Ginzberg, E. (1985) . Who gets the work? A Test of racial discrimination in

employment. The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and The Social Planning Council of

Metro-Toronto

Henry, G. T. (1990) . Practical sampling. Applied social Research Methods Series, 21,

SAGE Publications.

Humphries, J. Eds.(1993) . The national report on international students in Canada 1992/93.

CBIE 1993

Inglis, C.; Anthony, B. and Geoffrey, S. (1994). An overview of Australian and Canadian

migration patterns and policies. In Howard, A., Allan B., Meyer, B. and Lois, F. (Eds.).

Immigration and Refugee Policy, volume 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Institutional Analysis, University of Manitoba. (1976-1995) . IS Book Winnipeg: University

of Manitob

International Centre for Students, University of Manitoba. (ed.). (1982-1989) . Statistics on

International Students at the University of Manitoba.

Kalton, G. (1983) Introduction to survey sampling. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Kritz, M. M.& Zlotnik, H. (1992) "golobal interaction: Migration Systems, Processes, and

Policies," in Kritz, M. M., Lim, L. L. & Zlotnik, H., Eds., International Migration

Systems. A Global Approach, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp.1-16

Kung, S. W. (1962) Chinese immigration into North America," Queen's Quarterly, 68(4),

610-620.

Lai,C. D. (1975) . Home country and clan origins if overseas Chinese in Canada in the early

1880s" B.C. Studies, 27, 3-29.

Lai, V. (1971) The new Chinese immigrations in Toronto. In Elliott, J. I., (ed.). Immigrant

groups: Minority Canadians, 2. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada. pp. 120-140

Li, P. S. (1975) . Occupational mobility and kinship assistance: a study of Chinese

immigrants in Chicago. Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University.

Li, P. S. (1980) Immigration laws and family patterns: Some demographic changes among

Chinese in Canada, 1885-1971. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 13(1), 58-73.

Li. P. S. (1988) . The Chinese in Canada . Toronto: Oxford University Press

Li. P. S. (1992) . The Chinese minority in Canada, 1858-1992: A quest for equality. In

Huang, E. & Jeffery. L.(eds). Chinese Canadians: Voices from a community. Douglas &

McIntyre Ltd., pp.264-277.

Lin, N., Paul, W. D., Peter, G. (1978) . Analyzing the instrumental use of relations in the

context of social structure" in Sociological Methods & Research, 7 (2) , November 1978.

Lin, N. (1981) . Social resources and strength of ties: Structural factors in occupational status

attainment" American Sociological Review, 46,393-405

Liu, X. F. (1995) . New mainland Chinese immigrants: a case study in metro Toronto . Ph.D.

thesis, York University.

Lomnitz, L. (1977) . Networks and marginality. New York: Academic Press.

Lund, M. (1985) The development of investment and commitment scales for predicting

continuity of personal relationships. Journal of Sociological Pers. Relat., 2, 3-23

Marr, W. L. (1992) Post-War Canadian immigration patterns" In G., Steven (ed.).The

immigration dilemma. Vancouver: The Fraser Institute.

Marsden, P. V. and Campbell, K. E. (1984) . Measuring Tie Strength. Social Force. 63 482-

501.

McDade, K. (1988) . Barriers to recognition of the credentials of immigrants in Canada:

Studies in social policy. Institute for Research on Public Policy.

McDougall, B. (1989a) Immigration measures for Chinese citizens in Canada, Released

statement of Honourable Barbara McDougall, Minister of Employment and Immigration.

