Understanding the Integration Experiences of Korean Canadians

by

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Abstract

The number of Korean immigrants in Manitoba increased significantly in a decade since the introduction of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Recent statistics indicate that Manitoba attracted over 13,000 immigrants in 2009, many coming from Korea.

The purpose of this research is to understand and measure the integration experiences of Korean immigrants in Manitoba in terms of their social, political, education and employment domains. The primary theory used in this research is social capital. Theories of acculturation, ethnic economy, power and stratification are also used to situate my research. Data was collected using mixed methods comprising a survey of 260 Korean Canadians living in Winnipeg and qualitative interviews with 12 respondents. The analysis shows, among other things, high levels of racism felt by Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. While this perception and daily encounter of discrimination in the community would impede Korean immigrants’ integration into Canada, there also is a strong will to succeed in the community through accessing existing social capital and a willingness to invest in social capital. The contributions made in the development and operationalization of social capital in terms of willingness to invest and social capital mindset are documented. Several program ideas are offered for policy-makers and future research areas have been identified. The development of a political engagement index provides justification for observations made by the social capital theory and immigrant integration literature.
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Chapter One: Introduction

A small number of Korean immigrants began arriving in Canada in 1967 as a result of the introduction of the new Immigration Act and the point system, and the White Paper of 1966. According to this immigration policy, admission criteria and decisions had to be universally applied to all newcomers and applicants, and could not be discriminated against due to of race, colour or religion (Government of Canada, 1966). Despite the colour-free legislation, its amendments and the introduction of the current Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (S.C. 2001, c. 27), immigrants continue to experience various forms of discrimination and inequality in Canada. While anecdotal episodes suggest many have overcome multiple barriers and have succeeded in the political, economic and social domain, Korean immigrants in Canada may not have fared as well as a group.

Since integration is the major focus of this research, the terminology is conceptualized and operationalized thoroughly, taking into account existing definitions and indicators of the concept. A major objective of my study is to provide more clarity to this term which has been poorly conceptualized and operationalized in the integration literature. Clarity is obtained through my extensive review and analysis which has facilitated the initial conceptualization of the term, but is operationalized by the development of a quantitative index of integration, a methodology discussed in Chapter 4. The methodology, data collection and analysis enabled me to identify the factors that make up a statistically significant definition of integration. While the dissertation is limited to a study of a single ethnic group, it is an essential first step in producing a more thorough measure of integration.
The primary concern of this dissertation is the investigation of the integration experiences of Korean immigrants to Canada, a group in which a significant majority has a high level of post-secondary education yet still experiences high rates of underemployment, low status employment and financial insecurity. In fact, a Statistics Canada community profile reports that a relatively large proportion of Canadians of Korean origin have incomes that are below the Low-income Cut-Off (LICO). Forty-three per cent of the Korean community has incomes below the official LICO, compared with only 16% of the total Canadian population as of 2000 (Statistics Canada, 2007). Given that Canada likes to describe itself as a discrimination and barrier-free nation for immigrants to settle, the poverty and underemployment experienced by scores of Korean-Canadians is perplexing. Unfortunately they are not the only group experiencing difficulty living the “Canadian dream”. This dissertation examines three important aspects of integration: social, political, and education and employment among Korean immigrants living in Manitoba. The purpose is to better understand the experiences of Korean-Canadians in these three domains to contribute to our knowledge of this understudied group, and more importantly to the operationalization of integration since existing research on this concept is varied, divisive and unco-ordinated.

It is conceivable many Korean-Canadians are happy with their current life course, job and social position in Canada even though it falls short of their goals, training and expertise. Successful integration can include high rates of educational attainment, possession of individual income, social and cultural capital, as well as community factors, the extent of political participation, and various individual achievement and ascribed characteristics. This study of Korean-Canadians aims to clarify some of the
inconsistencies found in the interpretation of the term integration in the literature, as well providing more information on Korean immigrants in Canada. My research has identified a baseline inventory to determine where Korean immigrants stand in terms of their social, political, and education and employment integration. It may lead to the development of an integration index that can be applied to understanding the settlement experiences of other immigrant groups.

Conceptualization of Integration

The integration of immigrants is not a single dimensional occurrence. In fact, it has multidimensional elements intersecting with a host of important domains of contemporary immigrant-receiving societies, such as economic, education, cultural, social, political and religious. While it is often described as a “two-way street” (Biles, Frideres, and Burstein, 2008; Li, 2003), the reality is that integration is mainly the responsibility of immigrants rather than the host society. It appears that existing research places too much emphasis on how quickly new immigrants shed their former images, including their language, customs and religious practices, and start acting and thinking like the native-born population. It is not possible to integrate fully into the new country when the host society’s institutions and citizens make little effort to accommodate its new citizens. This is a dilemma. It is not fair and equitable to demand immigrants change to achieve a one-sided integration while the host society’s established institutions and Canadians are reluctant to grant full citizenship rights and social entitlements to immigrants. These rights include the right to challenge the status quo, the right of representation for public office, and the right to be different if one chooses to. Integration entails incorporating immigrants into a democratic process of participation and representation that guides the future, not
necessarily about conforming and restricting immigrants to already existing results based on the prevailing societal norms and standards (Li, 2003). It is important to note that I have not examined what the host society has done to promote immigrant integration, as it is beyond the purview of this study.

There are three central research questions guiding this research.

*Question 1. To what extent have Korean immigrants been integrated into Canadian society?*

While the advancement in communications technology is useful in connecting immigrants to their country of origin, it is also a hindrance for new immigrants in Canada and elsewhere for it allows them to watch their favourite TV programs as well as newspapers written in their native languages from their native countries (Yu, 2008). It does not foster integration into Canada as these activities may cause newcomers to isolate themselves from social participation in Canada. Koreans are not an exception. In a recent study of ethnic media in the Los Angeles area among Chinese, Korean and Latino communities, Lin and Song (2006) found that Latino newspapers provided 12% of its contents about local issues, while Korean and Chinese printed media provided only 4% and 3% respectively.

This phenomenon is one example of the issues immigrants face in social integration. Are Korean-Canadians making any concerted effort to build bridging social capital (Field, 2008, 46) within and outside their communities, or are they limiting themselves with bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000, 22) in terms of their consumption of ethnic and Canadian media? To measure the concept, some indicators that measure social integration of immigrants may include the extent to which immigrants consider
persons who are not of the same national and ethnic origin to be counted as friends in times of need during personal or family stresses such as job loss, sickness and death, and to celebrate together in times of joy including interracial marriages, wedding ceremonies, graduation, anniversaries and other significant events. In other words, social integration is achieved when an immigrant is accepted by the host society without any prejudice, overt or latent, but also when the new Canadian wishes to fully participate. Although measuring the host society’s attitude in embracing integration is an important part of the integration process, it is beyond the scope of my research.

Question 2. To what extent have Korean immigrants been integrated into the Canadian political system?

In Korea, Koreans are highly political in every aspect of political engagement (Hara, Noriko and Jo, 2008). However, anecdotal evidence reveals that Koreans living in Manitoba and elsewhere in Canada do not appear to be as engaged and mobilized in civic, provincial and federal political activities. One goal of my research is to determine those factors that influence Korean immigrants’ participation and representation in Canadian political activities. For example, is it something about the Korean community or is it a lack of interest in Canadian politics that prevents political engagement? How much do Korean immigrants know about Canada’s electoral system for municipal, provincial and federal elections? Does lack of knowledge affect their engagement? What do Koreans know about voting procedures? If they have voting rights, do they exercise that right and responsibility? How often do they participate in elections? These are important questions.

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1 The average voter turnout in South Korea’s presidential election held in 2002 was 70.8% compared with the 2004 U.S. election in which it was 60%. Canada’s voter turnout for the general election held in 2008 was 59.0%.
to address to understand their political integration. This research aims to ascertain if there are any structural barriers that prevent their full political participation in Canada. A simple definition of political integration would be that Koreans feel confident to run for public office and the mainstream Canadians in turn demonstrate their comfort and confidence in electing someone whose ethnic origin is Korean. Obviously the political integration of Koreans in Canada cannot be accomplished by the concerted efforts of Korean immigrants alone. Canadian political parties need to actively seek potential candidates from the Korean immigrant community. However, this part of integration cannot be measured in the current study.

**Question 3. To what extent have Korean immigrants been integrated into Canadian educational and employment systems?**

Koreans, like other ethnic groups, are well known for placing a high premium on attaining higher education for themselves and their children. Like other immigrants, it appears there is a tendency for the first generation to forgo the opportunity to invest in retraining and/or acquiring additional human capital in Canada for various reasons: lack of language skills, bitterness about retraining, no time to support the family, reluctance to upgrade skills they already have, and a preference to invest in their children’s education rather than invest in themselves. I explore these issues in terms of education and employment integration in Chapter 8. Some of the indicators that measure the education and employment integration of immigrants may include employment status after an initial period of settlement in a new host society – employed, underemployed or self-employed; comparability of current occupation with the occupation prior to immigration; and level of satisfaction in current occupation or business. Educational integration can be measured
by observing if immigrants attained additional academic qualification and/or job-related training since landing in Canada.

**Reasons for Undertaking the Research**

There are many reasons why this research is necessary. First, the major theoretical and methodological contribution concerns the conceptualization of integration and social capital theory. Both concepts are poorly defined in existing research on immigrants, and the lack of clarity prevents researchers from obtaining more precise information about the integration of immigrants in Canada. Second, the research identifies gaps in existing integration and settlement services provided by the three levels of government and various non-government organizations (NGOs). It is important to note that the roles played by these entities impact on immigrants’ social, political, education and employment integration. Third, there is a glaring paucity of research on Koreans living in Canada. As a result, we know very little about the social, political, education and employment integration of this group, even though they are one of the fastest growing immigrant groups in Canada. This research gathers important baseline information on this population that was previously unavailable.

**Outline of Chapters**

Chapter 2 begins with an overview of the history of the Korean diaspora. It provides a review of the literature on social, political, education and employment integration. Chapter 3 presents major social capital theories and notes the similarities and differences among those theories. It also provides theoretical perspectives of other theories employed in the analysis of Korean immigrants’ experience of integration into Canada. Chapter 4 provides a detailed description of the methods used in the analysis. It
also introduces several important indicators measuring social capital among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. Chapter 5 provides characteristics of the study population in terms of various attributes. Chapter 6 offers an extensive discussion on the social integration of Korean immigrants in Manitoba. It also demonstrates the statistical significance of the social capital mindset and the willingness to invest in social capital in facilitating integration into the host society. Chapter 7 deals with political integration and community interaction of Korean immigrants in Manitoba. Chapter 8 provides insights into Korean immigrants’ experience with education and employment integration as revealed through the 12 semi-structured interviews I conducted during the course of this research. Chapter 9 presents major findings of the research in answering the three main research questions regarding social, political, education and employment integration experiences of Korean immigrants in Manitoba. It offers immigration policy options and suggests innovative program ideas. It concludes with future research directions on immigrant integration.

In order to understand the present situation of Korean immigrants in Canada, it is useful to examine their past. The next chapter reviews the history and context of the Korean diaspora.
Chapter Two: A History of Korean Immigration and Immigrants

This chapter begins with an overview of the history of Korean overseas immigration from the late 19th century to the early 21st century. It also outlines research on the political, economic and social integration of immigrants. Since the term integration is significant and inextricably related to the understanding of immigrants’ lives in a new host society, how it became part of the discourse in the social capital of immigrants should be noted at the outset. Although the term integration was used in Europe, it was introduced in Canada in the official lexicon of the 1994 public consultation document released by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to distinguish a Canadian approach in incorporating newcomers from the U.S. approach known as assimilation. Since the enactment of the Multiculturalism Act in 1971 by the Trudeau government, the term integration began circulating among federal politicians, policy-makers, academics and to a lesser extent the public. Some argue the word integration was used intentionally by the government in place of multiculturalism to diminish the real meaning of multiculturalism to counter some of its critics and maintain the monolithic character of traditional Canada (Abu-Laba, 1998). Some critics view multiculturalism as divisive and problematic. This chapter provides a review of the literature on immigration and political integration, and immigration and economic integration.

Overview of the History of the Korean Diaspora

Koreans often refer to their history as “1/2 the 10,000 year history”, suggesting that their presence within the human race has lasted 5,000 years. More precisely, Korea’s recognized history is 4,345 years. However, the scope of my review of the Korean diaspora is limited to the 19th and 20th centuries. The Korean diaspora is a by-product of
a century-long power struggle among various nations having strategic interests in the
Korean peninsula – including China, Japan, Russia and the United States. After winning
both the Sino-Japanese War (1894) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japan annexed
Korea in 1910 and governed it for 35 years until its unconditional surrender to the Allied
Forces at the end of the Second World War. By that time, however, the Japanese
government had expropriated over 40% of arable land from the Korean peasants as well
as the royal families of the Yi Dynasty. This created a mass of landless peasants who
became tenant farmers for Japanese landlords, many for Dongcheog, a Japanese
reclamation company. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), about 1.2
million landless Korean peasants were resettled in southern Manchuria as part of the
massive land reclamation efforts (Kim, 1981, 19-20). Unfortunately, this is but one
example of the scale of population immigration from Korea prior to World War II.

It is important to know the magnitude of Korean out-immigration in the 20th
century to situate the diaspora in the 21st century. A recent estimate of the overseas
Korean population is about six million, of which 2.3 million are living in the United
States, 1.9 million in China, 640,000 in Japan, 521,000 in the Commonwealth of
Independent States, and 141,000 in Canada. The Institute for International Economics
estimates the population of overseas Koreans is larger than the overseas Chinese, Indians,
or indeed overseas communities from most other countries in terms of population size
(Bergsten and Choi, 2003, 3-4).

Since it is almost impossible to examine Korean immigration to Canada without
making reference to the U.S. experience, I briefly review some important developments
in both countries below. In terms of immigration history, the U.S. has taken a lead on
policy formation. Contrary to what Canadian politicians suggest, Canadians policy-makers often follow U.S. initiatives. This has influenced the immigration patterns of Koreans in North America. For example, the United States *Immigration Act* of 1965 effectively removed barriers for non-whites to enter the country as immigrants. Canada’s point system in the selection of immigrants was introduced two years later. By the same token, American President Ronald Reagan offered an official apology and financial compensation for the Japanese internees of its citizens during the Second World War one month before Canada’s Prime Minister Brian Mulroney made a similar official apology and compensation on September 22, 1988. It is interesting to note the amount of compensation per surviving internee was also similar - $20,000 U.S. versus Canada’s $21,000. In short, Canada has often followed rather than led the U.S. in terms of immigration policies relating to East Asia.

In 1902 the first Korean sugar plant workers arrived in Hawaii as substitute replacement labourers for Japanese workers. Between 1903 and 1905, 7,226 Koreans arrived on the island. However, the Korean government, which was relegated to a de facto Japanese protectorate in 1905, prohibited Koreans from emigrating to Hawaii shortly after because the Japanese government considered them competition to other Japanese workers who were dissatisfied with the working conditions (Kim, 1981, 20). It is interesting to note that Japan has a lengthy history of monitoring the conditions of their overseas compatriots and Koreans when under Japanese jurisdiction. No other country has such a long history of such initiatives, at least not until recently.

In the U.S. the *Immigration Act* of 1965 largely eliminated the discriminatory practices by immigration officials applying quotas for people born outside of the Western
hemisphere. Until this time, Koreans were prohibited from immigrating to the United States by the National Origins Act of 1924. That Act was similar to the Canadian statute, the *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1923. Much like the 1967 Act in Canada, the 1965 Act is credited for the enormous growth in the number of Korean immigrants in the United States. It allowed Koreans to emigrate to the U.S. on the basis of family ties and occupational demands. Various estimates indicate there are approximately 2.3 million Americans of Korean origin living there today (ibid., 3).

This significant change in U.S. immigration policy occurred during the 1960s and 1970s when the military government of the Republic of Korea was experiencing a steady decline in mortality and a rapid increase in fertility rates, as with other nations. As part of the five-year economic development planning in Korea, which was borrowed from the Soviet era economic planning model, immigration was encouraged by the Korean government of the day to deal with an explosive population growth and to rid of the country’s political dissenters as well as to receive remittances from immigrants abroad. Although there were some agricultural immigrants who immigrated to Argentina, Brazil and Chile, most Korean immigrants went to the United States. Later on, a significant majority of those who went to Latin America re-immigrated to the U.S. after finding that life in South America was not suitable for these previously white-collar workers turned amateur farmers (Kim, 1981, 24, 47).

Although a small number of Koreans were admitted to Canada as immigrants owing to the *Immigration Act* of 1967, the Department of Manpower and Immigration did not record them separately nor publicly release the number until 1973 (Canada, Immigration Statistics, 1900-1973). Even then it aggregated the number of Korean
immigrants in a category designated as Asians, N.E.S. (not elsewhere specified).
Consequently, official figures relating to their entry to Canada are difficult to locate.
Over 1,500 Koreans immigrated to Canada in 1973 alone, the first year in which Koreans
made it into an official departmental publication. By the end of 1986, over 21,500
Koreans had immigrated to Canada. Manitoba received about 1,000 Korean immigrants
between 1973 and 1986, representing about 4% of all Korean immigrants landing in
Canada. The record indicates that in 1980, more Korean women (78) than men (9) landed
in Manitoba. A similar situation occurred in 1981 with 190 women and 10 men (ibid.,
1977-1986). This occurred because the business leaders in Winnipeg’s garment industry
visited Korea and recruited garment workers directly, with nearly all recruits being single
females.

The number of Koreans immigrating to Canada annually increased significantly
from 1,100 in 1986 to nearly 2,300 by 1987. This dramatic increase was due to the
introduction of the business immigration program launched by the Conservative
government. The primary reason for introducing the program was to entice fleeing
Chinese businessmen from Hong Kong who were genuinely concerned with China’s
planned takeover of the protectorate from Great Britain in 1997. In fact, there was fierce
competition among Australia, Canada and the United States to attract a share of Hong
Kong businessmen to their shores. This also opened the door for Korean immigration.
During the decade between 1987 and 1996, approximately 30,400 Korean immigrants
landed in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006), which more than doubled
to 65,000 in the subsequent decade. The sizable increase in the number of Korean
immigrants to Canada between 1997 and 2006 can be largely accounted for by the Asian
financial crisis which started in July 1997. Many white collar workers were permanently laid off by their employers and the rate of unemployment increased dramatically in Korea and other Asian nations due to forced structural economic realignment mandated by the International Monetary Fund. This was a push factor for Koreans to immigrate to Canada. There were pull factors for those arriving in Manitoba, such as the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program which accounts for about half of the estimated 3,500 Koreans living in Manitoba (Manitoba Annual Reports of Department of Labour and Immigration, 1999-2006).

According to Statistics Canada (2007), Canadians of Korean origin constitute one of the largest non-European ethnic groups in Canada. Slightly over 100,000 people of Korean origin currently live in Canada, representing 0.3% of the total Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2007). They are highly educated; just over one-third (37%) of Canadians of Korean origin have a university degree compared with 15% of the overall adult population. Another 10% have post-graduate training compared to 5% of other Canadians, yet their economic outlook is not as positive. In terms of employment, only 59% of Canadians of Korean origin are employed compared with 80% in the 25-44 age cohort of the general population. Since many are immigrants, this may be an early indication of problems with foreign credential recognition and adjustment to the labour market.
Like other immigrant groups, Koreans are more likely to live in Ontario than elsewhere in Canada. Just over half (53.7%) of all Koreans in Canada live in Ontario, while nearly one-third (31.7%) live in British Columbia. Manitoba had a small but growing population of 1,100 (1.1%) in 2001. The current estimate of the Korean population in Manitoba is 3,500 owing mainly to the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP). The MPNP attracted 1,550 Korean immigrants to Manitoba since its introduction in 1999, accounting for nearly half of the Koreans living in the province. They are among the top ten immigrant-sending countries to Canada as well (Statistics Canada, 2007). What follows is a brief survey of research on the integration experience among Korean communities mainly in the United States.

**Review of the Literature on Immigration and Political Integration**

Given the paucity of research on Korean immigrants in Canada, I must rely significantly on research conducted on other immigrant groups to conceptualize my research. Currently there are no academic studies examining the political participation of Korean immigrants in Canada; in fact, the non-participation in politics among immigrants
in general suffers from a serious lack of attention. As a result, I am limited to reviewing discussions on the extent of ethnic minorities’ political participation in Canada first and then followed by experiences in the United States. An objective of my dissertation research is to address some of these gaps.

Mishler (1979) argues that income and education reinforce political advantages. Although it may not be possible to buy political power with money in Canada, it can help individuals obtain political opportunities and resources which give affluent people clear advantages. Thus wealthy citizens participate more extensively in all forms of political activity. Although they enjoy only marginal advantages in voting and community work, rich people are considerably more active in political party and campaign activities, correspond more often with public officials, and almost monopolize elected office. Although Canada has political activists from all walks of life, certain groups of citizens participate more often than others. The rich and well-educated, men and middle-aged, Protestant, and English groups all enjoy modest but significant advantages in political activity due to their dominant position (Mishler, 1979, 161-163). This may partially explain the smaller number of immigrants actively competing in the political arena as they do not have equivalent access given their relatively more disadvantaged position.

An examination of political participation of ethno-cultural communities and visible minorities in the Canadian political landscape was undertaken as a part of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing in 1989. The purpose of the study was to determine if ethno-cultural groups and visible minorities are represented in the House of Commons and the major political parties. The Commission identified some of the problems encountered by ethnic minorities in accessing the Canadian
political arena: the effects of incumbency and financial constraints, minorities must confront the general norm that discourages challenges to sitting members, high cost of urban nomination contests which are unregulated, exclusionary practices of local parties acting as “gatekeepers”, and bias in the recruitment process that results in disproportionate representation of minorities in constituencies with poor election prospects (Black, 2001, 11). One interesting observation made by Black that I agree with is there is evidence the visible minority candidates and MPs have stronger than average credentials, raising the distinct possibility that these better qualifications are a requirement for them to counterbalance discriminatory attitudes. Black also notes that such exceptional qualities probably help explain their ability to enter such ranks for some groups, win nomination contests through community mobilization, and possibly recruit ethnic candidates to attract votes in selected constituencies (ibid., 10). Unfortunately researchers, community and policy-makers have done little since the study was published in 1989 to address these important issues.

In a more recent study, Tossutti (2005) reports findings from the Ethnic Diversity Survey suggesting the assimilation and political integration process may account for the differential participation rates between native-born and foreign-born Canadians. These disappear after 20 years of residency in Canada for some but not all immigrants. Tossutti argues that since Canadian-born young people of Chinese, African and Caribbean origin have lower participation rates in elections, the assimilationist explanation that time spent in Canada cannot fully account for differential participation rates. She speculates that variations in community values to elections and mobilization of community elites may
explain the differential participation rates among native-born and foreign-born and visible minorities and non-visible Canadians (ibid., 55, 56).