Ottawa, June 5, 1989

McDougall, B. (1989b) . A statement about Chinese citizens in Canada: Released statement

of honorable Barbara McDougall, Minister of Employment and Immigration, Ottawa, June
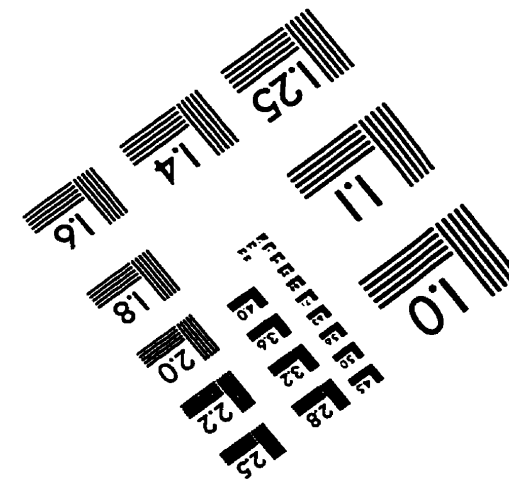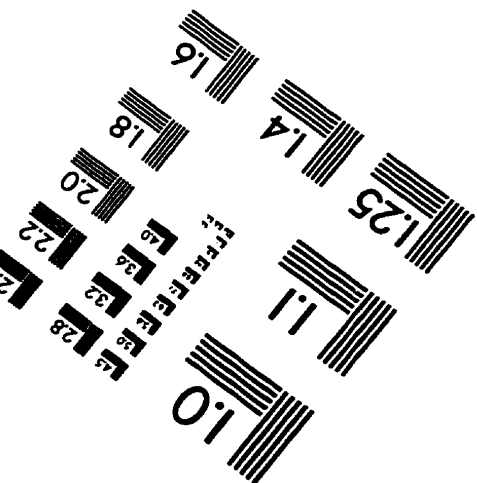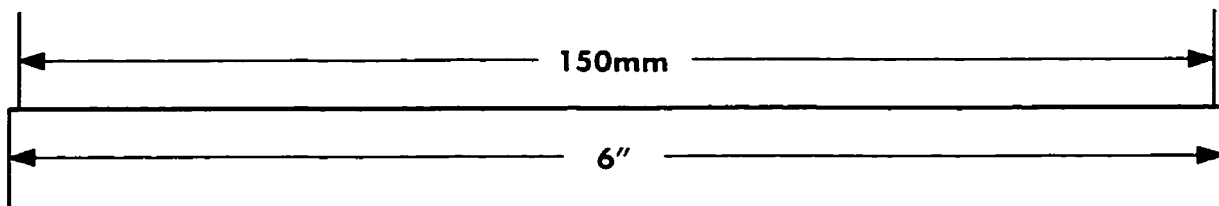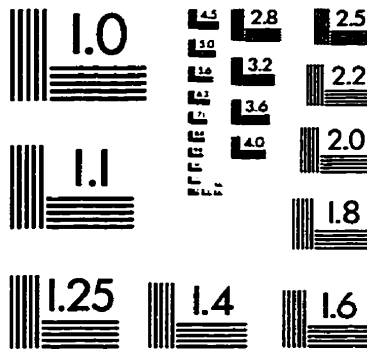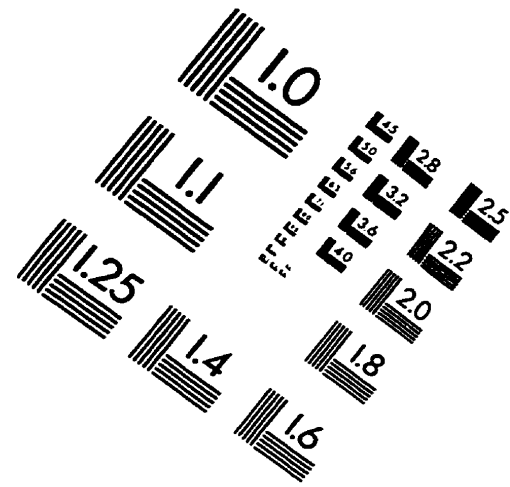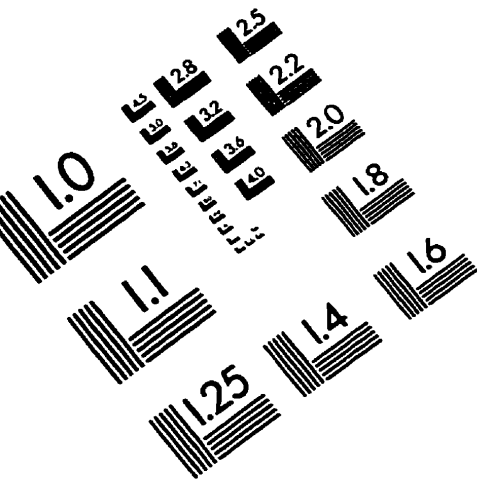
16, 1989.