Chui (1996) utilized two different secondary data sources for her study: the Ethnic Pluralism Study and the Toronto Immigrant Survey. Her research question examines the influence of individual involvement in politics as a result of assimilation or motivation to pursue ethnic collective interests (ibid., 37, 39). Results of her study reveal that while identification with ethnicity is associated with lower political participation, other factors, such as the structural barriers of the political process, appear to contribute to inequality as well. She also reports that those who are conscious of their ethnic status often resort to a collective approach to improve their situation (ibid., iv, v).

Verba et al. (1995) identify three critical factors that influence political participation of Americans as resources, engagement and recruitment. It would appear reasonable to assume that the political behavior of Canadians would exhibit somewhat similar traits. The resources necessary to participate in political activity may include time, money and civic skills. For instance, many political activities such as voting, assisting in campaigns and solving community issues require time. Contributions to one’s favourite candidate or political causes also require money. Citizens who possess the necessary organizational or communications skills will find it easy to participate in politics (ibid., 271).

Personal interest in politics also plays an important role in theories of political participation. Scholars have placed emphasis on such traits as interest in politics that induces people to take part; the sense of political efficacy that makes them feel they can have an influence when they do; the community spirit that gives people the sense of
accomplishment from having been involved; group solidarity; identification with a political party; and determination to affect a particular set of policies being implemented (ibid., 272). These traits can be connected to social capital, which I discuss later.

Verba and others observe that political recruitment often originates from unlikely sources in work places, churches or some organizations. People tend to respond favourably when recruitment is initiated by friends, relatives and associates. Scholars have shown the role of various institutions in mobilizing citizens to political action. Political parties also engage in recruitment of party members, election campaign workers and supporters (ibid., 273).

The process of participating in politics can also be confusing as illustrated by recent studies. In a study examining the political participation of Asian Americans, Lien et al. (2001) state that three-fourths of voting age foreign-born Asian Americans find voting a difficult task. It involves a three-step process: naturalization, registration and going to the poll. At every step, it necessitates a set of costs. Time and gathering the requisite information about all the candidates would be most significant. Taking up citizenship involves a minimum of five years (three years in Canada) and this affects voter participation of new Canadians, especially those who delay acquiring citizenship. Voter registration and going to the polls requires a considerable amount of information and resources. Regarding the predicament that Asian Americans face in their efforts to participate in the American elections, Lien et al. observe,

When one adds to the Downsian equation factors such as language barriers, lack of familiarity with the U.S. system, social discrimination, and economic hardship for working-class immigrants, it comes as little surprise that Asians have one of the lowest citizenship, voting registration, and turnout rates among voting-age Americans. (Ibid., 625)
Lien and others argue that to simply conclude Asians are politically inactive ignores the role of institutional barriers to Asian American political incorporation. They also report that after controlling for differences in socioeconomic status and demographic factors, social networking and political context, Americans of Chinese and Korean ancestry exhibit the lowest participation rates among Asian Americans in terms of voter registration and voting respectively (ibid., 625, 30). No similar studies exist in Canada.

In her study of American elections, Junn (1999) expresses concern about the current practice of single-member winner-take-all elections at both state and federal legislatures which also makes it more difficult for ethnic minorities to win elections and securing power and representation. She is critical of American studies that do not begin with examining the political consequences of international immigration by assessing how democratic institutions and practices either accommodate or restrain new entrants to American politics. The common practice appears to have been determining which factors improve the political incorporation and assimilation of immigrants and ethnic minorities into American politics as it is currently structured (ibid., 1417, 38).

Among the other barriers that immigrants encounter are being included on the voter’s list or being elected as a legislator in Canada. For example, immigrants who come from undemocratic countries are unaccustomed to the electoral system and may be reluctant to open doors to enumerators. Immigrants, especially the elderly who may have limited knowledge in either of the official languages, will also have difficulty in getting on the voter’s list. When legislators draw electoral boundaries, they tend to avoid riding boundaries that contain a single ethnic group. While this may be desirable in promoting
ethnic pluralism, it is not advantageous for a visible minority candidate who wishes to capitalize on the concentration of ethnic votes (Pelletier, 1991).

In analyzing the 1996 U.S. presidential election and the scandal involving donations, Kim (2007) makes several interesting conclusions concerning the political participation of Asian ethnic minorities. He contends that the silence of Asian communities in the United States on the subject of the campaign finance controversy is a function of how the Asian-American political establishment has been manipulated by major party leaders to focus on developing relationships with powerful politicians instead of building community-based political power which would increase their representation (ibid., 116). He asserts that any rapidly emerging constituency within the Asian community that would have the power to promote a competitive challenger is not likely a welcome development to an existing establishment that wants to maintain power (ibid., 121).

When immigrants seek to run for public office, whether in municipal, provincial or federal elections in Canada, they face significant obstacles and challenges, including lack of knowledge of English or French and insufficient financial resources to mount a successful campaign. Unfamiliarity with the Canadian political system and political culture are obvious obstacles. Unwelcoming party and riding association executives who prevent non-charter groups from seeking party nominations are other impediments faced by ethnic minorities. Immigrants also encounter systemic and persistent racial oppression and discrimination. As a result of these obstacles, Canada has historically experienced serious under-representation of immigrants and visible minorities in municipal councils, provincial legislatures and the House of Commons.
The under-representation of immigrants and visible minorities in the three levels of government is also of serious concern. For example, visible minorities in Toronto comprise about 50% of its population. Toronto also contains the largest Aboriginal population in Canada. Yet visible minorities constituted only 11% of the Toronto City Council members. It was noted in a 2003 report that the City of Halifax had no visible minority councilor in the same period of observation (Paul, 2005, 18). I plan to address the gap in knowledge of the somewhat unique political culture of Koreans that may facilitate their representation in the Canadian political arenas through this research.

**Review of the Literature on Immigration and Economic Integration**

Another important aspect of integration concerns economic aspects. Unlike the political realm, there is an abundance of research on immigration and economics. However, no studies focused specifically on the economic integration of Korean immigrants in Canada. There is an on-going controversy over the economic integration of immigrants in Canada and other immigrant receiving countries in the world. A frequent and most popular indicator of the economic integration of immigrants into a new host society is usually measured by the income earned by immigrants compared with the native-born population. More rarely, policy-makers try to measure the incidence of social assistance benefits received by immigrants as a proxy of successful integration. Some writers are highly critical of the view that when immigrants make as much money as native-born Canadians, the immigrants are deemed to have integrated well economically (Li, 2003). As Li observes, there is a strong expectation that immigrants should accept Canada’s established norms and standards and become similar to the established residents. But does economic parity with native-born Canadians really mean successful integration
Although the debate allows nominal cultural diversity, specific cultural differences are regarded as a hindrance to successful integration. Li argues that integration can be framed more inclusively, not exclusively on economic terms, with the differences viewed as assets in the development of a worldly and diverse society, not liabilities that diminish the long-established tradition of the old Canada (ibid., 316).

To identify the causes of the declining earnings of Canadian immigrant cohorts, Aydemir and Skuterud (2004) use a pooled sample of native-born and immigrant men employed full time for a full year from the Canadian censuses between 1981 and 2001. The study reports that approximately one-third of the overall reduction in the entry earnings of immigrant cohorts can be attributed to declining wage returns to foreign labour market experience. This phenomenon affects almost exclusively those immigrants coming from “non-traditional” source countries. However, they find no evidence that returns to foreign education also contributed to the overall decline in entry earnings of immigrants. Another one-third of the reduction in earnings is attributed to a shift away from “traditional” European source countries to Asian sources and the consequent weakening of the two official language skills of new immigrants. They find that declining returns to experience acquired abroad has occurred almost exclusively among immigrants from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia. The study attributes the remaining one-third of the earnings gap to the broader decline in entry earnings experienced by native-born labour market entrants.

As Christofides and Swidinsky (1994) observe, there is no concerted effort to determine the wage disadvantages of visible minorities in Canada, or to examine the possible association between visible minority status and gender until their own inquiry.
Consequently, one purpose of my study is to explore labour market disadvantages which might arise due to gender among the Korean population. They recognize the fact that visible minorities are not a homogeneous group, and that gender and race exert a significant influence on observed wage rates and only part of the differential could be explained by differences in productivity-related characteristics of individuals in these groups. Results demonstrate that sizable portions of the observed wage gap could not be accounted for by productivity differences alone. They remark that these unexplained residuals are commonly attributed to labour market discrimination. This study reports visible minorities who are not engaged in paid employment may be facing wage offers which are significantly lower. When offered wage gaps are considered separately between explained and unexplained components, differences in productivity-related characteristics account for less than 30% of wage gaps in the six comparison groups.²

Sex plays a significant role in the distribution of wages and salaries among immigrants in Canada. Wage offers to white females were 33.3% lower than those of white males, and about 75% of the wage gap could not be explained by productivity-related factors. Disadvantages faced by minority females in the labour market were quite pronounced. For example, their average wage offer was 45.8% lower than for white males, 13.4% lower than for minority males, and 9.4% lower than for white females. About 70% of the unexplained offered wage gap between white males and minority females might be strongly influenced by the different pay structures maintained by the labour market to full-time and immigrant status (ibid., 48). Minority males face

² These groups included: a) white male-minority female, b) white male – white female, c) white male – minority male, d) minority male – minority female, e) minority male – white female, and f) white female – minority female.
disadvantages that are comparable to white females. Different reward schemes for education, union status and immigration status were mainly responsible for the large unexplained residual in the white male–minority male wage gap decomposition. The study by Christofides speculates that education and skills acquired overseas might have been devalued systematically by employers, and language and cultural differences could have driven immigrants, particularly women, to service jobs that were low-paying and offered little chance of economic advancement.

Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) identify several earlier studies, concluding that some wage and earnings differentials among ethnic groups cannot be explained by individual characteristics such as age and education alone and discrimination may be to blame. In their study, they examine earnings differentials across ethnic groups in terms of the white versus visible minority distinction. They suggest that the heterogeneity of both categories might hide ethnically-based differences within these aggregate groups. Their analysis reveals large differences in mean earnings between groups that could not be explained by observable characteristics. Canadian-born visible minority men and Aboriginal men faced earnings differentials of 8.2% and 12.5% respectively compared with Canadian-born white men. While immigrant white men earned almost as much as Canadian-born white men, immigrant visible minority men suffer an earnings gap of 15.8%. Unlike their male counterparts, Canadian-born visible minority women did not appear to suffer an earnings penalty in comparison with Canadian-born white women. However, compared with Canadian-born white women, Aboriginal women and visible minority immigrant women earned 6.8% and 9.1% less respectively. They observe widespread differences in earnings differentials among three largest CMAs in Canada.
This observation leads them to conclude that economic discrimination might be playing an important role in Canadian labour markets.

An overriding concern I have about the majority of immigration and economic barriers studies which I reviewed is they examine employed persons only, thereby excluding immigrants who are self-employed. Due to a variety of reasons some immigrants opt to create their own employment when exhausted from trying to find suitable employers. This is especially true among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg and elsewhere where they have exhibited a high propensity to be self-employed (Min, 2002).

In their study of Korean entrepreneurs in Los Angeles County between 1965 and 1982, Light and Bonicich (1988) report a high incidence of self-employment among Korean immigrants in retail sales industry. They observe Koreans are more frequently entrepreneurs and tend to operate small companies with no employees. Thus there were almost twice as many Koreans among the self-employed as among the owners of business establishments. Because Korean entrepreneurs work longer hours than non-Korean entrepreneurs yet received lower return on their human capital, they accept remuneration standards lower than those which are prevalent among non-Koreans (Light & Bonicich, 1988, 175-177).

Min (1998) reports that 45% of Koreans in Los Angeles and Orange counties were self-employed. His survey in New York City reveals an even higher incidence of self-employment at more than 50%. Another 30% of Koreans work for Korean-owned businesses, thus a significant proportion of the Korean workforce is concentrated in the Korean sub-economy either as owners or as employees of co-ethnic businesses (Min, 1998, 16-17).
Waldinger (1998) postulates that the high incidence of self-employment among Koreans in the United States is due to the blocked mobility in their intended occupations which redirected many well-educated toward self-employment (Waldinger et al., 1990, 73). Among groups officially classified as minorities, with business ownership as a percentage of group size, Koreans stood at 9% while the national average was 6.4% in 1986.

There are many other reasons why my research can contribute to the knowledge on immigrants in Canada. Since 1967 Canada’s immigration policy has been predicated essentially on the human capital theory. The rationale is that well-educated immigrants with work experience, including on-the-job training, will find suitable employment soon after arriving in Canada and integrate into a new host society in a relatively short time and pay high taxes over the long term. The human capital theory (Becker, 1964) is based on the notion that the more one invests in formal education and on-the-job training, the higher will be one’s expected lifetime income. In other words, human capital theory advocates investment in education which yields a stream of returns on investment in one’s education after deducting the associated costs, including tuition fees, room and board, time, opportunity cost (lost income due to attendance at school) and other effects. In estimating the human capital contents of Canadian immigrants in a 20-year period between 1967 and 1987, Coulson and DeVoretz (1993) state that Canada had received $12.8 billion (1968 calculation) of human capital invested by immigrant-sending countries in those who had immigrated to Canada. When $12.8 billion dollars was converted to 1981 dollars, the total is $24.2 billion, a staggering magnitude of human capital investment that Canada has received without making any significant investment of
its own on these immigrants. Canada’s reliance on foreign trained professionals is seen today by the high points awarded for educational attainment and work experience under the current Immigration Act with a maximum of ten points each. One needs a minimum of 50 points for admission to Canada as an immigrant.

One of the reasons why Canada recently introduced the “Canadian Experience Class” in July 2008 was to take advantage of the fruits of human capital investment made by temporary foreign workers, foreign students and their governments. The situation becomes more critical if the students are from developing countries. Canadian manufacturers have shown a reluctance to invest in developing and training their workers. Instead, they lobby government for a “quick fix” by increasing the number of temporary foreign worker visas and actively siphoning health care professionals from countries where they can least afford losing them.

More recently, the Canadian government has made efforts to recognize the credentials immigrants bring to Canada. In a recent study to quantify the overall effects of provincial nominee programs (PNP) across Canadian provinces and territories, Pandey and Townsend (2011, 508) offer a favourable assessment after examining PN retention rates after one year of landing. It appears they neglected to examine the withholding of funds some provinces require as a means to assure PNs remain in the province where they landed and what impact they have on the PNP retention rates. For example, Manitoba requires PNs (business component) to make a $75,000 deposit with the provincial government to ensure nominees remain here and complete the commitment they made – to create full-time employment for the nominee him/herself and one other Canadian or permanent resident in a business endeavor. Thus, pronouncing the retention
rate for PNs as very high is somewhat erroneous and premature. In another study, after examining the results of one decade of the Manitoba PNP specifically, Lewis (2010, 256) expresses concern that the program prefers nominating immigrants from countries that already have strong support networks and community resources in Manitoba, leading to an imbalance in future ethnic diversity in the province.

Despite some promising initiatives, there is a widespread practice of devaluing foreign credentials and work experience in Canada. Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) report that while immigrant white men earned as much as Canadian-born white men, immigrant visible minority men earned 15.8% less. Commenting on efforts to estimate cost-benefit calculations of immigrants, Reitz (1998) observes an appropriate method should take into account that for immigrants, their primary and secondary education has been paid for by others. Since they usually come as families, children may also be partly raised and educated elsewhere. These are significant assets that immigrants bring with them. The cost-benefit analysis should also include the contributions of immigrants to economic diversity and international presence that exists in major population centres.

**Review of the Literature on Immigration and Social Integration**

Often social integration issues are trumped by concerns about economic integration among newcomers. Although the studies on economic integration vastly outnumber those on other aspects of settlement, researchers have paid some attention to the social condition of immigration. Many of these studies, however, concern economic conditions. Yoo (2000) provides a recent snapshot of Korean entrepreneurship in Georgia. Yoo’s main objective was to discover how Korean entrepreneurs generate specific resources necessary to start new businesses. The study focuses on the methods of
resource mobilization to start small businesses and network utilization for resource mobilization. After conducting 142 interviews with Korean entrepreneurial business owners, Yoo concludes the class resources based on educational background play a decisive role in the formation of social networks, which provide valuable resources for business start-up. The class resources based on educational background is critical in terms of the establishment of a new business by facilitating valuable business information and connections in the community (Yoo, 2000, 360-1). Further analysis reveals organizations in the community such as churches, community associations, alumni associations, and business associations facilitate individual capacities to start entrepreneurship by providing places to start social networks that are essential for creating resources to start a business.

A study by Min (1990) also examines problems faced by Korean immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States. Using the middleman minority perspective, Min identifies the major problems faced by the Korean immigrant entrepreneurs, pointing to overwork as a major problem due to the extremely long hours they work and lack of time for leisure activities. The irony is while many Korean entrepreneurs achieve economic mobility through self-employment, they discover later in life that their health has deteriorated. Min argues that because of a heavy concentration of Korean businesses in the low-income inner-city area, many Korean merchants have become victims of violent crimes, including murder. Min also argues that the heavy concentration of Korean merchants in poor neighbourhoods leads to interracial conflicts with minority customers, especially with black customers, and they become easy targets of strikes, boycotts and other forms of rejection by customers in Los Angeles, New York and other centres. For
example, in the 1992 Los Angeles race riots about 2,300 Korean stores in South Central and Korea town were looted or burned. Korean merchants sustained property damage of $350 million, accounting for about 45% of the total property damage (Min, 2002). In short, there was an ethnically-based antagonism.

Min asserts that many Korean entrepreneurs are vulnerable to exploitation because they are dependent on out-group members for supplies of merchandise and landlords for leasing store buildings. Because many Korean immigrants are engaged in low-income blue collar businesses, Korean entrepreneurs face the problem of status inconsistency through downward occupational mobility. The majority of Korean immigrants, both entrepreneurial and employed Koreans, experience status inconsistency, but Korean immigrant entrepreneurs are more acutely aware of the status problem probably because they achieve economic mobility via self-employment. Min concludes Korean immigrant entrepreneurs are slower to assimilate into American society than those Korean workers in the general labour market because they depend heavily on family members and co-ethnic employees for business operations. As a result, they speak mainly Korean in their family, business and social environments, and largely attract a Korean clientele. Consequently self-employment, although effective for achieving economic mobility and maintaining ethnic ties, has a negative influence on cultural and social assimilation.

In an early study, Chae-Kun Yu (cf. Kim, 1997) attempts to measure the degree of assimilation of Koreans in the U.S. By testing the practicability of the background factors, he reasoned it may be possible to determine the usefulness of these variables as correlates of cultural assimilation to predict the probability that a given group of
individuals will become assimilated into the general culture within a specific period of time. For the purpose of his study, Yu defines assimilation as the integration of members of an ethnic minority into a majority culture group (Kim, 1977). Viewing the concept of assimilation as a process rather than a product, Yu asserts it is possible to measure the degree of assimilation in terms of objective acculturation factors by defining certain variables as indices of assimilation. Some of the indices he used to determine its influence on assimilation include education, previous occupation, age at entry, family size, length of residence, current occupation, income, religion, English proficiency and intention to stay. He finds previous occupation, family size, age, income and intention to stay are not significant. He concludes the more assimilated individuals tend to be those with relatively prestigious occupations and whose educational attainment in Korea was high.

The effect of social capital in the life chances of several immigrant groups has also been a topic of great academic interest. Li (2004) identifies broadly four basic themes of social capital theses including the ethnic attachment thesis, ethnic entrapment thesis, ethnic enclave thesis and ethnic transnationalism thesis. He asserts these postulates generate different social relations which lead to differential economic outcomes (ibid., 2004). Among the four social capital theses enumerated by Li, it appears to me the ethnic entrapment and ethnic enclave economy hold the most promise to account for the integration experiences of Korean immigrants in the U.S. and Canada. I briefly review them below.

The ethnic entrapment thesis suggests social connectedness formed in minority communities has limited utility since the usefulness of ethnic affiliation is limited by the
level of resources that are under the community’s direct control. Furthermore, converting ethnic ties into resources for an immigrant’s benefit may incur a cost to the immigrant as a kind of indebtedness to those who provide the resource. The ethnic enclave is typically where the merchants of goods and services and their clients are usually of the same ethnic group, they speak the same language, and live and work in close proximity to one another. More detailed discussion on the two theories is addressed below. Because of a lack of research examining the integration experience of Korean immigrant communities in Canada, I ascertain the ethnic entrapment thesis and/or ethnic enclave theory could be applied to the Korean community in Winnipeg.

Social capital has two distinctly different forms in the Korean immigrant community in Winnipeg. The positive side is the existing, established community and mainstream churches that provide information on schools, apartments, medical appointments and spiritual support for new immigrants. The negative side is that the longer one remains under the protection of the boundary of Korean community, one finds it increasingly difficult to find a better job or integrate into the host society. Studying social capital’s role in integrating Koreans into the host society among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg would reveal differences and similarities with Koreans remaining in Korea. Society in Korea is highly patriarchal, although it has changed gradually, and is largely based on the Korean version of social capital, pronounced “bback” – a loose English translation would be “the support of guardians”. When immigrants from Korea arrive in Winnipeg, they may suddenly find themselves without any social capital. It would be interesting to find out how they cope with the dramatic change in their social status from one with some social capital before their arrival to one
without any form of social capital, neither bonding nor bridging or linking. I employ
social capital theory to address each of the three research questions for my research
project.

Kim (1988) reports on acculturation experiences of Korean immigrants in the
1980s. Respondents of the survey include the emigrating group that is preparing to
emigrate to Canada (187), the Korean samples (172) and Korean-Canadians (92) living in
Toronto. To obtain psychological profiles of these respondents, seven areas are
investigated: prior experience, acculturation attitude, language knowledge and usage,
identity, experience being a target of prejudice and discrimination, adaptation difficulty
and health status. Kim’s (1988) study reveals that prior to immigration, respondents
motivated to leave Korea are attracted to Canada, have worries about leaving Korea and
worries about living in Canada, have less English knowledge and relatively poor health
status. Individuals with high scores on the integration have comparatively better health
status. In contrast, respondents who score high on separation and marginalization have
poor health status, both at the pre-immigration and post-immigration phases. At the post-
immigration phase, respondents with negative acculturation experiences (such as being a
target of prejudice or discrimination, or having acculturation difficulties) reported poor
health status. In contrast, respondents with positive acculturation experience (indicated by
greater contact and participation in both the Korean community and Canadian society)
had better health status (ibid., 74).

The theoretical framework employed in this research is discussed in Chapter 3.
Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the Korean diaspora spanning from the turn of the 19th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The Korean diaspora is largely shaped by the usual immigration push and pull factors and the geopolitical influences of the neighboring and receiving states – China, Japan, Russia and the United States.

As shown in this chapter, there is little research undertaken specifically to examine the settlement experiences of Korean immigrants in Canada in terms of their economic, social and political integration into the new host society. My research, employing both quantitative and qualitative research methods, yields interesting results that are unique to the Korean immigrants’ integration experiences. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, my study about the economic, social and political integration of Korean immigrants in Canada is the very first effort. My contribution to the literature can be regarded as a fresh awakening of a previously neglected, nonetheless important research agenda. In addition, reviews of the literature on three major domains of immigrant integration - economic, social and political - are provided.
Chapter Three: Models and Theories of Integration

The major theoretical perspective for this dissertation is social capital. The first part of this chapter defines the concept and outlines the theory. The next part describes the supporting theoretical perspectives. These other perspectives include ethnic enclave, acculturation, ethnic economy, social stratification and power. Although the notion of social capital is not entirely new, it is not without controversies; however, it has regained popularity among social scientists and policy-makers in recent years. Each theoretical perspective contributes to addressing particular aspects of my research questions.

Social Capital Theories

Pierre Bourdieu is credited with one of the first systematic contemporary analysis of social capital in the discourse of sociology. According to Bourdieu, social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in group - which provides its members with the backing of the collectivity–owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (1986, 248-49). Bourdieu observes that social networks are not inevitable and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits. His definition makes it clear social capital contains two elements. The first is the social relationship which permits individuals to gain access to resources owned by their groups, such as the name of a family, networks of classmates and political party affiliation. The second is the amount and quality of those resources which depend on the size of the network of connections one can effectively mobilize (Portes, 1998). In this
way, not only does the presence of a network matter, but so too does the prestige and power of the network in the larger society which influences the effectiveness of these networks.

There are two important forms of social capital – bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is often observed in close-knitted ethnic fraternal associations and among certain religious organizations. Bridging social capital is observed outside of the close-knitted ethnic communities and is available outside the normal reaches of bonding social capital. To make the difference between the two social capital clear, Granovetter (1974, 2005) states that when seeking jobs or political allies, “weak” ties that link him to remote acquaintances who move in different circles from his are more useful than the “strong ties” that link him to relatives and family friends whose social milieu is very similar to his own (quoted in Putnam, 2000, 22). Xavier de Souza Briggs puts it succinctly: bonding social capital is good for “getting by”. But bridging social capital is crucial for “getting ahead” (ibid., 23). There is a third form of social capital called linking social capital which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar circumstances, such as those who are completely outside the community, thus enabling members to access a much greater range of resources than are available within the community (Woolcock, 2001, 13-14 quoted in Field, 2008, 46).

Nan Lin (2001) refines this argument. He argues it is not necessary or realistic to require network density or closure for the utility of social capital. Social network research has emphasized the importance of bridges in networks that facilitate the flow of information and influence. Thus requiring closure or density for social capital is equivalent to denying the importance of bridges, structural holes or weaker ties. He
concedes that denser networks may be more advantageous in preserving and maintaining resources. However, for accessing resources that are not available within the denser networks, such as finding a job or a better job, accessing and extending bridges in the network would be more useful (Lin, 2001, 27). He also asserts theory and research endeavors must be based on the fundamental understanding that social capital is captured from embedded resources in social networks. Any departure from this understanding in conceptualization and measurement lead to misunderstanding in analyzing causality in the micro and macro processes and social capital is another form of neo-capital theories (Lin et al., 2008, 3). He further argues four elements – information, influence, social credentials and reinforcement – may explain why social capital works in instrumental and expressive actions not accounted for by other forms of personal capital such as economic capital and human capital (ibid., 6-7).

James Coleman (1990) describes social capital as something that is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action. For example, a group whose members show trustworthiness and hold extensive trust in one another are able to achieve considerably more than a comparable group that do not possess trustworthiness and trust. To illustrate his definition of social capital, Coleman provides an example of Korean study circles (Coleman, 302, 03).

Radical thought is passed on in clandestine study circles, groups of students who may come from the same high school or hometown or church. The same high school or hometown or church provides social relations on which the study circles are later built. The study circles themselves constitute a form of social capital which appears valuable for encouraging opposition to a political system that is afraid of dissent.
In order for Coleman’s definition of social capital to function optimally, trustworthiness among members of a given network is essential.

Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner (1993) review the historic origin of social capital as well as its recent development in the literature and accept Coleman’s four sources of social capital: value introjection, reciprocity exchanges, bounded solidarity and enforceable trust. They argue that although Coleman’s observation is insightful, his contribution suffers from two weaknesses: first, theoretical infiniteness that leaves open the question of what those social entities facilitating individual goal attainment are and where it originates; and second, a marked instrumentalist orientation that views social structural forces only from a positive viewpoint (ibid., 1322). They also claim their definition differs from Coleman’s in that the emphasis is on social structures facilitating individual rational pursuits. Portes and Sensenbrenner argue that social capital seems too general to cover most uses of the term in the recent sociological literature (ibid., 1323). A brief description of the four sources of social capital created by Coleman and redefined by Portes and Sensenbrenner follows.

*Value introjection* encourages persons to act in a manner different from simple greed. Such behavior then becomes appropriable by others or by the collectivity as a resource. The authors speculate the origin of this type can be traced to Emile Durkheim and to a certain extent Max Webber, with his emphasis on the moral character of economic transactions that are guided by value imperatives learned during the process of socialization.

*Reciprocity exchanges* consist of the accumulation of “chits” based on the previous good deeds to others supported by the norm of reciprocity. They trace the origin
of the concept to the classic work by Georg Simmel on the dynamics of group affiliation. As examples of this form of social capital, Coleman cites the rotating-credit associations of southeast Asia that provide important aids to economic development and the Kahn El Khalili market of Kairo where boundaries between merchants are difficult for outsiders to discover (Coleman, 1988, S100, S102).

_Bounded solidarity_, based on situational circumstances, can lead to the appearance of principled group-oriented behavior significantly different from any previous value introjection. The classic example of this source of social capital is Karl Marx’s analysis of the rise of the proletarian consciousness and the transformation of workers into a class-for-itself. As an example of bounded solidarity, Portes and Sensenbrener cite an incident where a Colombian-born police officer was accused of shooting two African-American cyclists. In desperation, the officer made an appeal to Colombians and other Latin Americans living in Miami via a Spanish language radio station and raised his defense fund successfully. He was using the solidarity of the Colombian community as a way of supporting his cause (ibid., 1327).

_Enforceable trust_ is not based on the motivating force in value conviction, but the anticipation of benefits connected with “good standing” in a particular group. The origin of this source of social capital is Max Webber’s distinction between formal and substantive rationality in market transactions (ibid., 1322, 1327). As examples of enforceable trust, Portes and Sensenbrener offer the Dominican immigrant community in New York City and Cubans in Miami (ibid., 1333-34).

An example of the enforceable trust they cite works like this. Despite the existence of formal Dominican finance agencies in New York, there are networks of
informal loan operations that grant credit with little or no paperwork. Money circulates freely within New York’s Dominican community networks and is made available for business start-ups because recipients are fully expected to pay. This expectation is based first on the recipient’s reputation and second on quick retribution against those who fail to pay back (ibid., 1333).

It is my belief that all four sources of social capital identified by Coleman - value introjection, reciprocity, bounded solidarity and (enforceable) trust - may be appropriated by new Korean immigrants in their attempt to start a new life in Winnipeg. As Bourdieu aptly points out, social capital is created when community members invest in networks that can be appropriated by members within the bounded community. Evidence and the workings of social capital within Winnipeg’s Korean community can be analyzed using these definitions.

Robert Putnam (1996, 4-5) defines social capital as the features in our community life that make us more productive – a high level of engagement, and like Coleman, he incorporates trust and reciprocity. He devised this notion of social capital after observing the workings of regional governments in Italy over 20 years and discovered what made the difference among regional governments in terms of economic development, institutional performance and overall governance. It was the choral societies, a kind of social capital, that accounted for the differences in performance of different regional governments (Putnam, 2000, 344-49). Putnam and Lin (2008, 7) in a separate study find that the pattern of civic connectedness, through choral societies in Italy, is a critical element, not only in explaining why some institutions work better than others but also, at least in part, in explaining levels of economic well-being. It is this deep connection
between the citizen and civic society that ensures societies are healthy, vibrant and participatory spheres. As an example, an increase in social capital, in terms of more active parental participation in school affairs and neighbourhood watch initiatives, would lead to better education and lower rates of crime. Social capital is also positive for our physical health as well by asserting that group membership decreases mortality by half and that membership in two or more groups reduces mortality by another quarter (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003, 19).

Despite its promise and large number of attractors, the treatment of social capital as a kind of cure-all medicine for all social malaise has drawn criticism from many different quarters and especially from Portes (1998, 2). In essence, there are two important limiting factors regarding the social capital theory. First, there is little consensus among writers and practitioners what constitutes the so-called social capital – a critical issue concerning its definition and its birth as a bonafide theoretical perspective. Second, unlike financial capital and human capital, its measurement is quite elusive at best, a problem related to the fact that the conceptualization of this theory is highly flawed. Without a standardized, agreed-upon definition, it is impossible to acquire a rigorous methodological measurement.

**Negative effects of social capital.**

Portes and Sensenbrenner also point out that Coleman’s analysis of social capital either fails to recognize or does not report the negative side of the workings of social capital in embedded community networks. The availability of a measure of solidarity and trust in a community provides a precondition for the start of a network of successful businesses. The pressure of such sentiment and obligations may lead to a completely
opposite effect. They cite an example from Ruben Rumbaut’s field work in Orange County interviewing a successful Vietnamese electronics manufacturer who employed about 300 workers in his plant. What really surprised Rumbaut was the fact that not one of the workers was Vietnamese. The owner even changed his name, not because he wanted to assimilate but for the fear that his countrymen would demand the private “security services” organized by former members of the Vietnamese police (ibid., 1339-40).

Despite these apparent shortcomings, I am prepared to use social capital theory to seek answers to my three research questions. As Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993, 1320, 1350) point out:

> With skills learned in the home country devalued in the receiving labor market and with a generally poor command of the receiving country’s language, immigrants’ economic destinies depend heavily on the structure in which they become incorporated and, in particular, on the character of own communities. Few instances of economic action can be found that are more embedded.

As such, communities that engender high rates of social capital are more welcoming than those have lower commitments to equal participation among its citizens. I think immigrant communities in general, and the Korean community in particular, would be an ideal “social laboratory” to observe the theory of social capital at work. Korean immigrants would feel the need for a community where they would seek housing and employment and other information. This is especially true for Koreans who originate from a country where the use of social capital, without their knowing it, is an important part of their lives.
I have decided to use social capital theory to inform my three research questions for three reasons. First, it is reasonable to assume that if Koreans have not developed social capital to be accessed by members of their community, it will be extremely difficult for them to integrate into the host society politically. Second, my research will reveal if immigrants attempt to make use of available social capital within the community. There might be an element of time between the arrival and the utilization of social capital. Conversely they may discover that there is no useful social capital to be accessed within the community. The use of social capital theory is useful to ascertain if Koreans are socially integrated into Canada. Third, fast and complete economic integration into the host society is very difficult for new immigrants without first accessing social capital which may already exist in the Korean community. In short, my research is expected to illustrate the role of social capital, if any, in the economic, political, and social integration of Koreans in Canadian society. This is the area where I believe I can make a contribution to the literature and public policy-making communities by devising an index to measure social capital by employing factor analysis, a methodology explained later in Chapter 4, to quantify and identify the aspects of this concept on a group of Korean immigrants.

**Theoretical Perspectives**

**Ethnic enclave theory.**

Social capital theory, given its many limitations, cannot be used alone to measure Korean immigrants’ integration. Given that integration is a multi-faceted process that involves many institutions and varies by individuals, it is essential that other theoretical perspectives are included. These include the ethnic enclave theory, ethnic economy
theory, acculturation theory and social inequality in Canadian society. They are briefly reviewed below.

Portes and Manning (1986) are known for their research in ethnic communities of Cubans in Miami and Koreans in Los Angeles. They argue that the evidence from immigrant enclaves suggests the traditional assimilation theory (immigrants are forced to accept the norms and values of the host society, those who fail to assimilate are doomed to failure) and the segmented labour market theory (there are two labour markets: a dominant one that services the mainstream economy and a secondary, less well paid economy that applies to immigrants) do not aptly explain the experience and workings of the immigrant enclaves in terms of immigrant adaptation to a new host society. Many groups do not follow the adaptation pattern prescribed by the assimilation and segmented labour perspectives. Instead, they suggest an alternative framework, the ethnic enclave thesis. According to Portes and Manning, the emergence of an ethnic enclave economy requires three preconditions: 1) the existence of a large number of immigrants with business experience from their home country, 2) the availability of sources of capital, and 3) the availability of sources of labour. Portes and Manning consider the existence of substantial number of immigrants with business experience from the sending country as the most critical component in establishing an enclave economy in the new host country. They assert its absence leads the community into wage employment in spite of the availability of sufficient amount of capital and the supply of labour. Enclave businesses usually begin small and provide service exclusively to an “ethnic” client. Its expansion and entry into the larger market necessitates an effective utilization of community resources. The social dynamics at work include a strong sense of reciprocity based on
collective solidarity which transcends the purely economic nature of business transactions. It is implicitly understood by both enclave employers and employees that the wage paid is lower than the value of labour provided (Portes & Manning, 1986, 171). Employees in the ethnic enclave receive the wage willingly because the wage is only a part of compensation. In return, employers are expected to respond to emergency needs of their employees.

There are other characteristics of the ethnic enclave. First, they are not exclusively commercial. For example, employers promote advancement through on-the-job training and assist some employees in starting their own businesses when appropriate. Second, relationships between enclave businesses and established existing ones are problematic. For example, middlemen groups often hold positions that are complementary and secondary to the local owning class. Third, the enclave is highly concentrated in one location and spatially identifiable (Portes & Manning, 1986, 166, 175). In Canada, Li (2003, 148, 153) has reported some of his research findings on Chinese enclave communities in Vancouver and Toronto. He asserts the immigrant enclave provides a context for the cultivation of social capital, which some in the minority immigrant community can utilize to overcome obstacles of settlement and for social advancement. Li also points out the role of social capital in the lives of immigrant settlement in Canada is largely not researched. The immigrant enclave provides a context for the cultivation of social capital that some immigrant communities cultivate to deal with difficulties in adjusting to a new country and to further their integration into the host society despite its connection to the ethnic enclave (Li & X. Li, 2008).
Acculturation theory.

According to the acculturation theory, there are four major ways in which the ethnic community and/or individual may choose when acculturating into a new host society. There exists segregation, marginalization and assimilation on one side, and integration on the other side. A brief description of the four acculturation strategies is listed here.

Segmentation or segregation occurs when people place a value on retaining their own culture while they wish to avoid interaction with the dominant and other cultural groups. Marginalization occurs when there is a small possibility or interest in cultural maintenance often as a result of enforced cultural loss, and minute interest in having relations with others. The primary reason for its occurrence is discrimination or exclusion. Assimilation is the mode of acculturation strategy when individuals do not want to maintain their own cultural identity and try to interact with the dominant and other cultures on a daily basis (Berry, 1997, 9-10). Integration is an acculturation strategy employed by non-dominant groups in freely choosing and is successfully pursued when the dominant cultural group is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry, 1991).

Berry’s work on cross-cultural psychology and the four typologies of acculturation is useful in understanding the challenges immigrants face in adapting to a new culture and taking roots in a new host society. He refers to this process as acculturation. This is a theory that brings a more micro, human dimension to the thesis. He argues cross-cultural psychology has demonstrated important links between cultural context and personal behavioral development. The primary focus of Berry’s research is
on what happens to people who have developed in one cultural context when they try to re-establish their lives in a different cultural environment. He observes that the long-term psychological consequences of the process of acculturation varies widely and is influenced by social and individual attributes that exist in the country of origin, the host society, and other phenomena that existed before and now occur during the course of acculturation (Berry, 1997, 5). His theoretical perspective is popular and has been used in research pertaining to the integration of immigrants in Canada and elsewhere. Some of the acculturation difficulties faced by Korean immigrants were studied by conducting a survey of 187 Koreans immigrating to Canada in which 92 Korean immigrants living in the Toronto area are identified by Kim. Their difficulties include societal value conflicts, identity confusion, communication problems, and the experience of prejudice and discrimination (Kim, 1988, 44).

The acculturation theory provides theoretical support that some immigrants experience mild to serious psychological problems in their settlement efforts depending on the acculturation strategies employed. The experiences of two interview subjects detailed in Chapter 8 clearly demonstrate that difficulties encountered in their efforts to find employment commensurate with their education and work experience in a new host society lead to psychological problems and illnesses. Also, in extreme cases, it may even lead to a suicide as I described in the case of a former high school English teacher in Korea. An account of this tragic incident appears later in this dissertation. In addition, Kim’s earlier work among Koreans in Toronto and in Korea (ibid., 157) lend support to my observation in terms of identifying the immigration “push” and “pull” factors of Koreans in Canada, with an exception that Korean immigrants in Winnipeg faced less
restriction in terms of obtaining immigrant visas due to the introduction of Manitoba PNPs in 1998 compared to those Kim’s respondents faced in the mid-1980s.

There are two factors that make Korean immigrants more attractive to Manitoba in the late 1990s and early 2000s compared with Kim’s survey in the mid-1980s to Toronto. The earlier group of Korean immigrants left Korea before the Asian financial crisis which began in 1997. Thus the push factor felt by immigrants was not as acute as it is felt by others contained in my study. The pull factor is much stronger for the newer Korean immigrants who had benefited from a remarkable economic prosperity measured in gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. In general, the strong economic growth in the 1990s and 2000s enabled a large number of Korean immigrants to emigrate to Canada with the required capital and savings to qualify for the MPNP business component. For example, the GDP per capita of Korea in the 1980s was $2,780 (U.S.) while that in the 2000s was $15,185 (U.S.), an increase of 4.5 times in a single generation (Yearly Statistical Compendium, Korea National Statistics Office, 2011; Bank of Korea, ECOSL, 2011).

**Ethnic economy theory.**

Ivan Light and Edna Bonicich argue there exists a conceptual confusion between ethnic enclave and ethnic economy. The ethnic economy does not require a clustering of ethnic businesses located in designated areas but needs to have some sort of ethnic ‘glue’ to hold the business together. An ethnic economy utilizes the ethnic self-employed and unpaid family assistants, ethnic employers, and its co-ethnic employees (Light & Bonicich, 1988) and is not exclusive of immigrants. In fact, it may service communities that are outside the enclave. A good example would be Chinatowns that are clearly ethnic
enclaves having businesses staffed by Chinese and service aimed mainly but not entirely at the Chinese expatriate community. Furthermore, ethnic economy does not need to be concentrated in one location and need not service only their own ethnic groups as clients or to purchase from co-ethnic suppliers. Additionally, the notion of ethnic economy does not require an ethnic cultural ambience within the company or among its clients. The ethnic economy is designated as such simply because the business owners are ethnic and employees are co-ethnic as well.

Many Koreans with college or university education from their home country cannot find employment commensurate with their qualification in the U.S. because of ethnic discrimination and their limited language skills (ibid., 315). The situation in Winnipeg and indeed Canada is similar to conditions in the United States. Korean immigrants in the U.S. often pool family resources to start a business in poor immigrant neighborhoods. Likewise, Korean immigrants in Winnipeg buy or start a new business in Winnipeg’s downtown core area where many poor Canadian Aboriginal people reside. It appears that one major reason why they are doing this is that Korean immigrants realize upon arrival in Canada that finding a white collar work commensurable with their education and experience before immigration is extremely difficult in light of the persistent and latent systemic racism against non-whites in Canada, as well as the reluctance on the part of employers to recognize foreign credentials. The lack of fluency in English may also be a factor. Unlike the ethnic enclave theory, the ethnic economy theory may offer more utility in analyzing Korean immigrant community due to the relatively small Korean population who cannot rely on demands of goods and services of
Koreans alone. In fact, many Korean-owned grocery stores and restaurants provide goods and services to clients who are not Korean.

Social inequality and power theory.

While many writers recognize Porter’s great contribution in analyzing Canada’s class and power structure, few pay attention to the persistent social inequality and power structure in contemporary Canada. As my research demonstrates in the pages that follow, Canada’s vertical mosaic in terms of class and power structure remains largely unchanged in that the bottom rung is always filled with the more recent immigrants from Asia, Africa and South America.

In essence, Porter’s vertical mosaic reflects Canadian society when the two charter groups, the English and the French, enjoy everything Canada has to offer, with the English benefiting the most from this arrangement. Then the power alignment gradually shifts so that northern Europeans and then southern Europeans stand in line for better paying jobs, higher positions in bureaucracy, business and media establishment, etc. Porter concludes his monumental study by taking a rather pessimistic view.

Canada ------- has a long way to go to become in any sense a thorough-going democracy. In the first part of the book we saw something of the way in which class differences act as barriers to individual achievement. Even into the 1960s, Canadian educational systems have yet to become democratized through to the university level. The possibilities for upward social mobility are reduced, and at the same time, shortages of highly trained people for the new occupational structure continue. In this respect Canada is behind twentieth century democracy anywhere. Ethnic and religious affiliation in Canadian society have always had an effect on the life chances of the individual. ------- from the point of view of our study of class and power, it is likely that the historical pattern of class and ethnicity will be perpetuated as long as ethnic differentiation is so highly valued. Canada will always appear as an adaptation of its British and
French charter groups, rather than as one of a new breed in a new nation. (Porter, 1965, 557-58)

In assessing Porter’s lasting contribution in analyzing Canadian society during his days, Helmes-Hayes and Curtis (1998) observe that the persistent social inequality for some minorities, especially visible minorities, must disappear before we may consider the vertical mosaic as coined by Porter becomes a distant memory. They note there is a long way to go yet before the vertical mosaic does not apply to Canadian society (ibid., 17).

Several researchers have replicated the vertical mosaic study since its introduction in the 1960s. After examining the data using Statistics Canada’s Survey of Income and Labour Dynamics (SLID, 1997), Gee and Prus (2000, 252) state that Canada’s vertical mosaic has been transformed since the time of Porter’s (1965) research. But while the colour line remains, the order has changed. When we examine income, Canada is still characterized by a racial divide between whites and non-whites, the latter including Aboriginal people and visible minority groups. To be more specific, they report that the net income for visible minority men is $4,000 less than the average men’s earnings, indicating “they lose a considerable amount of money yearly because, and only because they are not white” (ibid., 251). They acknowledge their findings lend support to an earlier prediction made by Satzewich and Li (1987) that race will remain important in the structuring of inequality in Canada. Gee and Prus conclude that race matters in income inequality.

Breton observes that although ethnicity has diminished in significance compared to Porter’s period of analysis, race has become critical in accounting for patterns of inequality. He speculates this new development may lead to more persistent patterns of
social exclusion and discrimination than when culture is the primary factor of
differentiation (ibid., 105).