Migue, J. L. (1970). Le nationalism, l'unite nationale el la therie economique de l'information. Canadian Journal of Economics, 3. 183-198.

Mitchell, J. C. (1987) . The components of strong ties among homeless women. Social Networks, 9. 37-47.

Moreno, J. (1934) . Who Shall Survive? New York: Beacon Press

Morissette R. (1993) . Getting a new job in 1989-90 in Canada [paper No. 57, Business and Labour Market Analysis group, Analytical Studies Branch, Statistic Canada]

Mullan, B. P. (1989) . The impact of social networks on the occupational status of migrants. International Migration. 27(1). 69-85

Murray, S., Rankin, J., and Magill, D. (1981) . Strong ties and job information. Sociology of Work and Occupations. 8. 119-136.

Pohjola, A. (1991) . Social networks - help or hindrance to the migrant? International Migration. 29(3). 435-444.

Pool, I. (1980) . Comments on Mark Granovetter's "The strength of weak ties: A networks theory revisited." [Presented at the Annual Meetings of the International Communications Association, Acapulco, May].

Rea, L. M. & Parker, R. A. (1992) . Designing and conducting survey research, New York: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Rees, A., and Schultz, G. P. (1970) . Workers and wages in an urban labor market. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Reitz, Jeffrey G. (1990)"Ethnic Concentrations In Labor Markets And Their Implications For Ethnic Inequality," In Breton, R., Isajiw, W. W., Kalbach, W. E. & Reitz, J. G., (Eds.). Ethnic identity and equality. Varieties of experience in a Canadian city . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 135-295

Samuel, T. J. (1987) . Economic adaptation of refugees in Canada: Experience of a quarter century. International Migration, 22(1), pp. 45-55

Scott, John (1991) . Social networks analysis: A handbook . London: Sage Publications.

Seward, S. B. & McDade, K. (1988) Immigrant women in Canada: A policy perspective. [Background Paper, Studies in social Policy, The Institute for Research on Public Policy]

Sheppard, H. L. and Belitsky, A. (1966) . The job hunting: Job seeking behavior of unemployed workers in the local economy. Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (1984) Equality now . [House of Commons, Queens Printer for Canada]

Statistics Canada. (1985) Postcensal Annual Estimates Of Population By Marital Status, Age, Sex And Components Of Growth For Canada, Provinces And Territories June 1, 1985. Vol. 3

Statistics Canada. (1992) . International student participation in Canadian education. [Catalogue 81-261 Annual]

Stack, C. (1974) . All our kin. New York: Harper & Row.

Tepperman, L. (1988) . Collective mobility and the persistence of dynasties. In Barry, W. and Berkowitz, S. D. (Eds.), Social structures: A networks approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 405-430.

Tian, G. (1996) . Presenting newselves in Canadian context: The adaptation process of mainland Chinese refugees in metro Toronto. Ph.D. thesis, York University

Verma, R. B. P. & Basavarajappa, K. G. (1989) . Employment income of immigrants in metropolitan areas of Canada, 1980. International Migration,.27(3)... 441-465

Warner, W. L. And Lunt, P. S. (1941) The social life of a modern community . New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Wegener, B. (1989) . Mobility and the structure and sex composition of social ties. Pres. Int. Sociol. Assoc. Res. Commun. 28. Utrecht, The Netherland

Wellman, B. (1979) . The community question: The intimate networks of East Yorkers. American Journal of Sociology. 84. 1201-1231.

Zhang, G. R. (1995) . Anomie and identification: Adjustment experience of recent immigrants from Mainland China in Toronto, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto.

Zhu, N. (1994) Revised research questionnaire [Not published, research questionnaire for a Ph.D. thesis, University of Calgary].

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

150mm

6"