**Conclusion**

No single theory is complete in analyzing the phenomena associated with the
integration of newcomers from countries of origin to a new host society. In this chapter I
presented major theoretical frameworks on social capital which I chose to situate my
research on integration of Koreans in Manitoba. In addition, other theoretical
perspectives that I employed in analyzing the study population are presented.

Among the theories I use to situate my research to understand the Korean
immigrant community in Winnipeg, social capital theory appears to offer the most
meaningful contribution. While it offers an explanation for the Korean immigrant
community’s initial settlement, survival and resilience, it is difficult to quantify the value
introjection dimension of social capital. The second theory I employ in this study is the
acculturation theory. It regards all four modes of becoming acculturated by minorities in
a dominant existing culture – segmentation, marginalization, assimilation and integration
- as strategies of acculturation. However, the marginalization that occurs as a result of
forcible abandonment of minority culture cannot be regarded as a strategy of
acculturation.

As is revealed by the interview respondents, a large segment of Korean
immigrants in Winnipeg have some form of acculturation difficulties, especially when
they encounter overt or latent discrimination in their daily lives in the community and
when seeking employment opportunities. Theories of ethnic economy, power and
stratification round out the balance of the theories employed in this research.
The next chapter outlines the methodological procedures utilized in this dissertation.
Chapter Four: Methodology

Description of Methods

Mixed methods are used for this research. Part 1 is based on information from a survey I developed and administered and obtained 260 completed responses. The 260 completed surveys compares favourably considering there are 500 estimated Korean households residing in Winnipeg, based on a comprehensive new Directory of Koreans in Manitoba published in December 2009 by the Korean Society of Manitoba Inc. I developed a survey questionnaire in English and translated it into Korean because of the concern that many prospective respondents may not be able to complete the survey in English. As it turned out, over 93% of respondents completed the survey using the Korean version (see Appendix B). In Part 2, I draw on results from earlier qualitative interviews with 12 respondents which are necessary to augment the results of the survey questionnaires.

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the recruitment methods used to conduct 12 qualitative semi-structured interviews as well as obtaining 260 quantitative survey questionnaires. This chapter defines and operationalizes the development of the survey questionnaire. It also introduces several important indicators measuring social capital among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. These include social capital mindset; willingness to invest in social capital; civic involvement, donation and culture; and community networks and resources. It illustrates the development of two ordinary least squares (OLS) models: predicting “the willingness to invest in social capital” in the first model and “the perception of racism among Koreans in Winnipeg” in the second. It
concludes by identifying several limitations of the research methods utilized and profiles of the 12 interview participants.

It is important to note that the semi-structured interviews were conducted prior to the commencement of the survey. The primary purpose of the interviews was to obtain qualitative and experimental information about the study population and to inform the creation of the survey.

**Recruitment of Survey Respondents**

After obtaining the University of Manitoba Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board’s approval, I visited all ten Korean Protestant churches and one Catholic church in Winnipeg. I also visited the Saturday service for the Seventh-day Adventist church congregation. The reason for my visiting churches was that a significant number of Korean immigrants in Manitoba attend churches and the situation is similar in other major immigration centres in Canada. Koreans attend churches not only for their spiritual observance and enrichment, but also to meet friends and acquaintances from their home country, exchange information about employment and business opportunities, engage in developing informal networking, and seek and access available community social capital. It is important to note that the combined number of Christians, both Protestants and Catholics, in South Korea, according to the latest available information (2005), is less than 30% of the population. However, Min (1992, 1376) reports in a survey of Korean immigrants from Seoul (Park et al., 1989, 60) that 54% of the respondents who eventually left Korea indicated they were affiliated with Christian churches. Another survey in Chicago indicates that 52.6% of Korean immigrants in the U.S. were Christians.
in their country of origin (Huhr & Kim, 1990). In short, there is evidence to suggest that Christians are more likely to leave Korea, hence their large numbers in my sample.

To obtain permission from church leaders for me to administer the survey which took about 30-45 minutes to complete on their church premises, I approached individual pastors by telephone to make an appointment several weeks ahead of my visits. I explained to each church leader that I needed their assistance in recruiting prospective survey respondents, that the nature of survey was strictly for academic purposes, and it could help policy-makers to better understand the Korean community in their future program development with respect to the integration of immigrants in general and Koreans in particular. Some of the church leaders encouraged their members to participate in the survey, while others provided me an opportunity to explain the purpose and nature of the survey myself. The church leaders’ help was invaluable in encouraging more respondents to fill out the survey during their regular “friendship time” immediately after their regular Sunday service.

While the collection of completed survey questionnaires from church attendants was completed by December 2009, recruitment and collection of data from non-church members occurred over the first four months in 2010. Like other studies, some survey respondents needed several reminders before they returned completed the surveys.

Commencing in September 2009 and ending in April 2010, I collected 260 completed survey questionnaires. Two-thirds of the surveys were obtained from participants attending churches and the remainder was collected from other sources, mainly using directories such as the *Directory of Koreans in Manitoba* (December 2009) and the Directory of *Manitoba Korean Businessmen’s Co-Op*. Others were recruited by
asking friends and associates to help me in identifying potential survey participants in the community. As a result, I feel I have reasonably good coverage of the Korean-Canadians currently living in Winnipeg.

Of the 200 printed copies of the survey that I distributed in the churches, I received 172 completed surveys - a return rate of 86%. The response rate for non-church attendants was 85.4%; these are all very strong indicators of community interest in this project. Of the 103 surveys I distributed through my personal recruitment method, I received 88 completed surveys. For a variety of reasons, 15 persons failed to return the survey. When I conducted follow-up phone calls, I discovered that some of the surveys had been lost in the mail. In those cases, I asked participants to kindly fill out the surveys again. I personally delivered the surveys and collected them in person to avoid losing them. It is important to note only one adult over 18 years of age per household was permitted to complete the survey as I was interested in the experiences of adults. Other issues of concern include ethical issues affecting the participation of minors and the fact that the survey questions mainly concerned issues related to adulthood and integration in Canada which influenced the sample selection.

**Questionnaire Development**

In addition to questions I developed on my own, there are three major sources of information that I referenced in developing my survey questionnaire. The questions related to integration domain were based initially on Statistics Canada’s *Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002)* and the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada Questionnaire (Wave 3, 2007)*, and the questions concerning measuring social capital were based on Charturvedi (2005) and modified to suit the needs of this research project. The following
sections explain in greater detail the development and operationalization of the major variables used in the dissertation.

**Social capital mindset.**

Social capital mindset in this dissertation is defined as attributes that contribute to accessing existing community social capital: trust among co-ethnics, extending favour to Koreans among themselves, norms of reciprocity of loans and help received from co-ethnics, and a belief that helping co-ethnics is beneficial for one’s own benefit. It is a concept derived from the results of a factor analysis performed on my social capital indicators.

To obtain information on the degree of integration of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg to the host society, two sets of questions were developed using factor analysis. One is called “social capital mindset” and the second is designated as the “willingness to invest in social capital”. This section describes the development of social capital mindset.

An exploratory factor analysis technique is employed to understand the interrelationships among a set of attributes, indicators or items. A factor analysis performed on the 21 items for social capital mindset extracted two components, and are selected for further study because of their acceptable Cronbach’s coefficient alpha meeting an acceptable threshold (Pett et al., 2003, 185).

Social capital mindset is identified by questions 52 a) through 52 u), totaling 21 items. An example of the questions that comprise this variable includes: “When Koreans extend favours among themselves, returning the favour is more important than who returns the favour” (Q. 52 r.). The full set of questions pertaining to social capital mindset appears in Appendix A (Questions 52 a) through 52 u). Participants were asked
to rate in their responses using a five attribute Likert-type scale of SA=strongly agree A=agree, N =neutral, D= disagree, SD=strongly disagree. The final factor analysis defines the social capital mindset that includes seven items (variables 52 c, 52 d, 52 e, 52 f, 52 h, 52 n, 52 o). The items are identified in Table 4.1 which has a good Cronbach’s alpha of 0.730. The variable is a continuous level measure with the lowest value of 7 and the highest is 32.

Table 4.1    Items Comprising the Social Capital Mindset

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Items</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 c)</td>
<td>Korans trust each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 d)</td>
<td>Favours are easy to give in the Korean society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 e)</td>
<td>Koreans extend favours often without regard to future payback.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 f)</td>
<td>Koreans expect that a favour extended be returned in the same form as it was received.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 h)</td>
<td>Koreans who received favours should return it by giving or doing something in equal value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 n)</td>
<td>Koreans expect favours they extend will be returned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 52 o)</td>
<td>Koreans are reliable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Willingness to invest in social capital in the Korean community.

The willingness to invest in social capital in the Korean community in this dissertation is defined as attributes that would contribute to the creation, retention, and
promotion of Korean community networks for the benefit of the Korean community for the present and in the future.

Like the social capital mindset, responses to these questions were measured on a Likert scale. A total of nine attributes of willingness to invest in social capital were identified and included in the survey, from question 53 a) to 53 h) and 53 k). An example of the second set of questions on the willingness to invest in social capital is: “Would you make a significant donation to buy or build a new church/place of worship for Koreans?” These questions are shown in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2  Items Comprising the Willingness to Invest in Social Capital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Items</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 a)</td>
<td>Would you make a significant donation to establish a scholarship fund to develop future Korean leaders?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 b)</td>
<td>Would you make a significant donation to build a Korean nursing home in Winnipeg?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 c)</td>
<td>Would you make a significant donation to buy or build a new church/place of worship for Koreans?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 d)</td>
<td>Would you consider adopting a child whose Korean immigrant parents died?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 e)</td>
<td>A gifted young Korean musician is prevented from attending a major competition. Would you consider making a significant donation to help him or her?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 f)</td>
<td>If a Korean needs a kidney or bone marrow to save a life, I am prepared to donate mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 g)</td>
<td>Would you participate in the rotating credit association (“gye”) to raise funds in the Korean community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 53 h)</td>
<td>Would you borrow money from a community member to start or maintain your business?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 53 k)  The Korean community is capable of applying informal sanctions against violators of loan repayments.

Seven items, questions 53 a) through 53 f) and question 53 k), have been reverse coded, except questions 53 g) and 53 h). The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the nine items is excellent, measuring at 0.820. The intensity of items ranged from 9 to 42. To manage the vast quantity of data effectively, the range of identified intensity about the willingness to invest in social capital among Korean immigrants in Manitoba are recoded into three ranges, i.e., low level intensity averaged 14, mid level of intensity was 24 and high level of intensity was 36.

**Perception of racial discrimination experienced by Koreans in Winnipeg.**

In this research project I measure one’s perception of racial discrimination which is real or imagined on the basis of respondent’s self-assessment. It is important to gauge the individual’s perception of racism as it is a key component of one’s assessment of integration into a new society.

The types of racism defined by the survey includes whether law enforcement officers treat visible minorities unfairly, whether fellow Canadians treat Koreans and other ethnic minorities unfairly, when they apply for employment and are turned down, and if they have the perception they were turned down because of their visible minority status.

The set of questions created to capture perception of racism consists of six questions starting with Q. 50 a) through Q. 50 f). Questions 50 b), 50 d), 50 e) and 50 f) were reverse coded. The Cronbach’s alpha value is 0.654, not strong but an acceptable value. An example of questions contained in this set includes Q. 50 f): “Police and law
enforcement officers treat visible minorities unfairly.” These questions appear in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3  Items Comprising the Perception of Racial Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Items</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 50 a)</td>
<td>I think Canadians respect all ethnic minorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 50 b)</td>
<td>Canadians treat immigrants like me unfairly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 50 c)</td>
<td>Canadians are not racist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 50 d)</td>
<td>Employers avoid hiring Koreans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 50 e)</td>
<td>Canadian politicians pay only lip-service to diversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 50 f)</td>
<td>Police and law enforcement officers treat visible minorities unfairly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent variables.

Immigrant class.

There are three major immigrant classes through which foreign-born persons can enter Canada as a permanent resident. They are economic class (independent), family class and refugee class. The increasingly popular provincial nominee class is a subset of the economic class; however, for the purpose of the analysis it is treated as a separate class given the large number of recently-arrived Koreans entering Manitoba under this program. Within a decade since the introduction of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) in 1999, 2,550 Koreans landed in Manitoba, representing over 73% of the Korean population by the end of 2009 as published in the annual reports of Manitoba Department of Labour and Immigration. Since there is no respondent who belongs to the refugee class in the survey, it is not considered in this study.
The final coding for immigrant classes is:

IMCLIDP = Independent Class (N=44)
IMCLPN = Provincial Nominee Class (N=81)
IMCLFMLY = Family Class (N=60)

Education.

Since Gary Becker’s pioneering work (1964) on the development of human capital theory along with Theodore Schultz’s work (1971), there are not many people who doubt the utility of higher education. In fact, Reitz (2005, 5) states that Canada’s point system in selecting its future citizens is predicated essentially on the human capital theory.

My initial coding scheme for education is the same as the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada Questionnaire Wave 3.

To facilitate further analysis, the initial coding is recoded and is a series of dichotomous dummy variables:

EDUKOR1 – education received in Korea that includes high school graduation and lower (N=48)
EDUKOR2 – education received in Korea that includes community college diploma, apprenticeship certificate and lower (N=46)
EDUKOR3 – education received in Korea that includes some university, Bachelor’s degree and higher (N=126)
Likewise, education received in Canada is recoded as follows:
EDUCAN1 – education received in Canada that includes high school graduation and lower (N=8)
EDUCAN2 – education received in Canada that includes technical college diploma, apprenticeship certificate and lower (N=8)

EDUCAN3 – education received in Canada that includes some university, Bachelor’s degree and higher (N=52)

Civic involvement, donation and observance of cultural practices.

The civic involvement, donation, and observance of cultural practices in this dissertation are defined as attributes that show immigrants’ attitude and behavior with respect to civic affairs, donation and their cultural practices. The intensity of items ranged from 5 to 19.

The questions used to create this variable are drawn from Q. 46 a) to 49 b) as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Items Comprising Civic Involvement, Donation and Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 46 a)</td>
<td>I always donate money to Canadian charities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 46 b)</td>
<td>I always donate money to Korean charities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 47 a)</td>
<td>I celebrate all Canadian holidays.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 47 b)</td>
<td>I celebrate only Korean holidays.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 48 a)</td>
<td>It is important to me that our children retain Korean language, culture, and customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 48 b)</td>
<td>It is important to me for our children to learn English language, culture and customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 49 a)</td>
<td>I volunteer to work for Canadian community organizations, hospitals and schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 49 b)</td>
<td>I volunteer to work for Korean organizations and schools.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, since the observance of Korean cultural practices did not show any statistical significance, it was decided to use only Canadian cultural practices in the model, denoted as CIVDNCLc and appears in the equation below. An example of the question is: “I always donate money to Canadian charities.” Other questions used in developing CIVDNCLc are: Q. 46 a), Q. 47 a), Q. 48 b), and Q. 49 a). Since the range of all items for the community involvement, donations and culture ranges from 5 to 19, it is necessary to collapse these into three manageable ranges of low (5-10), mid (11-15), and high (16-19). Because the maintenance of Korean cultural practices does not appear to produce any interesting results, the observance of Canadian holidays and cultural practices were used for this segment of the analysis. I modified one question; namely, Q. 48 b), taken from the Ethnic Diversity Survey of 2002. The Cronbach’s alpha value of using the four Canadian cultural practice items is 0.665. This value is considered adequate but not strong.

Coding scheme for the variable CIVDNCLc is as follows:

Low level of intensity – 1 (N=45)

Medium level of intensity – 2 (N=123)

High level of intensity – 3 (N=25)

**Income.**

Income is an important component in measuring socioeconomic status (SES) of any given population under study. It is reasonable to assume Korean immigrants belonging to different income levels may exhibit differing experiences in accessing and investing in social capital and their integration into the host society.
Respondents were given several options to report annual gross family income before tax as follows:

- Less than $9,999 (N=14)
- $10,000 - $19,999 (N=21)  $20,000 - $29,999 (N=30)
- $30,000 - $39,999 (N=31)  $40,000 - $49,999 (N=29)
- $50,000 - $59,999 (N=27)  $60,000 - $69,999 (N=9)
- $70,000 - $79,999 (N=6)  Over $80,000 (N=29)

Don’t know (N=39); No response (N=25)
Total (N=260)

*Duration of residence in Manitoba.*

It is generally understood that the longer one resides in a new host society, the more integrated newcomers will be to their new home country. To see if this conventional wisdom holds with respect to Korean immigrants, I included the residence variable in the model. It is counted in months of residence (RMO). The length of residence, RMO, is recoded as short-term residents as 1; and long-term residents as 2 for further analysis. The short-term residents are defined as those who lived in Manitoba for less than 72 months while the long-term residents are those who lived between 73 months and 546 months at the time of the survey.

*Sex.*

To observe differential effect gender has in the model, I used gender as a dummy variable. Zero represents females (N=89) while 1 designates males (N=165).

*Languages spoken at home.*
To measure the effect of languages spoken at home on the perception of racism among Koreans, this variable is introduced. However, the use of Korean language at home does not show statistical significance, so only English language usage is inserted. The question used to obtain information on the language use is:

Q. 42 a) “How often do you speak English at home?” This question is a modified version from the Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.

Coding Scheme for the Language Spoken at Home
never – 1 (N=142); occasionally – 2 (N=84);

frequently – 3 (N=9); speaking English all the time – 4 (N=12)

*Definition of community networks and resources (nCMNTRS)*.

This variable is created using Q. 51a) through to Q. 51m). These questions originate from Charturvedi (2005) and are modified to suit the needs of this project. An example of the questions include: “The community helps new Korean immigrants because they are from Korea.” These questions are listed in the Appendix A. Table 4.5 shows the items that comprise the community networks variable. The intensity of items ranged from 25 to 54.

**Table 4.5 Items Comprising Community Networks and Resources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Items</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 51 a)</td>
<td>The community helps new Korean immigrants because they are Koreans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 51 b)</td>
<td>It is difficult to deal with Canadians because of my unfamiliarity with the host language and culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 51 c)</td>
<td>Koreans should stick together to build a strong community of our own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 51 d)</td>
<td>Since we immigrated to Canada, we should adapt to Canadian ways as quickly as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 51 e) We do not necessarily help out other Koreans just because they are from Korea.

Question 51 f) I feel more secure by maintaining ties with the local Korean community.

Question 51 g) The Korean community is no more trustworthy than other communities.

Question 51 h) Immigrants receive hardly any help outside the Korean community.

Question 51 i) Koreans in Winnipeg have a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Question 51 j) Koreans in Winnipeg do not think they are treated poorly than other communities.

Question 51 k) It is necessary for Koreans to help each other to survive in Winnipeg.

Question 51 l) Koreans are not expected to help other Koreans.

Question 51 m) Koreans have strong affinity with other Koreans.

Identifying the Factors Influencing the Willingness to Invest in Social Capital and the Perception of Racial Discrimination

As a result of extensive data analysis, two models are developed for Chapter 6. These are ordinary least squares (OLS) regression equations identifying the variables influencing the willingness to invest in social capital and the perception of racial discrimination.

Model 1 – Willingness to invest in social capital (nSCKRCW2)

Model 1 is specified as follows:

\[ nSCKRCW2 = B + IMCLINDP + IMCLPN + IMCLFMLY + CIVDNCLc + \text{EDUKOR2} + \text{EDUKOR3} + Y + \text{RMO} + nSCKRCWP \]

Where:
nSCKRCW2 is the dependent variable and is named “Willingness to invest in Social Capital”

B is a constant

IMCLINDP is immigration class – Independent

IMCLPN is immigration class – Provincial Nominee

IMCLFMLY is immigration class – Family

CIVDNCLc is community involvement, donation, observance of Canadian cultural practice

EDUKOR2 is some post-secondary education in Korea

EDUKOR3 is university degree or higher education in Korea

Y is recoded gross family income before tax

RMO is residence in months

nSCKRCWP is the first series of questions on social capital in Korean community in Winnipeg and is named “Social Capital Mindset”

(Referred to in Section 6.1 & Table 6.1)

Model 2 – Perception of racism among Koreans in Winnipeg (nRACISM)

Model 2 is specified as follows:

nRACISM = B + IMCLINDP + HOMEENG + CIVDNCLc + nCMNTRS + EDUKOR2 + EDUKOR3 + Y + Gender

Where:

nRACISM is the dependent variable, perception of racism

B is a constant

IMCLINDP is immigrant class – Independent
HOMEENG is English spoken at home
CIVDNCLc is community involvement, donation, observance of Canadian cultural practice
nCMNTRS is community networks and resources
EDUKOR2 is some post-secondary education in Korea
EDUKOR3 is university degree or higher education in Korea
Y is recoded gross family income before tax
Gender (male = 1; female = 0)

It is important to note that due to differences identified in the bivariate analysis, the models are run separately for males and females.

**Semi-structured Interviews**

In addition to the quantitative survey, I conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews with 12 principal Korean Manitoba provincial nominees (MPN). What motivated me to commence this research was a casual observation that many Korean MPN immigrants appeared to be leaving the province within a relatively short duration after their landing. In accordance with the University of Manitoba Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board protocol, I developed and submitted the interview guide, recruitment script and informed consent form (Appendices C, D and E respectively) as well as the prescribed Protocol Submission form for the Research Ethics Board’s examination and received their approval for the research project. I recruited 12 prospective interviewees and succeeded in having them participate in the semi-structured qualitative interviews. Respondents were selected using a convenience sample. Due to
the relatively small size of the community, it is relatively easy to meet and recruit these new arrivals at various community functions as well as through my own network.

The purpose in conducting these interviews was to obtain information first hand from people like them to better understand the settlement experience of recent immigrants in terms of their economic, social and political life. Specifically I am interested in the employment experiences of Koreans in Canada.

I interviewed 12 recent principal Korean MPNs to Winnipeg to field test that assumption and test some questions for my longer research questions for my dissertation. These interviews were held at various locations, e.g., in my university office, respondents’ residence, back office of their retail outlets, or at a quiet corner in coffee shops, depending on the wishes and convenience of the interviewees. I first sought their permission for recording the interview and explained the informed consent form to obtain their consent and gave them a copy for their record. Surprisingly, no one objected to my recording the interview process. The result of the interview forms an integral part of this dissertation. The interviews were held in August 2007 and an average interview lasted for about 45-60 minutes. After each interview, I prepared interview transcripts for subsequent analysis.

I analyzed the qualitative data by grouping interviewees by education, occupation, gender, employment status, age, and family size to discern any similarities and differences among them for ease of analysis. A detailed analysis of the 12 interviewees appears on Chapter 8 of this study.

A profile of the interviewees is shown in Table 4.6 below.
Table 4.6 Characteristics of Recent Principal Korean Immigrants in Manitoba

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender/age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Old/new Occupation</th>
<th>Emp.-Status</th>
<th># of Children/age</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male/49</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>2/ 18, 14</td>
<td>Mr. M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/46</td>
<td>D.D.M.</td>
<td>Dentist/businessman</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>3/ 19, 16, 13</td>
<td>Mr. H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/45</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Musician/businessman</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>2/ 16, 11</td>
<td>Mr. S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/48</td>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>3/ 21, 19, 16</td>
<td>Mr. J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/51</td>
<td>MBA</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>2/ 25, 23</td>
<td>Mr. N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/46</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Teacher/businessman</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>1/ 21</td>
<td>Mr. L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/35</td>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>Cook/owner</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>2/ 5, 4 mos.</td>
<td>Mr. C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/60</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>Freight forwarder/cashier</td>
<td>Employed part-time</td>
<td>3/ 30, 26, 23</td>
<td>Mr. G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/47</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Teacher/businessman</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2/ 19, 16</td>
<td>Mr. T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/50</td>
<td>3 – Yr. College Diploma</td>
<td>Registered Nurse</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>2/ 21, 18</td>
<td>Mrs. P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/47</td>
<td>3 – Yr. College Diploma</td>
<td>Registered Nurse</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>2/ 14, 11</td>
<td>Mrs. B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/33</td>
<td>2 – Yr. College Diploma</td>
<td>Graphic designer</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1/ 2</td>
<td>Mr. Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the Koreans I spoke with were in their 40s, having been “involuntarily” retired from their respective employment. In other words, they had been laid off prematurely by their employers who were undergoing forced restructuring and/or downsizing brought about by the Asian financial crisis during the late 1990s.
I asked the participants what motivated them to leave Korea and come to Manitoba. The immigrants indicate a major *push factor* is a general dissatisfaction of the Republic of Korea’s education policy which necessitates costly and lengthy organized after-school programs for students. What motivates parents to enroll their children in these after-school programs is due to difficulties in the public education system, and the belief their children will have little chance in gaining admission to the top universities. The push factor was then finding better schooling for their children, thereby increasing their chances of obtaining decent employment as adults. Although successive Korean administrations have tried for three decades to control and eventually abolish the organized after-school programs in order to provide a level playing field, it has not succeeded, and the business of organized after-school activities in Korea is thriving.

Other push factors identified by the informants included a high population density with the attendant fierce competition for employment, two-year compulsory military service, difficulties encountered in returning to work after maternity leave, negative influence of the changes in government policy prohibiting pharmacists from selling drugs without a prescription, a country that is organized hierarchically instead of horizontally and early permanent lay-off of middle aged employees by many employers. In short, these are significant factors pushing Korean professionals out of the country.

Some of the recent Korean immigrants in Manitoba identified better living conditions in Canada and North America and the desire to experience a better quality of life for their children and themselves as a *pull factor* in their decision to immigrate to Manitoba. Other pull factors identified by the informants included a desire to help their children learn English and seek better opportunities for their families; help children to
experience a beautiful natural environment and new challenges; a perception that Canada and North America offer more opportunity; advertisement in trade journals offering cash bonuses and enticing working conditions; a desire to live in a foreign country; a low population density and better education system in Canada; a desire to have greater distance from extended family; and the comparatively easy way to obtain an immigrant visa through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) relative to other ways of entering Canada. Manitoba promotes itself as a destination that can be easily entered and allows newcomers to attain these goals.

I asked about their settlement experiences in Manitoba. Although the majority of interviewees were somewhat reluctant to admit it, there were serious incidences of unemployment and underemployment among recent Korean immigrants, with the exception of two nurses and a pharmacist. A major reason for this problem was due to language barriers. The lack of confidence in English proficiency often leads to prolonged periods of language training, leading to unemployment and underemployment. As a result of the delay in entering the labour market and learning English, many of them give up their dreams of pursuing their former profession and instead settle for lower level employment in a related field. For example, a former teacher is now trying to become a teacher’s assistant or start a small business. Another informant states he only works part-time due to poor job prospects. Other labour market problems encountered by the informants include the inability to get their educational qualifications and work experiences that were acquired in Korea to be recognized in Manitoba. One informant states he decided to defer taking the long and lengthy recertification process to obtain a license to practice dentistry for the immediate need of providing for his family.
Prejudices and preferences are identified as obstacles to overcome for the newly arrived. Others cited discrimination from employers in Manitoba. One informant laments he could only work occasionally because employers are reluctant to hire Koreans or other immigrants. One informant confides that school principals’ preference for hiring white persons over non-whites, even for teachers’ assistants. It is also noted Manitoba employers prefer to hire people who they know and are reluctant to take a chance with new immigrants.

Although Koreans, like other immigrants, are known for utilizing various ties to receive benefits while living in Korea - e.g., through schools, regions, family and in-laws - most have little social capital due to the small size of the Korean community and they do not know anyone in Winnipeg. However, there was one exception. One informant who utilized school ties extensively succeeded in getting a license to work as a pharmacist in Manitoba. When available, social networks can be an important contribution to finding employment.

**Limitations of the Methodology**

In general, survey research methods involve several limitations. These limitations include, but are not limited to, the following: standardized questionnaire items invariably represent the least common denominator in assessing respondents’ attitudes, expectations and experience; it is inflexible in that the survey instrument must remain unchanged throughout the research; and survey research is generally weak on reliability and strong on validity (Babbie, 1999, 251-52). However, my interviews help deal with these issues. Because the survey questionnaire is designed to obtain information from respondents who are to self-report on personal and family situations, there may be a tendency for
respondents to attempt to provide “correct” answers and/or provide answers they guess the researcher wants to hear. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as “pleasing the researcher”. To minimize this concern, I emphasized and repeated a refrain when I distributed the survey questionnaire: “There are no right or wrong answers in the survey. Be as honest as you can.”

Another limitation of the method in this project may be that nearly all of the church attendants did not know of my attendance at their worship service until the end of the service. The unexpected “chore” of filling out the survey questionnaire may have “forced” some respondents to complete it in a hurry for they were losing valuable networking time during their regular “friendship time”. Another limitation may be that two-thirds of the survey respondents are church attendants in Winnipeg, while the latest information on religion compiled by the Korea National Statistical Office in 2005 shows the proportion of Christians, Protestants (18.3%) and Catholics (10.9%) combined is slightly less than 30%. However, a recent study of Korean immigrants in Auckland, New Zealand, reports almost all respondents, employers, employees and home-stay operators are Christians, although slightly more than 20% of Koreans are affiliated with Christian churches in Korea (Meares et al., 2010, 32). Furthermore, Min asserts that in the United States most Korean immigrants are Christians from the middle class who brought with them moderate or significant sums of money and possessions from Korea (Min, 1992, 1391).

Generally speaking, there are several inherent limitations in using semi-structured qualitative interviews. These limitations may include biases and control introduced by the interviewer; protecting privacy and anonymity may be difficult to maintain when a study
is published; and the mere presence of the researcher during the interview process may influence the respondent’s answers.

Some acknowledged strengths of qualitative interviews include the ability to focus on the individual rather than on generalized social trends. For this reason, some argue that to understand a phenomenon, it is best to take a lived-experience approach (Bouma et al., 2009, 43). In championing advantages of using the qualitative research method in studying African immigrant and refugee population in Canada, Ighodaro (2009, 115) states that their thoughts, feelings, and ideas are essential to an understanding of their collective socio-political struggles and the complexity of immigration and settlement in Canada.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described in detail the research method that I employed to obtain answers to my research questions. It is quite interesting to note that I have been able to develop two promising models with which the willingness to invest in social capital and the perception of racism among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg can be predicted to the extent that is outlined in Chapter 6. This undoubtedly will aid me in elucidating further discussions on the social, political, and economic integration into Canada experienced by Korean immigrants in Winnipeg which is discussed in detail in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.
Chapter Five: Characteristics of the Study Population

To better understand the dynamics of integration into the new host society and the extent of utilizing social capital, it is essential that various characteristics of the study population are described in detail prior to commencing more detailed analyses. To the best of my knowledge, this research represents the first time a systematic and comprehensive examination of the Korean immigrant population in Manitoba is being conducted. My study is, in fact, one of the few conducted on Korean Canadians in this country. In this chapter, various characteristics of the study population are described with appropriate comparisons with benchmark figures beginning with immigration class, age and gender.

Of the 260 survey respondents, slightly less than half (128 or 45%) arrived in Manitoba prior to 2003 and the rest (142 respondents or 55%) arrived after 2003. As is shown in Table 5.1 below, my sample mirrors remarkably the overall population of Korean immigrants in Manitoba. For example, 2,391 Korean immigrants (51.8%) landed in Manitoba prior to 2003 and the remainder (2,222 immigrants or 48.2%) arrived after 2003 as shown in Chart 5.1. The Korean community in Manitoba has experienced a noticeable population growth in the last decade (1999–2009) as shown in Table 5.1. It took at least three decades (1973–2003) to reach 2,391 immigrants while it took only one decade (1999-2009) to reach a comparable 2,222 for a total Korean immigrant population of over 4,600.

As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, owing to the MPNP, Manitoba’s Korean population more than doubled from about 1,500 before 1999 to about 3,500 now\(^3\). When

\(^3\) Although no one has the accurate figure, the Korean Society of Manitoba’s latest directory published in December 2009 lists 500 Korean households in Winnipeg. In addition, there are many Korean people who
the MPNP commenced in 1999, only eight Korean provincial nominees (PN) arrived in Manitoba. This figure jumps to 182 in 2002, an increase of 48.7% in three years. It rises again in 2003 to 264 PNs, an increase of 45%. Except for 2007, Korean PNs landing in Manitoba averaged slightly over 350 PNs a year.

Chart 5.1  Historic Landings from the Republic of Korea

By the end of 2009, Manitoba’s Korean population was proportionately similar to arrivals in Canada, almost evenly split between before and after 1993 at 45.1% and 54.9%. It is interesting to note that for three years in a row (2002, 2003 and 2004) Korea ranked the third highest source country after the Philippines and Germany under the MPNP landings in Manitoba with 182, 264 and 368 persons respectively. In recent years, India and China surpassed Korea in the rankings in 2006 to 2008 (Manitoba, 2009, 3).

are not registered with the directory for a variety of reasons. It is an estimate based cross referencing with nine church directories and one business directory.


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**Immigration Class**

Sixty Korean survey respondents arrived in Canada as members of the family class at 23.1% of the total. It is slightly higher than 12.5% for all immigrants landing in Manitoba in 2008. The second largest immigrant class was the Provincial Nominee – business class with 56 persons or 21.5%. Third largest group consisted of independent class with 44 persons or 16.9% of the total respondents. These were followed by the Provincial Nominee – skilled workers with 25 respondents or 9.6%. There were eight persons or 3.1% who landed in Manitoba under the federal investor class and three persons or 1.2% under the federal entrepreneur class.

**Table 5.2 Immigration Class at Time of Landing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN - business</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN - skilled</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed - business</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed - entrepreneur</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work permit</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor – Intends to immigrate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since provincial nominee class and independent class are part of the economic class, 136 persons or 52.3% of the sample has immigrated to Manitoba for economic reasons. The share of the Korean economic class immigrants in the sample is 25% lower than the economic class in Manitoba’s overall immigrant landings at 77.5% in 2008.
Twenty-nine respondents or 11.2% came to Manitoba first as students. Twenty-one persons (8.1%) came on the temporary work visas. Another four respondents arrived on visitors’ visas but intend to apply for permanent residency in the future.

**Age and Gender**

There are 24 persons or 9.2% who are 60 years of age and over among the sample: this compares with 1.8% of Manitoba’s total immigrants who landed in 2007. Proportionally higher numbers of older persons are represented in the sample than comparable Manitoba immigrants in that age group. There are 209 persons or 80.4% over 18 years of age and older but less than 60 years of age. This compares favourably with Manitoba in 2007 (60.1% in 2007). It is important to note that the survey does not include anyone under 18 years of age while the provincial data includes persons of all ages (ibid., 13).

In terms of gender distribution, 165 respondents or 63.5% are males and 89 respondents or 34.2% are females. There are six respondents who did not indicate their gender in the survey. There is gender imbalance in the survey in that the general immigrant population in Manitoba has an almost equal gender split of 50.6% for males and 49.4% for females. This is probably because when a couple is given a survey to complete, males are more likely to comply. This is a bit different as the survey literature suggests that females are the most likely to complete surveys for family units. My explanation is that males are more readily available to reply, as females are busy after Sunday service in preparing fellowship meals or clean-up after the meal and/or to look after their young children.
Table 5.3 Age and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Years)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>No response</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Incidence of Acquiring Canadian Citizenship

Acquiring Canadian citizenship is commonly used as a proxy for measuring the degree of integration of a foreign-born population into Canadian society (Wilkinson, 2001, 119) and is regarded as a fundamental feature of political integration that can influence the course it takes (Biles et al., 2008, 49). Over 40% (105 respondents) in Winnipeg had acquired Canadian citizenship by the end of 2009. Sixteen respondents (6.2%) have applied for Canadian citizenship. Of the 25 respondents who arrived in Manitoba between 1967 and 1981 their citizenship acquisition rate is 100%. Among the 146 respondents who arrived between 1982 and 2005, 74 persons or 52% possessed Canadian citizenship while 16 persons had applied, representing a combined citizenship acquisition rate of 63.4%. This downward trend in the acquisition of Canadian citizenship among Korean immigrants is lower than what is being observed among Canada’s general immigrant population. For example, there had been a gradual increase in acquiring
Canadian citizenship among other immigrants: from 77% in 1981, 82% in 1991 and 84% in 1996 (Biles, 2008, 50). Tran et al. found that 92% of immigrants arriving between October 2000 and September 2001 signalled their intention to acquire Canadian citizenship (ibid., 50). It is reasonable to assume for Korean immigrants that the acquisition of Canadian citizenship is a function of the duration of residence in Canada and the perceived and/or real trade off between holding Korean citizenship vis-à-vis acquiring Canadian citizenship.

**Education Attained in Korea**

A significant majority of the survey respondents, 106 or 40.8%, possessed university degrees prior to their arrival to Manitoba. Fifteen persons had a Master’s degree, four had a professional degree and one had a PhD prior to immigrating to Canada. There were 34 persons with some university education and 11 respondents had a college diploma or college education. In sum, 171 respondents or 65.7% of the survey sample had obtained post-secondary educational credentials or attended post-secondary institutions in Korea when they immigrated to Canada. Their level of educational attainment is comparatively high when compared to other immigrants to Canada. For example, a comparable figure for Manitoba (2008, 22) is 47.2% for principal applicants 25 years and over, while the Korean figure includes dependents and persons over 18 years of age. Nationally, post-secondary educational attainment among immigrants was at 63.5% in 2008 (Canada, 2008, 37).
Table 5.4  Highest Level of Education Attained in Korea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education Acquired</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some elementary or completion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduation</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College diploma or certificate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional degree &amp; Doctorate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Highest Level of Education Acquired in Canada

In contrast with their high educational attainment while in Korea, the respondents’ educational attainment in Canada is comparatively weaker. For example, 178 respondents or close to 70% had acquired no Canadian educational credentials regardless of their length of stay in Canada. However, there were ten respondents with Bachelor’s degrees, 12 with Master’s degrees and five persons had earned their Doctorates. Forty-four or
16.9% of the respondents had acquired college diplomas or attended some post-secondary educational institutions in Canada.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.5</th>
<th>Highest Level of Education Attained in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduation or less</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college or trade school or apprenticeship</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College diploma</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Canadian credential</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>260</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marital Status

An overwhelming majority of 214 respondents (82.3%) were married at the time of the survey. It is a very high rate compared with the overall marriage rate of all Koreans living in Canada at 54% and the Canadian average of about 50% based on a 2001 Census of Canada data (Statistics Canada, 2007, 13). However, 13 married respondents identified themselves as a “goose family”, i.e., married but living apart from their spouses for a variety of reasons. It is quite common among recent Korean immigrants to maintain two
separate households – one in Canada and the other in Korea for an obvious economic and practical necessity. Typically in these goose families, a father would return to Korea when faced with adversity and hardship in finding employment commensurate with his educational credentials and work experience in Canada. Others would decide at the outset for fathers to remain in Korea with their current employers, leaving their wives and children in Canada to learn English and attain Canadian educational credentials. They would visit Canada on their annual vacations, holidays and other special family occasions. There may be a few fathers who stay with their children in Canada while the mothers work in Korea to support the families in Canada, but the phenomenon is most prevalent with mothers living in Canada with their children and fathers living in Korea. In an upcoming book, Kim, Yoon, Park and Noh (2013) note that the greater decision-making power of women in transnational immigration appears to be driven by the mothers’ responsibilities for education and social reproduction.

Twenty-six or 10% of the respondents were single. In terms of respondents’ gender, 165 respondents or 63.5% of them were males and 89 respondents or 34.2% were females.

**Table 5.6  Marital Status and Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, living apart</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occupational Distribution of the First Job in Canada

The largest occupational group among respondents was cashiers with 24 or 14%. The second largest group were grocery store owners with 14 respondents or 8.2%. The third largest group were chefs and cooks with 12 persons or 7%. Other large occupational groups included nine garment workers (5.3%), eight mechanics (4.7%), seven businesspersons (4.1%), six nurses (3.5%) and five pastors (2.9%). It is important to note that for nearly one-third of the respondents (77), the question on occupation was not applicable because they were not actively seeking employment. The reason for not seeking employment is that they are either full-time students or homemakers. Twelve respondents did not provide answers to the question on occupation.

Occupational Distribution in Korea

The largest occupational group in Korea among the respondents were 39 students (16.7%). The second largest group were 24 businesspersons with 10.3%. The third largest group were 23 office workers with 9.9%. The fourth were 20 homemakers with 8.6%. Other large occupational groups included nine teachers (3.9%), seven civil servants (3%), six mechanics (2.6%), six programmers and analysts (2.6%), five dental technicians (2.1%) and five Protestant pastors (2.1%). There were 23 respondents who did not answer the question on their occupation in Korea and four respondents for whom

---

5 It included only those participants answering this question. There were 77 participants who did not actively seek employment and 11 omitted answering this question.
the question was not applicable for they were either students or too young to work at the time of immigration.

Occupational mismatch between home country and new country is often cited as a source of frustration and dissatisfaction about the new host society on the part of immigrants themselves and the economic loss of the host country in not being able to utilize the full potential of its new residents (Reitz, 2001, 347, 378). For example, Reitz estimates the cost of immigrant skill underutilization costs Canada about $2.4 billion a year on the basis of 1996 census data.

In the first place, the costs are borne by the immigrant and by the economy as a whole, since the immigrant is denied a career and the economy is denied the corresponding contribution. (Ibid., 353)

The five Protestant pastors among the sample were most successful in finding employment in the same occupation in Canada as in Korea.

**Gross Family Income Before Taxes**

Although reporting income on a survey is almost a taboo subject for just about everyone, many respondents were willing to provide this information.

**Table 5.7 Gross Family Income before Taxes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;$9,999</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $19,999</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - $29,999</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000 - $39,999</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000 - $49,999</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $59,999</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,000 - $69,999</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$70,000 - $79,999</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;$80,000</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While 29 respondents (11.2%) report gross family income in excess of $80,000 per year in 2008, 96 respondents (36.9%) report gross family income less than $40,000 annually. Seventy-one respondents (27.3%) report family gross income between $40,000 and $79,999.

Although it is very difficult to estimate an average income for Korean immigrant families because the gross family income was indicated in the survey as a range, not a specific amount, a crude estimate is made here. All families are assumed to make income at the midpoint in income ranges reported in the survey, e.g., families in the $40,000-$49,999 range are assumed to make $45,000. In addition, families reporting income greater than $80,000 were divided into two groups – 15 families with $85,000 and 14 with $95,000. The resulting average income for Korean immigrant families in the sample is $44,133.00, excluding 64 families who claimed they did not know their income or provided no response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children in home</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of households, 102 (39.2%), have two children living in the family, while 53 (20.4%) families have one child. Fifteen (5.8%) families have three children while five (1.9%) families have as many as four children living in a household. Seventy (26.9%) families have no children living in the household.

The Statistics Canada Low Income Cut-Offs for families of four and three living in Winnipeg in 2008 is $41,198 and $33,933 respectively. Since over 80% of the respondents are married, it is reasonable to state that about 102 respondents (39.2%) with four persons living in a household live below the poverty line, and an additional 53 respondents (20.4%) with three persons in each household live below the poverty line. The fact that as many as 155 respondents (59.6%) live below the poverty line is serious cause for concern. This finding is similar to what Statistics Canada reported in 2007 based on the 2001 Census of Canada.

A relatively large proportion of Canadians of Korean origin have incomes that fall below Statistics Canada’s Low-income Cut-offs. In 2000, the incomes of 43% of the Korean community were below the official Low-income Cut-offs, compared with 16% of the total Canadian population. (Statistics Canada, 2007, 16)

Fernando Meta, using the theory of economic vulnerability developed by Chaykowsky and Slotsve (2007), includes Koreans in Canada as belonging to a group of non-European peoples facing the economic vulnerability based on using selected 2006 census classifications from Statistics Canada’s special interest profile tables (Mata, 2009).
Conclusion

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the study population. The survey covered over half of the estimated Korean immigrant households in Manitoba by the end of 2009. It reports that about half of Korean immigrants arrived in Manitoba prior to 2003 and the remaining half arrived after 2003. The size of the Korean community in Manitoba more than doubled owing to the implementation of the Manitoba PNP in 1999. Many Korean families immigrated to Manitoba primarily because of their children’s free public education coupled with comparatively less onerous academic achievement pressure placed on students for entrance into post-secondary educational institutions in Korea, and the ease and speed with which they can obtain landed immigrant status in all of Canada. It is interesting to note that the Province of Manitoba chose immigration as its number one economic priority to attract more immigrants to Manitoba to maintain the standards of living and to increase overall economic activity in the province. The profiles of the study population reveals a troubling fact that over half of the families (155) with three or four persons in a household live below the poverty line in Winnipeg as defined by the Statistics Canada Low Income Cut-Offs in 2008. A similar observation is made in a recent study by Fernando Mata about Korean communities in Victoria, Vancouver and Edmonton.
Chapter Six: Social Integration of Koreans in Manitoba

Integration of immigrants does not occur over a single dimension. In fact, it has multidimensional elements intersecting with a host of important domains of contemporary immigrant-receiving societies, such as economic, education, cultural, social, political and religious. While it is often described as a “two-way street” in the literature (Biles, Frideres, and Burstein, 2008; Li, 2003b), my conceptualization of integration is also an act of mutual selection in that immigrants choose a nation-state to emigrate to, and the state in turn selects its future citizens. It appears that existing research places too much emphasis on how quickly new immigrants shed their former images, including language, customs and religious practices, and to act and think like the native-born population. Despite valiant efforts made by immigrants to learn the new norms and standards of the new host society and to conform, it is not possible to integrate fully into the new country when the host society’s institutions and citizens make little effort to accommodate its new citizens. Therein lies a dilemma. It is not fair and equitable to demand immigrants change to achieve a one-sided integration while the host society’s established institutions and Canadians are reluctant to grant full citizenship rights and social entitlements to immigrants. These rights include the right to challenge the status quo, right of representation for public offices, as well as the right to be different if one chooses. Integration entails incorporating immigrants to a democratic process of participation and representation that guide the future, not necessarily about conforming and restricting immigrants to already existing results based on the prevailing societal norms and standards (Li, 2003b). Because of the potential influence social capital may play in the integration of immigrants into the new host society, what follows is a
discussion of my working definition of social capital. This section will be followed by an 
examination of the mindset of social capital among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg 
which is derived as an index through a principal factor analysis. Other important models 
contained in this chapter include the perception of racism felt by the survey respondents 
as well as the willingness to invest in social capital.

A Working Definition of Social Capital

Robert Putnam (2007), a major figure in this research, identifies social capital as 
*social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness*. Putnam 
identifies three separate but interrelated concepts within social capital: engagement, 
trustworthiness and norms of reciprocity.

A society that relies on generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a 
distrustful society for the same reason that money is more efficient than 
barter. Honesty and trust lubricate the inevitable frictions of social life. 
(Ibid., 2000, 135).

By way of illustration, Putnam argues that honesty, civic engagement and social 
trust are mutually reinforcing. His research reveals that Americans engaged 40% less in 
party politics and civic organizations compared with those living during the 1960s 
(Putnam, 2000). He also observes that overall levels of trustworthiness declined 20% in 
four decades from about 55% in the 1960s to 35% in the late 1990s. He rejects the notion 
that social capital in the U.S. has disappeared, but has simply relocated in the workplace 
or informal settings. He also notes the corresponding decline in church attendance of 
American citizens, a trend which has led to social decline given the historic 
interconnectedness of religion and social activity. He also claims an important diagnostic 
test for social capital in America in recent decades is how reciprocity and social trust
have evolved (ibid., 137). As an example of measuring declining reciprocity, he uses the changing perceptions of honesty and morality as a proxy. It appears that in Putnam’s lexicon, reciprocity and social trust are almost synonymous.

In addition, successful integration of immigrants to a new host society requires not only sustained efforts on the part of immigrants to adapt to a new environment, norms and standards, but also equally sustained efforts on the part of the receiving society and its long-established institutions. In other words, social capital is similar to integration in that it is a two-way process of acceptance between immigrants and native-born Canadians.

It seems to me that Korean immigrants seek and value social capital that can be accessed in their own community while they are less able to utilize social capital that can be accessed in the wider Canadian community, presumably because of lack of confidence in their language ability in one of the official languages and/or unfamiliarity with the customs, standards and norms of the host society among other reasons. Thus, to integrate into the receiving society successfully, bonding social capital within the Korean community is equally as important as bridging social capital in the host society. The challenge for Korean immigrants is to learn the skills necessary to access social capital inherent in the wider Canadian society.

In general, Korean immigrants in Winnipeg are not greatly different from other immigrant groups in terms of the formation and utilization of social capital. The reason for holding this type of initial understanding of social capital stems from the literature review in Chapter 2 and the recognition that examples of the workings of social capital cited by writers can be readily identified within the Korean community as well.
But Putnam’s description of social capital misses some elements. As a result, I draw on the work of Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) to broaden the scope of this concept. While Putnam argues that immigration and diversity tend to reduce social solidarity and social capital of the receiving society in the short run, successful immigrant receiving societies have overcome such divisiveness by devising new inclusive forms of social solidarity and more accommodating identities in the long run. I also agree with his assertion that social capital exists in social networks. In my opinion, however, there are other elements that are associated with social capital, aside from attendant norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that Putnam has specified. Consequently I need to incorporate another perspective in social capital and feel that the one elucidated by Portes and Sensenbrenner is most appropriate. They identify two additional concepts involved in the workings of social capital: value introjection and bounded solidarity. Value introjection simply means it fosters persons to act in a manner different from simple greed. Bounded solidarity leads immigrants to act in unison to achieve collective goals. These elements are missing from Putnam’s conceptualization.

I believe all of these elements are present to some degree in the Korean immigrant community in Winnipeg and other communities as well. I would like to discover if these forms of social capital are present in Korean community in Winnipeg by conducting this research project. I like the way Portes summed up social capital:

Despite these differences the consensus is growing in the literature that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures. (1998, 6)

My working definition of social capital, as a result, looks like this:
Social capital is embedded in networks and structures that can be accessed by persons and/or communities that have not necessarily invested in the creation and maintenance of the networks or structures by virtue of a membership in that network. It also includes the social capital mindset and the willingness to invest in social capital. The social capital mindset includes trust, norms of reciprocity and the belief helping co-ethnics is good for one’s own self-interest.

My conceptualization is inclusive of reciprocity, trust, bounded solidarity and value introjection. Bounded solidarity is limited to members of a particular group who find themselves affected by common events in a specific time and space, according to Portes (1998). As an example of bounded solidarity at work, Portes cites an incident where a Colombian-born police officer was accused of shooting two African-American cyclists. In desperation, he made an appeal to Colombians and other Latin Americans living in Miami via a Spanish language radio station and raised his defense fund successfully. He was using the solidarity of the Colombian community as a way of supporting his cause.

The value introjection aspect of social capital becomes appropriable by others or by the community as a resource. It refers to individual behavior that transcends simple greed. In other words, community members give (time, money, favour) because they are members of common community.

As is revealed in my survey, there is considerable interest and willingness to invest in creating social capital among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg which can best be classified as the value introjection type of social capital.
The following section examines the extent of social capital among Korean immigrant community in Winnipeg.

**Social Capital in Korean Community in Winnipeg**

To obtain information on the degree of integration of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg to the host society, two sets of the survey questionnaires were developed in such a way so as to ascertain if various forms of social capital are available in the Korean community in Winnipeg. In this way, social capital is used as a proxy to measure the degree of integration into Canadian society by Korean immigrants.

The results of factor analysis identified two factors of social capital: the first of which I call “social capital mindset” and a second named “willingness to invest in social capital”. Social capital mindset is so designated because the 21 questions from Q. 52 a) to Q. 52 u) (see Appendix A) listed in the survey are designed to capture the essence of the term. It measures Koreans’ understanding of the notion of social capital. It tries to measure how Koreans extend help, material or otherwise, and how that help is returned among fellow Koreans in the community. The average range of all items for the social capital mindset was 58.

The results in this next section deal with the “social capital mindset.”

**Table 6.1 Social Capital Mindset by Highest Level of Education Attained in Korea**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Social Capital Mindset</th>
<th>High School or lower (%)</th>
<th>Some Post-Secondary (%)</th>
<th>Bachelor’s Degree or higher (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 51.2  P<0.01
To determine if highest education level attained in Korea has any relationship with the formation and access to social capital among Koreans, a bi-variate analysis is undertaken. Table 6.1 indicates that social capital is positively influenced by the level of education among the Korean community in Winnipeg. Those with university level education have higher rates of social capital mindset (34.9%) than those with some post-secondary education (24%) or less than high school (23%). As education level increases, so does social capital mindset.

The next variable of interest is the length of residence in Canada. For display purposes, those who resided in Winnipeg for less than six years are compared with those with a longer history in Winnipeg.

### Table 6.2 Social Capital Mindset by the Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Social Capital Mindset</th>
<th>Residence in Months (%)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short (Less than 6 years)</td>
<td>Long (longer than 6 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square=51.83 P<0.05

Table 6.2 shows that recently-arrived Korean immigrants score higher (31.4%) on social capital mindset than the longer-term residents (28.8%), a difference which is statistically significant. It means that those immigrants having a shorter history in Manitoba actually have a higher sense of social capital mindset, contrary to our expectations.
Since an examination of other independent variables such as income and gender are not statistically significant, we now turn our attention to an examination of the second set of attributes named “willingness to invest in social capital” among Korean immigrants in Manitoba.

**Willingness to Invest in Social Capital among the Korean Community in Winnipeg**

The items contained within the measure “willingness to invest in social capital” include Q. 53 a) through Q.53 k), totaling 11 questions (see Appendix A). These questions are designed to measure Korean immigrants’ preparedness in terms of donating money to develop future leaders, building nursing homes and places of worship, offering scholarships, and loaning money to new Korean immigrants without knowing their backgrounds.

**Table 6.3  Willingness to Invest in Social Capital by Highest Education Attained in Korea, 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Willingness to Invest in Social Capital</th>
<th>High School diploma or lower</th>
<th>Some Post-secondary</th>
<th>University degree or higher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 43.9   P<0.001

Like the social capital mindset, here is also an education effect with willingness to invest in social capital. Respondents with university degrees from Korean institutions have a higher intensity of awareness, utilization and investment in social capital (19.4%), while respondents with high school diploma or lower and respondents with some post-secondary education have shown much less intensity at 8.8% and 9.4%
respectively. Those with the lowest willingness to invest in social capital are those with the lowest level of education (53%). The direction of this relationship is similar to the one we observed with social capital mindset.

The willingness to invest in social capital and gender of respondents appear to have some interesting relationships as shown in the Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4  Willingness to Invest in Social Capital by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Willingness to Invest in Social Capital</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 43.9  P<0.001

Table 6.4 shows that the willingness to invest in social capital among Korean women is lower (8.6%) than men (20.2%) in terms of its intensity. So men are more likely to report high levels of willingness to invest in social capital.

Community Networks and Resources in the Korean Community in Winnipeg

Another way of looking at social capital is the availability of community network and assets. It is critical because if they are present in the immigrant community, they could assist newcomers to settle initially and integrate into the host society without a prolonged and agonizing journey. The notion of community networks and resources is defined in this study as an affinity among immigrants to help one another by building self-help networks and sharing resources to survive in a strange new land. This variable is
created by combing respondents’ answers to the Likert scale. To determine if these invaluable networks and resources are available in Korean community in Winnipeg, I examine a series of 13 questions from Q. 51 a) to Q. 51 m) (see Appendix A).

Table 6.5  Networks and Resources by Length of Residence, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Networks &amp; Resources</th>
<th>New arrivals (less than 6 yrs.) %</th>
<th>Old arrivals (long-term residents over 6 yrs.) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
<td>77.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 193.88  P<.005

Table 6.5 shows that the long-term residents perceived higher levels of community networks and resources with 11.2% compared with 4.3% for the short-term residents. Thus the intensity of networks and resources increases over time. However, three-quarters of the participants perceived a medium level of network availability in Winnipeg, which indicated the respondents did not feel they had a large community from which to draw resources.

**Community Involvement, Donation and Cultural Practices**

The observation of Canadian holidays and cultural practices is another measure of integration. It is important to note there is no variation in preservation of Korean culture or practices. Almost all Koreans practice their culture. This concept combines the extent to which the respondents practice and observe particular aspects of Canadian culture and holidays.

There are nine questions about practices involving their new Canadian culture, starting from Q. 46a) to Q. 49 b) (see Appendix A). This section discusses the results.
Table 6.6  Community Involvement, Donation and Culture (Canadian) by Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Involvement, donation, culture-Canadian</th>
<th>New arrivals (less than 6 yrs.) %</th>
<th>Older arrivals (longer than 6 yrs.) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 83.36  P<0.01

Table 6.6 shows that the long-term residents expressed higher level of intensity of Canadian cultural practices with 16.4% compared with 7.6% for the short-term residents. In the low level of intensity, short-term residents registered higher at 31.6% while the long-term residents showed only 17.3%. In sum, as time in Canada increases, so does the propensity to adapt Canadian cultural practices, though for most, practicing Canadian culture is featured only moderately.

Languages Spoken at Home, English and Korean by Length of Residence

Table 6.7  English Spoken at Home by Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English spoken at home</th>
<th>New (less than 6 yrs.) %</th>
<th>Old (longer than 6 yrs.) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent/all the time</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 271.04  P<0.01

Table 6.7 shows that the short-term residents’ use of English at home is 3.8% while that for the long-term residents is 13.1%. By contrast, English is never spoken at home is 78.8% for the short-term residents while that for the long-term residents is 40%.
When the usage of Korean language at home is examined separately with the length of residence in Manitoba, it shows statistical significance at \( P < .05 \) level (table not shown), meaning that the sole use of Korean at home also diminishes over time.

**Table 6.8  Perception of Racism by Highest Education Obtained in Korea, 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity Perception of Racism</th>
<th>High School or lower (%)</th>
<th>Some Post-Secondary (%)</th>
<th>Bachelor’s Degree or higher (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 59.05  \( P<0.01 \)

The perception of racism is an index comprised of a number of questions starting from Q. 50 a) to Q. 50 f): e.g., “Canadians treat immigrants like me unfairly,” “Police and law enforcement officers treat visible minorities unfairly” (see Appendix A).

Table 6.8 indicates that perception of racism is felt most strongly among Korean immigrants who hold university degrees or higher (31%), compared with some post-secondary education (27.5%), and respondents with high school or lower education (10.3%) from Korea.

**Factors Influencing the Willingness to Invest in Social Capital Among Korean Males and Females**

After conducting an examination of bi-variate relationships, we are now in a position to show two models to test our research questions. The first model outlines the factors influencing a willingness to invest in social capital and the second model reveals the influences affecting the perception of racial discrimination. Recall that the primary research question for this dissertation is: *To what extent are Korean immigrants*
integrated both within their ethnocultural community and in the larger Canadian society? The model on willingness to invest in social capital and perceived racism provides partial answers to this question.

Because gender affects the variation in the willingness to invest in social capital differentially as seen in the bivariate relationship examined above in Table 6.4, I decided to split the model and examine males and females separately.

Table 6.9  Factors influencing willingness to invest in social capital, male Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model – Willingness to invest in Social Capital</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.255</td>
<td>3.519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class – Independent</td>
<td>-.680</td>
<td>1.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class – Provincial Nominee</td>
<td>1.749</td>
<td>1.510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class – Family</td>
<td>-.067</td>
<td>1.806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic involvement, Donation, Cultural practice –Canadian</td>
<td>.510</td>
<td>.211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Some post-secondary</td>
<td>2.712</td>
<td>1.755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Bachelor’s degree or higher</td>
<td>3.767</td>
<td>1.578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Family Income before Tax</td>
<td>-1.095</td>
<td>.606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence in Month</td>
<td>1.275</td>
<td>1.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital Mindset</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.043</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square = .320  N = 106

** indicates statistical significance at P < 0.01.  * indicates statistical significance at P <0.05
Table 6.9 shows the standardized regression coefficients (beta values) for an ordinary least squares multiple regression equation with the willingness to invest in social capital as the dependent variable. The ten independent variables combined account for 32.0% of the variation in the willingness to invest in social capital (adjusted R square = .257). Among Winnipeg’s Korean immigrant males, four factors are statistically significant on the willingness to invest in social capital. The social capital mindset (beta = 0.312) has the strongest influence on the willingness to invest in social capital, followed closely by the Bachelor’s degree or higher education from Korea (beta = 0.300), the civic involvement, donation and observance of Canadian cultural practices (beta = 0.226), followed by high school or some post-secondary education from Korea (beta = 0.181), when effects of other variables are controlled for in the equation.

Table 6.10  Factors influencing willingness to invest in social capital, female Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model – Willingness to invest in social capital</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-2.088</td>
<td>5.826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class - Independent</td>
<td>.758</td>
<td>2.406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class – Provincial Nominee</td>
<td>-3.026</td>
<td>2.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class - Family</td>
<td>-1.541</td>
<td>2.323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic involvement, Donation, Cultural practice - Canadian</td>
<td>.566</td>
<td>.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Some post-secondary</td>
<td>4.071</td>
<td>2.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Bachelor’s Degree or higher</td>
<td>2.891</td>
<td>1.937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Family Income before Tax</td>
<td>.394</td>
<td>.739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence in Month</td>
<td>1.008</td>
<td>1.782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital Mindset</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>.061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square = .430  N = 50
** indicates statistical significance at P < 0.01.  * indicates statistical significance at P < 0.05

### Model Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Standard Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.430</td>
<td>.305</td>
<td>5.26454</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.10 shows the standardized regression coefficients (beta values) for an ordinary least squares multiple regression equation with the willingness to invest in social capital as the dependent variable. Among Winnipeg’s Korean immigrant females, three factors are statistically significant on the willingness to invest in social capital. The social capital mindset (beta = 0.463) has the strongest influence on the willingness to invest in social capital followed by the high school or some post-secondary education from Korea (beta = 0.264), followed closely by the civic involvement, donation and observance of Canadian cultural practices (beta = 0.252), when effects of other variables are controlled for in the equation.

The R Square value of .430 shown in the model summary indicates an excellent model fit in explaining the willingness to invest in social capital among Korean immigrant females in Winnipeg.

When the two separate models for males and females are compared, the model for males accounts for 32% of the variation in the willingness to invest in social capital, while that for females accounts for 43% of the variation in the model – an excellent model fit for females. For example, the Beta value for higher education from Korea for
males of .0.181 versus .264 for females. The value of social capital mindset for males is .312 while that for females is .463.

**Perception of Racism Among Korean Immigrants in Winnipeg**

Because the perception of racism is experienced differently between men and women, this phenomenon is examined separately. As shown in Table 6.11, community networks and resources has the strongest influence in explaining the perception of racism among Korean males (beta = .354), the civic involvement, donation and the practice of Canadian culture comes second (beta = .527), followed by the frequent usage of English at home (beta = .386), the gross family income before tax (beta = .097), and the university graduates and higher education from Korea (beta = .127). This model accounts for 78.8% of variation in the equation for Korean males in Winnipeg – an excellent model predicting perceived racial discrimination.

As Li observes (2003b), the perception of discrimination would impede the integration of Koreans into Canadian society which in turn leads to economic disadvantages. Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) in their study of earnings gap between the native-born and foreign-born note that economic discrimination might be playing an important role in Canadian labour markets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Perception of Racism Males</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>18.031</td>
<td>5.965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant class - Independent</td>
<td>-.480</td>
<td>1.428</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.12  Perception of Racism among Korean females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Perception of Racism - Females</th>
<th>Non-standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.986</td>
<td>9.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant class - Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.989</td>
<td>2.532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English spoken at home</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.314</td>
<td>.793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic involvement, donation, cultural practice (Canadian)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.521</td>
<td>.360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community networks and resources</td>
<td></td>
<td>.713</td>
<td>.218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea –some post-secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td>.649</td>
<td>2.789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.182</td>
<td>2.284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square = .788  
N = 76

** indicates statistical significance at P < 0.01.  * indicates statistical significance at P <0.05
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>or higher</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross family income before tax</td>
<td>1.788</td>
<td>.930</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square = .588  N= 44

** indicates statistical significance at P < 0.01. * indicates significance at P <0.05.

As shown in Table 6.12 above, the civic involvement, donation, and the observance and practice of Canadian culture has the strong influence in explaining the variation of perceiving discrimination among Korean females in Winnipeg (beta = .476), followed by the community networks and resources (beta = .371), and gross family income before tax (beta = .241). This model accounts for 58.8% of the variation in the equation in predicting the perception of discrimination felt by Korean immigrant females in Winnipeg. Again this model is a good predictor.

When comparing B values for men and women, the civic involvement, donation and the observation and practice of Canadian culture has the strongest influence among males (B=1.988), while that for females is (B=1.521), followed by the community networks and resources for males (B = .868) and for females (B =.713). For males, the frequency in speaking English at home ranked third influence factor (B = 2.670), while for females, the gross family income before tax ranked third (B = 1.788). For males, the gross family income before tax (B=1.081) and the frequency of speaking English at home (B = 2.670). For females, there is no other variable having statistically significant influence over the perception of racism aside from the three factors stated above.

Among independent variables included in the model for the willingness to invest in social capital, all three immigration classes (independent, provincial nominee, family); gross family income, and the number of residency in Manitoba showed no statistical
significance for both males and females. In addition, a Bachelor’s degree or higher education from Korea did not show statistical significance for females.

Among the independent variables included in the perception of racism model, immigrant class (independent), Bachelor’s degree or higher education from Korea did not show statistical significance for males. For females, immigration class, English spoken at home, education in Korea for some post-secondary and Bachelor’s degree or higher did not exhibit statistical significance.

**Discussion**

After crediting Coleman’s pioneering work on linking social capital to education, Putnam (2000, 296, 306) observes, “[o]ne of the areas in which America’s diminished stock of social capital is likely to have the most damaging consequences in the quality of education (both in school and outside) that our children receive.” Putnam’s observation may be interpreted to suggest that highly educated immigrants from Korea understand the value and utility of social capital and are more willing to invest in social capital in a new host society. After all, Koreans are immersed in a society where every facet of their daily existence is a testament to effective utilization of social capital without their even knowing about it.

In this section an important finding regarding Korean immigrant community in Winnipeg was discovered. There exists a pervasive perception of racism among Koreans that is felt most strongly among highly educated segment of its population. This finding is quite useful in providing an answer to my research question which is to ascertain how well Korean immigrants are integrated into Canadian society. The high intensity of perceived racism felt by Korean immigrants in general and the highly educated segment
of its population in particular may be a combined result from real life encounters with prospective employers and/or residents on one hand and from their imagination per se in the other. Nevertheless, this finding suggests that it would impact negatively in their integration efforts. This finding appears to support earlier work of Li (2003b). He points out, while policy objectives on integration is a mutual accommodation of immigrants and Canadian society, immigrants, not Canadian society and institutions, require change. A study by Christofides and Swidinsky (1994) concludes education and skills acquired overseas might have been devalued systematically by employers, and language and cultural differences could have driven immigrants, particularly women, to service jobs that were low-paying and offered little chance of economic advancement. Another study by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) observe widespread differences in earnings differentials among three major CMAs in Canada. This observation led them to conclude that economic discrimination might be playing an important role in Canadian labour market. Reitz (2001, 2005) observes, in addition to ignorance and the desire to avoid costly mistakes, discounting foreign credentials may be linked to culture or racial biases that definitely exist in Canada. He estimates the cost of skill underutilization of $2.4 billion annually. These studies examine, among other things, economic disadvantages faced by immigrants. In a study of blocked mobility or relative disadvantage thesis, Beajot et al. (1994) also raise concern about racism. They conclude immigrants with higher educational credentials but no Canadian education will have higher propensities towards self-employment in non-professional occupations because of “relative disadvantages”, blocked mobility or specifically the non-recognition of educational credentials. Their findings almost mirror the Korean immigrants experience in Winnipeg,
especially those with Bachelor’s degree or higher education from Korea but without additional training in Canada.

This finding suggests that although overt racism from society may have subsided in Canada, the more subtle and latent racism is still alive and well among the general population as well as its established institutions. One type of personal racism is called euphemistically polite racism or subliminal racism (Fleras and Elliot, 1996). In her study of refugees in Canada, Wilkinson (2002) observes that institutional racism and systemic racism may play a role after discovering that former Yugoslavian refugee youth achieved greater academic success vis-a-vis other visible minority refugee youth in Alberta. Some writers find association between perceived racial discrimination with depression experienced by refugees from southeast Asia in Canada (Noh et al., 1999) and leading to stress and mental health problems among Korean immigrants in Toronto (Noh and Avison, 1996). Basran and Zong (1998) report individual barriers, e.g., lack of Canadian experience and an inadequate command of English, cannot be seen in isolation from systemic barriers that manifest themselves in social conditions and structural arrangements which prevents Canada from benefiting fully from the international human capital transfer. James S. Coleman (1988) is widely credited for linking social capital with education. He asserts that social capital occurs through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action. In comparison to physical capital and human capital, social capital is less tangible, for it exists in the relations among people. As with physical capital and human capital, social capital also facilitates productive activity. As an example, a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish far more than a comparable group without trustworthiness and trust.
Upon completing a study on differential dropout rates of Catholic high schools, private religious schools and public schools, Coleman argues, the comparatively low dropout rates for Catholic high schools can be accounted for by the availability of social capital among the Catholic school community. Coleman emphasizes the importance of social capital for the education of youth or the importance of social capital in the creation of human capital. Putnam (2000) also echoes the earlier refrain of Coleman in that “at Harvard or Harlem, social connectedness boosts educational attainment”.

In the previous section we find there is a strong willingness on the part of a highly educated segment of the population who recognize the value and utility of social capital. This is an important finding because it demonstrates a strong will to succeed in their new host society. Among this segment of the population, there is a strong willingness to invest in the opportunities that might contribute to a strong community.

Canadian literature on social capital and integration topics on Korean immigrants is non-existent. The effect of social capital in the life chances of several immigrant groups has also been a topic of great academic interest. Li (2004) identifies four basic themes of social capital theses, including the ethnic attachment thesis, the ethnic entrapment thesis, the ethnic enclave thesis and the ethnic transnationalism thesis. He asserts these postulates generate different social relations which lead to differential economic outcomes.

Yoo’s (2000) study of Koreans in the Atlanta area may serve as a useful reference point. Her main objective in conducting the research was to discover how Korean entrepreneurs generate specific resources necessary to start new businesses. The study focuses on the methods of resource mobilization to start small businesses and on network
utilization for resource mobilization. After conducting 142 interviews with Korean entrepreneurial business owners, Yoo concludes that the class resources based on educational background play a decisive role in the formation of social networks, which provide valuable resources for business start-up. The class resources based on educational background is critical in terms of the establishment of new business by facilitating valuable business information and connections in the community (Yoo, 2000, 360-1). Further analysis reveals that organizations in the community, such as churches, community associations, alumni associations, and business associations, facilitate individual capacities to start entrepreneurship by providing places to start social networks that are essential for creating resources to start a business.

Min (1990) in his study to examine problems faced by Korean immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States asserts that Korean entrepreneurs are vulnerable to exploitation because they are dependent on out-group members for supplies of merchandise and on landlords for leasing store buildings. Because many Korean immigrants are engaged in low income, blue collar businesses, Korean entrepreneurs face the problem of status inconsistency through downward occupational mobility. The majority of Korean immigrants, both entrepreneurial and employed Koreans, experience status inconsistency, but Korean immigrant entrepreneurs are more acutely aware of the status problem probably because they achieve economic mobility via self-employment. Min concludes, Korean immigrant entrepreneurs are slower to assimilate into American society than those Korean workers in the general labour market because they depend heavily on family members and co-ethnic employees for business operation. As a result, they speak mainly Korean in their family, business and social environments, and largely
attract a Korean clientele. Consequently self-employment, although effective for achieving economic mobility and maintaining ethnic ties, has a negative influence on cultural and social assimilation.

In an earlier study, Chae-Kun Yu attempts to measure the degree of assimilation of Koreans in the U.S. By testing the practicability of the background factors, he reasoned, it may be possible to determine the usefulness of these variables as correlates of cultural assimilation and to predict with some confidence the probability that a given group of individuals will become assimilated into the general culture within a specific period of time. For the purpose of this study, Yu defines assimilation as the integration of members of an ethnic minority into a majority culture group (Kim, 1977).

Regarding the concept of assimilation as a process rather than a product, Yu asserts it is possible to measure the degree of assimilation in terms of objective acculturation factors by defining certain variables as indices of assimilation. Some of the indices he used to determine its influence on assimilation include education, previous occupation, age at entry, family size, length of residence, current occupation, income, religion, English proficiency and intention to stay. He finds previous occupation, family size, age, income and intention to stay are not significant. Yu concludes that the more assimilated individuals tend to be those with relatively prestigious occupations and whose educational attainment in Korea was high.

Wong and Tezli (2011) attempt to measure the social and cultural integration of immigrants by creating an integration index. They selected potential variables from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (Statistics Canada, 2002) based on relevance to the citizenship and social, cultural and civic integration domain. They began with 19 variables and ended
up with eight variables for the social and cultural integration index. They are three voting variables (federal, provincial and municipal elections), two trust variables (neighbours, colleagues), and three senses of belonging variables (municipality, province, Canada).

One of the findings show some differentiation among visible minorities in that south Asians are most integrated while Koreans are the least integrated visible minority in Canada. Wong and Tezli also found second and third generation visible minorities are not as integrated as earlier immigrant visible minorities.

I think that my introduction of social capital mindset and willingness to invest in social capital into the social capital literature contributes significantly to a more holistic understanding of social capital theory. In essence, social capital mindset is defined as attributes that contributes to accessing existing community social capital – trust among co-ethnics, extending favours among themselves, norms of reciprocity of loans and help received from co-ethnics, and also a belief in helping co-ethnics is beneficial for one’s own self-interest. By employing exploratory factor analysis techniques, I have been able to operationalize a notion which is very difficult to capture in social capital literature and measure its intensity to refine the development of social capital theory. In a similar fashion, I developed a notion designated as willingness to invest in social capital. It measures attributes that would contribute to the creation, retention, and promotion of Korean community network for the benefit of Korean community for the present generation and generations to come. I believe these are the two most significant contributions that I make in the operationalization and further refinement of social capital theory.
Conclusion

My analysis of the survey data indicates Korean immigrants in Winnipeg have shown a high intensity of perception of racism especially among those with Bachelor’s degree or higher (31%), followed by people with some post-secondary education (27.5%); those with high school or less (10.3%) felt least strongly about their perception of racism. This finding has serious implications for the successful integration of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg and may also be applicable to other Canadian population centres where Koreans migrate. In an earlier study of wage differentials of Canadian-born and foreign-born persons, Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) note discrimination might be playing an important role in the Canadian labour market. This finding appears to support the earlier work of Li (2003b), Christofides and Swidinsky (1994), Reitz (2001, 2005) and several others.

It is important to note that my findings suggest latent personal racism described as polite racism and subliminal racism together with the entrenched institutional racism is responsible for a very strongly felt perception of racism among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. Because racism operates in communities to maintain the status quo, Korean immigrants in a predominantly white society would suffer silently and the hegemony of power remains with the dominant group (Henry & Tator, 1995).

We find there is a strong willingness on the part of the highly educated segment of the population who recognize the value and utility of social capital. This is an important finding because it demonstrates a strong will to succeed in their new host society. It also demonstrates that factors influencing the availability of social capital among the Korean community in Winnipeg and respondent’s gender affect the outcome.
differentially. It has been shown in the regression analysis that females account for 43% of variation in the *willingness to invest in social capital* while males account for only 32% of the variation.

This chapter has shown a high level of the perception of racism felt by Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. While this perception and daily encounter of discrimination in community would impede Korean immigrants’ integration into their new host society, it is also found there exists a strong will to succeed in the community through accessing existing social capital within the community and the willingness to invest in social capital.

In the next chapter I will describe and present the research findings with respect to Korean immigrants’ integration into Canada in terms of their political engagement.
Chapter Seven:

Political Integration and Community Interaction of Koreans in Manitoba

Why should anyone care about the political behavior of Korean immigrants and by extension, Canada’s diverse ethnic minorities? The former Winnipeg Mayor Glen Murray and others before him often made statements like “the people serving in the government should reflect the people they serve”. I agree completely with such public pronouncements, however, most governments do not accurately reflect the populations they represent. In analyzing the changes in the number of visible minority Members of Parliament elected to the House of Commons over five consecutive Canadian general elections held between 1993 and 2008, Black notes the proportion of visible minority Members of Parliament declined from 7.8% in 2006 to 6.8% of the 308 seats in Parliament in the 2008 general election. While this decline in the proportion of visible minority MPs was occurring, the share of visible minority component of overall Canadian population increased from 16.2% to 17.3%. Black observes that with five elections, visible minorities were worse off when it comes to their representation in the House of Commons (Black, 2011, 30-31).

History is replete with examples of numerical minority governed states with the majority being subjugated for a long time. A recent example of such a case is the Republic of South Africa. I am not suggesting that Canada is in a similar situation as South Africa was before the collapse of the infamous apartheid system of government in 1994, but there are commonalities that cannot be ignored. A cursory look at the composition of MPs, members of provincial legislatures and municipal councils in Canada reveals that our governments poorly reflect the population it purports to serve. If
the imbalance in power in governance is not eliminated, it would invariably sow the seeds of discontent among the underrepresented segments of population it serves. To underscore the consequence of unequal political representation, Arend Lijphart (1996, 1) made the following statement in a presidential address to fellow American political scientists:

As political scientists have also known for a long time, the inequality of representation and influence are not randomly distributed but systematically biased in favor of more privileged citizens – those with higher incomes, greater wealth, and better education – and against less advantaged citizens.

This underscores the importance of my research on political behavior of Korean immigrants in Manitoba.

In this chapter, I examine the political behavior of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg in terms of their voting in elections, experience in activities associated with elections, and seeking public office in as much as the survey data and interviews reveal. In attempting to analyze the extent of political integration of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg as well as their political behavior prior to their immigration to Canada, it quickly became apparent to me it is an extremely difficult challenge. Among the survey sample of 260 persons, only 39.6% (103 persons) were eligible to vote in elections held in Canada because they had obtained Canadian citizenship. Consequently, some of what is presented here represents the political behavior of approximately 40% of the survey respondents for most questions. This low response is not entirely unexpected given the low rate of political engagement among recent immigrants living in Canada. In one of four studies commissioned by Elections Canada, Livianna Tossutti (2007, 33) concludes that while immigrant status is not a barrier to electoral participation, newcomer status is
associated with lower turnout rate. Those immigrants who arrived in Canada since 1991 and were eligible to vote were significantly less likely to vote in the 2000 federal election, regardless of their personal characteristics, resources, integration into community networks, and level of social trust and attachment to Canada. A recent newspaper article covering Manitoba’s provincial election held on October 4, 2011, illustrates the dilemma new Canadians experience with the following caption: “Happy to cast vote, but for whom?: New Canadians new to our politics” (Winnipeg Free Press, September 23, 2011, A4). The article describes the challenges faced by new Canadians in learning what each party stands for and to decide which party they want to support on the day of election.

Since community involvement and volunteerism are inextricably associated with political participation as Verba et al. have demonstrated (1995, 340), we now turn our attention to Korean immigrants’ interaction with the host society.

The creation of an experimental political engagement index and subsequent multiple regression analyses utilizing the index are presented in this chapter. Interaction with the host community in terms of residential settlement patterns, number of friends immigrants could rely on an emergency basis, and any incidence of helping others to settle in the host society are presented in this chapter.

**Interaction with the Host Society**

To obtain information on Korean immigrants’ interaction with the host society, a number of questions are designed and included in the survey to collect the pertinent information. An example of questions in this part of the survey is Q.39 a) Have you helped any new immigrants adapt to life in Canada? Almost three-quarters (74.4%) of the respondents stated they had helped new immigrants to adapt to life in Canada. Among the
people they helped, helping others who are not related to them ranked highest with 41.5%, helping an acquaintance at 35.4%, friends 15%, relatives 13.1%, and helping in-laws ranked the lowest at 8.5%.

**Chart 7.1  Types of help offered to other immigrants**

The kind of help immigrants offered to fellow immigrants include in descending order, giving advice (60%), providing information (55.4%), giving rides (38.8%), general support (35.8%) tied with the English language help (35.8%), emotional support 32.7%, basic needs (food, housing) 25%, help finding jobs 20.8%, child care 8.5%, and financial support 7.7%.
An overwhelming majority (92.3%) of respondents answered affirmatively if they made any new friends after migrating to Canada. The most popular place to meet new friends is churches with 81.2%, through relatives from Canada (31.9%), workplaces (31.5%), English language schools (31.2%), ethnocultural organizations (24.6%), recreational clubs (21.5%), relatives from Korea (14.2%) and children’s schools (11.9%), with other schools (10%) being the least popular place to meet new friends.

It is revealed that more than half (53.5%) of the new friends they made in Canada are Koreans. Close to one-fifth (18.5%) admit that about half of their new friends are
Koreans. The remainder (19.2%) report their new friends are non-Koreans (4.6%) and few of them are Koreans (14.6%). It is also shown that 16.9% of their new friends are immigrants like them and 14.2% report that about one-half of their new friends are immigrants, while close to one-half report their new friends consist of few immigrants (30.8%) and others report having no new friends who are immigrants (16.9%). When it comes to frequency of contacts with new friends, respondents state they talk over the telephone or meet in person daily (16.9%), weekly (45.0%), monthly (15.4%) and seasonally (10.8%). Weekly contacts with new friends is the most common frequency of contacts among the respondents.

The survey also examines the residential settlement patterns of Korean immigrants. Close to two-thirds of respondents (62.3%) report that their immediate neighbours are either non-Koreans (27.7%) or only few of them are Koreans (34.6%). Only 4.6% of respondents report their neighbours are Koreans or most of them are at 15.4%. This indicates that residential segregation of Korean immigrants is not occurring in Winnipeg at least for now, presumably due to their small number. In fact, this is one factor which discourages prospective Korean candidates to seek nominations for major political parties in elections, because having a block of ethnic votes invariably helps a person who is foreign-born to wage a successful campaign (Andrew et al., 2008, 222). An example of this phenomenon is the B.C. federal riding of New Westminster–Coquitlam where a significant number of Korean immigrants reside. Although the riding’s name and electoral boundaries had been changed several times in the past several general elections, it still contains the City of Coquitlam which includes a high concentration of Korean immigrants and has a Korea town in the centre of the city. This
is the primary reason why several successive Korean candidates had run, although unsuccessfully, to represent the riding, beginning with Kwangyul Pack who ran three times consecutively as the Liberal candidate, Yonah Martin for the Conservatives, and Ken Back Lee ran twice, once in a by-election held in November 2009 and in the general election for the Liberals in May 2011.

Asked if their neighbours are recent immigrants, 44.6% report either none (16.5%) or few of them at 28.1%. Asked if they had Korean friends who can help them in an emergency, close to two-thirds (63.1%) report they have three or more friends to help them. On the same question about the availability of Canadian friends, close to one-third report they have three or more friends to count on for emergency, about half the number of Korean friends.

Kazemipur’s (2011, 24) observation on community engagement of immigrants compared with Canadian-born is quite interesting:

> This uncertainty in the economic sector, and lack of genuine interactions in social arena, might explain the heavier engagement of immigrants in self-interest-based social engagement such as membership in trade unions, as an antidote to the feeling of economic insecurity, and also their heavier engagement in their religious communities, as an antidote to their social isolation.

While Kazemipur’s observation on trade union membership is not applicable to Korean immigrants due to their prevalence of self-employment, heavier engagement in their religious communities as an antidote to their social isolation is equally applicable to all Korean immigrant communities in Canada in general and in Winnipeg’s Korean community in particular.
Political Participation

When asked if they ever voted in Canadian elections, 55.3% of eligible voters answered yes. Of this group, only 66.7% stated they voted in the general election held in November 2008. Among the reasons for not exercising their franchise includes in descending order, “did not know any of the candidates” at 21.4%, “too busy making a living” at 12.6%, and “acquired the citizenship after the general election but before the survey” at 6.8%.

Among the long-term residents who lived in Manitoba for longer than six years, their rate of voting participation is 48.7%, while no one had voting experience among the short-term residents. As for the federal general election held in November 2008, 50.7% of the long-term residents voted while no one cast ballots among the short-term residents. The turnout rate for immigrants is 8.1% lower than the Canadian voter turnout rate of 58.8% recorded in the same general election (Elections Canada: Voter Turnout at Federal Elections and Referendums, 1867-2008). After examining generational patterns of immigrant background and political participation, Tina Chui et al. (1991, 392) concludes in part that immigrants who resided in the country for less than ten years were least likely to vote and were less likely exposed to political stimuli. They state that even after obtaining the franchise to vote, it would take some time for immigrants to get interested in and comprehend the country’s electoral system. Their findings are almost congruent with that of my survey results.

Political Behavior of Korean Immigrants Before Immigration

To understand Korean immigrants’ political integration into Canada, it is necessary to examine their political behavior prior to migrating to Canada.
Judging by the overall lobbying activities conducted by Korean immigrants prior to immigrating to Canada, there is very little difference between the kinds and levels of activity in Korea compared to that employed in Canada as one compares Chart 7.4 with Chart 7.5 for a direct comparison. The only activity that is more popular is making telephone calls in Korea where 6.5% of the respondents state they employed that method, whereas only 3.1% reported using telephone calls to lobby elected public officials in an attempt to influence the public policy-making process in Korea and Canada respectively. The relatively higher incidence of making telephone calls to their elected representatives in their mother tongue is easier in Korea than using one of the two official languages of Canada.

**Immigrants’ other political behavior while in Korea.**

To obtain additional information about respondents’ political behavior prior to immigration, I asked if they ever participated in political rallies in Korea. Just 10.4% answered affirmatively while 85% indicated they did not. The incidence of taking part in political rally is more popular in Korea, four times as many, compared to only 2.3% participated in political rallies in Canada, while 96.2% did not participate in political
rallies in Canada. Asked if they remember the names of their representatives in the three orders of government in Korea, 17.7% of the respondents state they remember the names while 23.8% answered they remembered some of the names but not all. The majority of respondents, 36.9% did not remember the names of their elected representatives.

**Modes of frequency of obtaining political news from Korea.**

As shown in Chart 7.5 below, immigrants receive political news from Korea mainly from newspapers published in Korea (48.8%), followed closely by Canadian editions of Korean newspapers published either in Toronto or Vancouver (44.2%). Other sources of obtaining Korean political news include Korean Internet (37.3%), Korean satellite TV (16.1%), and electronic newspapers published in Toronto or Vancouver (0.4%).

![Chart 7.5 Modes of Obtaining Political News from Korea](image)

In terms of the frequency of receiving news on Korean political development, 26.5% (69) indicated they receive news daily, 24.6% (64) receive it on a weekly basis and 5% (13) obtain political news from Korea on a monthly basis.

**An Exploratory Political Engagement Index for Korean Immigrants**

I developed an experimental political engagement index in an attempt to explore further any additional political behavior that can be observed and analyzed. To
accomplish this task, 13 questions in the political engagement segment of the survey were used and analyzed using factor analysis. One common nature of these questions is the expected answer to the question is simply yes or no. The questions used to create the political engagement index are shown in Table 7.1 below.

### Table 7.1 Questions Used to Develop Political Engagement Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Variable</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 8</td>
<td>If you are eligible to vote in Canada, have you ever voted in any elections (municipal, provincial or federal)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 9</td>
<td>If you answered yes above, did you vote in the last federal election in November 2008?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 11</td>
<td>Are you currently or have you ever taken a membership in Canadian political party?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 12</td>
<td>Have you ever sought a nomination for a public office?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 13 a)</td>
<td>Have you ever consider running for a public office?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 15</td>
<td>Have you ever made a donation to a political party in Canada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 16</td>
<td>Have you ever donated money for a Korean candidate running for office elsewhere in Canada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 17</td>
<td>Have you ever tried to help a candidate using other means?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 21</td>
<td>Have you had any election sign on your lawn or property?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 22</td>
<td>Have you ever served as a returning officer or scrutinizer in a Canadian election?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 23 a)</td>
<td>In Canada, have you ever tried to influence decisions made by the three levels of government using one or more of the following method?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 24</td>
<td>Have you ever participated in a rally to voice your opinion in Canada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 25</td>
<td>Do you follow Canadian politics in the news?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The resulting political engagement index ranged from 0 to 10. Over 98% of respondents scored 7 or lower on this index. To make the index more manageable, it is recorded to low (zero), medium (1-2), and high (3-10) levels of intensity for bi-variate analysis purposes. To determine if the length of residence in Canada influences the political engagement level of Korean immigrants, a table showing intensity of political engagement is produced below.

### Table 7.2 Intensity of Political Engagement and Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Political Engagement Index</th>
<th>Less than six years (%)</th>
<th>Longer than six years (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low (Zero)</td>
<td>49/100 (49.0)</td>
<td>18/115 (15.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (1 - 2)</td>
<td>50 (50.0)</td>
<td>63 (54.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (3 - 10)</td>
<td>1 (1.0)</td>
<td>34 (29.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 (100)</td>
<td>115 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Square = 2.372 \quad P<0.01

As Table 7.2 indicates, the long-term residents are more likely to show a high level of intensity for political engagement than short-term residents with 29.6% and 1.0% respectively. In the medium range of political engagement, 54.8% for long-term residents and the rate for short-term residents is 50%. In the low range of intensity, 15.6% for long-term residents versus 49% for short-term residents. This is consistent with the earlier observations made by Chui et al. (2001) and Tossutti (2007) in their studies of a diverse group of immigrants. Many immigrants, even when eligible, do not participate in Canadian political life.
To determine if gender influences political engagement differentially, the political engagement index is compared between the sexes. As shown in Table 7.3, the intensity of political engagement is low for both males and females at 32.7% and 36.8% respectively. In the medium range of intensity, both genders exhibit very similar levels of intensity at 51% for males and 50% for females. Few people exhibited high level of political engagement with males at 16.3% and females at 13.2%.

Table 7.3  Intensity of Political Engagement for Males and Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Political Engagement Index</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low (Zero)</td>
<td>48/147 (32.7)</td>
<td>28/76 (36.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (1-2)</td>
<td>75 (51.0)</td>
<td>38 (50.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (3-10)</td>
<td>24 (16.3)</td>
<td>10 (13.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>147 (100)</td>
<td>76 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Square = 2.831

Political engagement and age of immigrants.

To ascertain if immigrants’ age affect the intensity of political engagement, a cross-tabulation was created. As is shown in Table 7.4, among immigrants 60 years of age or over, 54.6% exhibit a high level of intensity. Among the working age population 26 – 59 age cohort, the majority (50.9%) shows a medium level of intensity for political engagement. Among the younger population, 18-25 years of age, when compared with the working age cohort, a relatively larger proportion (two-thirds) shows a medium level of intensity for political engagement.

In terms of voter turnouts in the general election held in November 2008, 50% of eligible older Korean immigrants voted compared with 67.1% of Canadian cohorts (55 years and over), 32.9% of working age immigrants versus 53.9% of Canadians (25-54
year cohort), 25% of Korean immigrant youth versus 37.1% of Canadian youth (18-24 year cohort). Clearly there is a serious deficit in voter turnouts of 17.1% for older immigrants, 21% for working age cohort and 12.1% for the youth compared with Canadian age cohorts (Elections Canada, 2008, 8).

Table 7.4  Intensity of Political Engagement and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Political Engagement</th>
<th>Age of Immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 &amp; Over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Square = 2.327  P < 0.01

Political engagement and income of immigrants.

In order to determine if the annual gross family income has any influence over immigrants’ political engagement, a cross-tabulation is presented below. Table 7.5 shows that the fourth income quintile exhibits the highest level of political engagement among immigrants at 30.8%, followed closely by the richest income quintile at 29.7%, and the poorest quintile at 3%, the second quintile at 13% and the middle quintile at 20%. As with the medium level of political engagement, all five income quintiles show similar levels of political engagement, however, the richest quintile shows the highest political engagement level at 54.1%. The lowest level of political engagement is observed in the poorest quintile at 47%, the second quintile at 33.3%, the median income quintile at 30%, the fourth quintile at 15.4% and the richest income quintile at 16.2%. The results of my analysis on political engagement and income appears to support the conclusions of Solt’s
(2008, 48) findings which link income inequality with political inequality in that the higher levels of income inequality powerfully depress political interest, discussion and participation in elections. Solt argues further that contrary to the conflict and resource theories, inequality does not foster more political engagement among those in any income quintile and sides with the power theory in explaining differences in political engagement (2008, 54). My analysis also supports earlier observations by Verba et al. (1995, 16) in understanding the difference between people engaged in active and inactive political activity, which states in part:

A paucity of necessary resources – time to take part, money to contribute to campaigns and other political causes, and skills to use time and money effectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.5</th>
<th>Intensity of Political Engagement and Income in Quintiles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intensity of Political Engagement</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income in Quintiles</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poorest Quintile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than $19,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Square = 2.883 \[ P < 0.01 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.6</th>
<th>Intensity of Political Engagement and Church Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intensity of Political Engagement</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recruitment Method</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At Church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

140
To measure any influence of church attendance on political engagement, I used two different recruitment methods as a proxy for measuring differences in political engagement. As shown in Table 7.6, those respondents recruited in churches in the low level of political engagement is higher at 38.8% than recruited outside of church at 23.7%. Those recruited through personal contacts outside churches shows comparatively higher level of intensity in terms of political engagement with at 21% compared to 12.5% for those recruited at churches. The correlation between political engagement and the recruitment methods is significant at P < 0.05. The results of my analysis appear to support the argument which is made by Kazemipur (2011, 24) in that “their heavier engagement in their religious communities as an antidote to their social isolation”. It is suggested tentatively that Korean immigrants’ high level of church attendance may explain partially their lower levels of political engagement in Canada.

**Political engagement and education of immigrants.**

Since over 70% of the survey respondents have not pursued further education in Canada as indicated in Chapter 5, their highest educational attainment in Korea is used for this analysis. The highest level of political engagement is found among the least educated immigrants at 25% while the university graduates is at 15.6% and the college graduates show the lowest in terms of political engagement at 2.3%. The results of the relationship revealed in this research between political engagement and level of education obtained from Korea differs from what Verba et al. reports (1995, 349-50).
Education is related to three of these variables. Those at the highest level of education are more than one standard deviation above those in the lowest group with respect to [political] interest, [political] efficacy, and [political] information. In contrast, highly educated respondents are no more strongly identified with a political party than those lower on the education scale.

Table 7.7  Intensity of Political Engagement and Level of Education of Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of Political Engagement</th>
<th>Highest Level of Education in Korea</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High school diploma or lower (%)</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40 (100%)</td>
<td>44 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Square = 2.680

Membership in Political Parties, Seeking Public Office and Donations

When asked if they ever taken a membership in political parties or were current membership holders, 4.6% answered affirmatively and 68.1% answered no. When it comes to seeking nomination for political parties, 0.4% or only one person ever sought the nomination through the political process, while the significant majority never sought nomination for public office with 70.8%. When asked if they ever considered running for a public office, only 0.8% answered affirmatively, and both indicated they had experience in running for public office. The reasons given for not seeking public office included disinterest in politics for 10.8% of the respondents, ineligible to seek public
office 5.8%, difficulty in English and lack of confidence 3.1%, too busy 1.2%, while the majority 77.3% stated they are not eligible to seek public office.

On the issues of political donations, 6.2% stated they have donated to Canadian political parties. When asked if they ever donated to a Korean candidate running for public office elsewhere, 4.2% responded they donated money for Koreans in other Canadian jurisdictions. Eleven persons (4.2%) indicated they had helped candidates with other means than donating money, while the majority of respondents with 79.2% indicated they did not have experience helping candidates with other means than money.

**Korean Immigrants’ Perception of Canadian Politicians**

When respondents are asked about their opinion on Canadian politicians’ general interest in immigration issues, 35.4% answered that politicians are interested, while 12.3% said Canadian politicians do not care about immigration issues, and 37.7% stated they do not know what Canadian politicians’ think about immigration issues in general. Asked if politicians care about Korean immigrants in particular, the number of positive response is reduced by more than 3/4 to 8.1%, while 33.5% stated they do not think politicians pay much attention to the immigrant issues concerning Koreans. One hundred and fifteen (44.2%) state they do not know what Canadian politicians think about immigration issues concerning Koreans. When asked if municipal politicians care more about Koreans than provincial and federal politicians, only 6.5% answered affirmatively while 70% provided negative answers. Those who stated that municipal politicians are more likely interested in immigration issues facing Koreans gave a variety of reasons.

- A 24 year-old female university student who has lived in Canada for seven years states: “I once received help from the wife of a city councilor.”
A 50 year-old female homemaker who has lived in Manitoba for two years says: “They are located closer to the Korean community.”

An unemployed 50 year-old male who has lived in Winnipeg for six years states: “It is absolutely necessary to prosper as a city.”

A 55 year-old restaurant owner who has lived in Manitoba for ten years states: “To receive votes”

One 53 year-old businessman who has lived in Winnipeg for eight years expressed the mistaken view that “[it] introduced the PNP to increase population in Manitoba”. One sixty year old housewife who has lived in Manitoba for 15 years states, “because that person is a Korean.”

The responses obtained from the respondents on the difference between civic, provincial and federal politicians indicate their understanding of Canadian political system is extremely limited and political engagement of Korean immigrants in this sphere is marginal at best. In a study of political experience and knowledge transferability among recent immigrants in Canada, Jerome Black (1987, 732-33) observes there is no doubt that adult immigrants have been faced with a sudden change in political environment. He notes even minimal engagement in the new political setting necessitates a considerable amount of new learning.

**Types of Involvement during Canadian Elections**

When asked if they had experience in allowing candidates to post election signs on their lawn or property owned by respondents, 11.9% stated they had, while 73.1% said they had no such experience. Only 1.5% of respondents stated they had served as a returning officer or scrutinizers during Canadian elections. To obtain information about Korean immigrants’ extent of influencing public policy-making process, I asked: “In
Canada, have you ever tried to influence decisions made by the three levels of government using one or more of the following methods?” Just 8.8% answered affirmatively, while 14.6% stated they did not try to influence the policy-making process in Canada.

![Chart 7.6 Lobbying Methods used in Canada](chart.png)

When asked to explain if they used methods not specified, two respondents provided the following answers: “I communicated with a business immigration officer regarding the bank financing.” This is clearly a case of a respondent who did not know the difference between a civil servant and the elected public office holder. Another person responded: “Participated in neighbourhood meetings.” When asked if they participated in a rally to voice their opinion in Canada (Q. 24), 2.3% answered yes, while 82.7% stated they did not have such an experience.

**Modes of Obtaining Political News in Canada**

Asked if respondents followed the political news in Canada, 63.5% (165) stated they follow political development in Canada. In terms of the mode of getting political information, Canadian television is by far the most popular means of obtaining news with
54.6% (142). Chart 7.7 shows various modes that Korean immigrants employ to obtain political information in Canada.

It is interesting to observe that close to 13% (33) of the respondents obtain information about Canadian political developments via Korean electronic newspapers published in Toronto or Vancouver, while 8.5% receive their information via Canadian editions of major Korean newspapers published in Toronto or Vancouver. This occurs presumably because obtaining Canadian political information via media available in Korean is more convenient and easier to understand than in English for some respondents. By extension of this logic, Korean immigrants’ political integration into Canada would be delayed for these respondents compared with a reliance on the English/French written material for obtaining information on Canadian political developments.

Results of Regression Analysis on Political Engagement of Immigrants

Using the political engagement as a dependent variable, a multiple regression analysis is conducted to examine the factors which influence it. The independent variables in the regression equation include: age, three immigrant classes, two recoded
Korean education variables, length of residence in Canada, income expressed in quintile, recruitment method used, and the social capital mindset which is defined earlier in Chapter 4. Because of the differential effects on political engagement by gender, two separate regression models are developed for men and women using the SPSS as the platform.

### Specification for the Political Engagement Model

\[
\text{nPolEgmt} = B + \text{SCmindset} + \text{IMCLINDP} + \text{EDUKOR2} + \text{RMO} + \text{EDUKOR1} + \text{Yquintile} + \text{nAge} + \text{IMCLPN} + \text{IMCLFML} + \text{RECRTMTHD} + \text{Gender}
\]

Where:

- nPolEgmt is the dependent variable and is named “political engagement.”
- B is a constant
- SCmindset is the social capital mindset (defined in Chapter 4.3.1)
- IMCLINDP is immigration class – independent
- Edukor2 is some post-secondary education in Korea
- RMO is residence in month
- Edukor1 is high school graduation or lower in Korea
- Yquintile is gross family income before tax in quintiles
- nAge is recoded age
- IMCLPN is immigration class – Provincial Nominee
- IMCLFML is immigration class – family
- RECRTMTHD is recruitment method used for finding respondents.
Gender is dummy variable (male = 1; female = 0)

Because gender affects the variation in the intensity of political engagement differentially as seen in the bivariate relationship examined above in Table 7.5, I decided to split the model and examine males and females separately. Table 7.8 shows the standardized regression coefficients (beta values) for an ordinary least squares multiple regression equation with the political engagement as the dependent variable. The 11 independent variables combined account for 38.4% of the variation in the political engagement of Korean immigrants (R square = 0.384). Among Winnipeg’s Korean immigrant males, four factors have a statistically significant relationship with political engagement. The length of residence of immigrants has the strongest influence on the political engagement (beta = 0.179), followed by the recruitment method used for finding the survey respondents (beta=.151), some post-secondary education from Korea (beta = -.145), and the family income expressed in quintiles has the lowest significance (beta = .054) when effects of other variables are controlled for in the equation. The other variables were not statistically significant. One important point to note in this model is that the post-secondary education obtained from Korea influences immigrants’ political engagement in Canada significantly, however, it is in a negative way as indicated by the minus sign in front of its beta value, (-.145).

The political engagement models I developed in the regression analyses using the SPSS as the platform resulted in predicting 38.4% of variation in political engagement of male Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. The comparable predictive power for female Korean immigrants stands at 0.257, which is slightly lower than that for men. Both
equations, however, show strong predictive ability on political engagement among Korean-Canadians.

Table 7.8  Factors Influencing Political Engagement of Male Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model – Political Engagement</th>
<th>Un-standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.573</td>
<td>1.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nAge</td>
<td>-1.710</td>
<td>.401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class - Independent</td>
<td>-.510</td>
<td>.495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class - Family</td>
<td>.748</td>
<td>.573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class – Provincial Nominee</td>
<td>-.416</td>
<td>.478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – High School diploma or lower</td>
<td>-.177</td>
<td>.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Some post-secondary</td>
<td>-.644</td>
<td>.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence in Month</td>
<td>.658</td>
<td>.390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross family Income in Quintiles</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment Method</td>
<td>.595</td>
<td>.364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital Mindset</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square = 0.384

** indicates statistical significance at P<0.01.  * indicates statistical significance at P<0.05.

Model Summary for Male Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Standard Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.452</td>
<td>.384</td>
<td>1.45117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.9 shows the standardized regression coefficients (beta values) of the ordinary least squares multiple regression equation with the political engagement as the
dependent variable. Among Winnipeg’s Korean immigrant females, three factors are statistically significant on the political engagement. The immigrant class as independent when they first admitted in Canada has the strongest influence on political engagement (beta = 0.489), followed by length of residence of immigrants (beta=.220), and gross family income expressed in quintiles (beta = .164) has the weakest influence when effects of other variables are controlled for in the equation.

Table 7.9 Factors Influencing Political Engagement of Female Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model – Political Engagement</th>
<th>Un-standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-1.371</td>
<td>2.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.469</td>
<td>.856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class - Independent</td>
<td>1.825</td>
<td>.595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class - Family</td>
<td>.758</td>
<td>.585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Class – Provincial Nominee</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td>.460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – High School diploma or lower</td>
<td>.287</td>
<td>.545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Korea – Some post-secondary</td>
<td>-.356</td>
<td>.454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence in Month</td>
<td>.652</td>
<td>.449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross family Income in Quintiles</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment Method</td>
<td>.226</td>
<td>.412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital Mindset</td>
<td>-.036</td>
<td>.050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square = .0.257 N= 50

** indicates statistical significance at P<0.01. * indicates statistical significance at P<0.05.
Model Summary for Female Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Standard Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.405</td>
<td>.257</td>
<td>1.29069</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the two separate models for different genders for political engagement are compared, the B (un-standardized coefficient) value for the duration of residence for males is .658 while that for the females is .652, indicating that the length of residence influences political engagement of both sexes similarly. The unstandardized B for gross family income before tax expressed in quintiles is weaker (0.071) for males than for females (0.170) but they are statistically significant for both sexes. While the B value for the recruitment method for males is statistically significant (B= .595), the value for females (B = .226) is not. While higher education received from Korea is statistically significant for males (B = -.644), the same for females is not (B = -.356). So basically there are some differences in the factors influencing political behavior between the sexes.

**Discussion**

Commenting on the relationship between immigration and diversity in his public lecture in Sweden in 2006, Putnam (2007, 137) states that ethnic diversity and immigration are having important cultural, economic, fiscal and developmental benefits in the long run. But in the short run, immigration and ethnic diversity tend to reduce social solidarity and social capital. His time horizon is such that a long run may imply several generations, perhaps a century, while a short run may indicate two generations, about 40 years (2007, 162).
Kesler and Bloemraad (2010, 336-37) also report that immigration decreases trust, civic engagement and political engagement in some advanced democracies. However, they make following observations which is quite illuminating:

Multiculturalism policies might reduce general social trust in the face of immigration, but they also appear to increase engagement. In countries that have both low income inequality and relatively strong multiculturalism policies, all negative effects of immigration on collective-mindedness disappear; we actually see higher levels of organizational and political participation with immigration.

As presented in the previous sections, the results of my analysis on political engagement and income supports Solt’s (2008, 48) findings which link income inequality with political inequality in that the higher levels of income inequality, powerfully depress political interest, discussion, and participation in elections. Also, my findings in political engagement and income quintiles is almost congruent with the findings reported by Verba et al. (1995, 349) in that people in the highest income quintile shows the highest political interest, political efficacy and political information, and it decreases in descending order of income quintiles. The only exception to this finding is that Verba et al. observe the strength of political party identification is similar in all income classes. However, my political engagement index does not include the strength of political party identification.

To measure the influence of church attendance on political engagement, as shown in Table 7.6, I used two different recruitment methods as a proxy for measuring differences in political engagement. Respondents attending churches in the low level of political engagement are higher at 38.8% than recruited outside of church at 23.7%. Those recruited through personal contacts outside churches shows comparatively higher political engagement with 21% compared to 12.5% for those attending churches. The
correlation between political engagement and church attendance is significant at P < 0.05. The results of my analysis appear to support the argument made by Kazemipur (2011, 24, op cit.) in that, “their heavier engagement in their religious communities as an antidote to their social isolation.” It appears Korean immigrants’ high church attendance may explain partially their lower levels of political engagement in Canada. Considering editorial reports that 70% of Koreans living in North America attend churches (Korea Times), this finding is important and its implication to Korean-Canadians is significant.

In the previous section, I developed two political engagement models. The regression analyses using the SPSS as the platform resulted in predicting 38.4% of variation in political engagement of male Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. The comparable predictive power for female Korean immigrants is 25.7%, which is slightly lower than that for men. Both equations, however, show strong predictive ability on political engagement among Korean-Canadians. It is interesting to note that the inclusion of the church attendance variable and replacing the family income variable with the family income expressed in quintiles into the model improved the explanatory power of the model from 31.1% to 38.4% for Korean men, while that for women worsened from 30.7% to 25.7%.

This is the first time that a systematic analysis of Korean community anywhere has been attempted in an effort to understand their political engagement as a part of understanding overall integration of Korean immigrants into Canadian society.

It appears that Korean immigrants’ political integration is a function of the length of residence in Canada as those who resided in Canada longer than six years show a high level of intensity at 29.6%, while short-term residents show only 1%. This finding
supports Chui et al.’s finding (1991, 30) that it takes at least a decade before immigrants begin participating in a new political system. It also affirms an earlier finding in analyzing an association between economic inequality and political engagement by Solt (2008, 48) that the higher one’s income quintile, the higher is its political engagement. Solt’s finding merely reaffirms an earlier seminal work by Verba et al. (1995, 16). For example, as shown in Table 7.5, while Korean immigrants in the poorest income quintile shows only 3% of them indicating a high intensity of political engagement, the fourth richest and the richest quintiles show 30.8% and 29.7% respectively. This research also reveals that the relationship between church attendance and political engagement is statistically significant at P<0.05 and appears to support the argument by Kazemipur (2011, 24) in that Korean immigrants appear to be using religion unknowingly as an antidote to their social isolation from the mainstream Canadian society.

A Brief History of Koreans’ Attempts in Seeking Public Office

A short synopsis of Koreans’ efforts in seeking public office in Canada over the past 40 years is described here to provide an overall context of political integration of Korean immigrants in the Canadian political landscape.

The first Korean who sought a public office in Canada occurred in the Ontario general election held in 1987. David Kho received the New Democratic Party nomination by acclamation in the newly-created provincial riding of Scarborough-Agincourt (Toronto Star, May 5, 1987, E29). He lost the election to Liberal Gerry Phillips by a margin of 12,000 votes (Korea Times, March 3, 2011). He was unsuccessful, in my view, probably because the NDP was a third party in Toronto area at that time and he was a visible minority, despite his polished command of English and Chinese, where a sizable
Chinese population resided in the riding, and impressive academic credentials – an earned political science Ph.D. Strictly speaking he was more Chinese than Korean because he was born and raised in Hong Kong of Korean parentage. He is still remembered to this day as a trailblazer in the Canadian political arena among Koreans mainly in Toronto area and to a lesser extent in other parts of Canada.

In the federal political arena, Kwangyul Peck’s three failed attempts to become an MP as a Liberal candidate in the Vancouver riding of Burnaby-Kingsway in 1993 need mentioning when he received over 14,000 votes but beaten by the then prominent NDP incumbent Svend Robinson by a margin of only 4,000 votes. In his second attempt, he received 15,636 votes but lost to a Reform Party candidate by 7,477 votes in the Port Moody - Coquitlam riding. Finally he ran in the 2004 general election and was defeated by a Conservative by a margin of 6,200 votes in Port Moody – Westwood – Port Coquitlam riding (www.elections.ca). What is noteworthy about his candidacy is that he was able to secure the nominations of a major Canadian political party in three consecutive general elections in British Columbia. Locally in Winnipeg and Manitoba, the only known Korean who tried to get into the Canadian political arena by seeking the Liberal Party nomination was Mark Lea-McKeown who ran against David Walker for a chance to represent the federal riding of the Winnipeg North Centre and was defeated in the nomination battle prior to the 1988 federal general election (private account by Walker). Lea-McKeown moved to British Columbia and tried to get the Conservative nomination for the federal riding of New Westminster–Coquitlam in July 25, 2009 and was defeated by Diana Dilworth, then a Port Moody councilor (www.tenthtothefraser.ca).
Not all Korean immigrants’ forays into the Canadian political stages have resulted in failure. For example, Raymond Cho was first elected in Scarborough-Malvern in 1991 as a Metro Toronto councillor and was re-elected in 1994. When the City of Toronto was amalgamated in 1997, he was elected as Toronto city councillor representing the newly created Scarborough Rouge River Ward 42 (www.toronto.ca). He was re-elected for the seventh time in the last Toronto civic election held on October 25, 2010 (Korea Times, October 26, 2010).

Sandy Lee, a 1.5 generation Korean, immigrated to Canada when she was 14 years of age with her parents. She was first elected as a Liberal member of Legislative Assembly in the Northwest Territories in the riding of Range Lake in Yellowknife in 1999 and was re-elected for the third time in 2007. She resigned her post as the Health Minister of the NWT government (CBC News, March 28, 2011) to run as a Conservative candidate in the federal general election held on May 2, 2011 and lost her bid (Vancouver Chosun Ilbo, March, 28, 2011).

Appointment to the Senate.

One last example is of 1.5 generation Korean who ran as a Conservative candidate in the federal general election held in November 2008 in the riding of New Westminster – Coquitlam in British Columbia was Yonah Martin who is married to a Caucasian. This distinction is important because one is not certain if, when one is seeking public office in Canada with foreign sounding last names, what effect this would have on the minds of electorates – positive or negative feelings. Astonishingly, she received 38.8% (19,299 votes) and still lost the election to the NDP incumbent Dawn Black who received 41.8% (20,787 votes), losing by less than 1,500 votes (accessed via http://en.wikipedia.org). She
was rewarded quickly for her effort by Prime Minister Stephen Harper to the Senate as a classic patronage appointment within one month of the election in December 2008 (Korea Times, March 3, 2011).

**Conclusion**

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, less than 40% (103) of the survey respondents are eligible to vote in Canadian elections. Consequently it is extremely difficult to measure the extent of political integration of Korean immigrants into Canada. Based on the survey information, it is reasonable to conclude that Korean immigrants’ political participation is limited and marginal at best. Because of the respondents’ short duration of residence in Manitoba and the energy and attention it demands to find suitable employment and housing for the families and schools for their children to settle in a new society and to learn a new language, a decade is needed to adjust to overcome structural barriers (Chui et al., 1991, 380) before getting acquainted with and to participate in a new political system. It is revealed both from the survey and interviews that perception of racial discrimination as well as real racial discrimination occurs when immigrants are interacting with the host society on a daily basis, but especially in the local labour market when they try to find their important first job.

An examination of residential settlement patterns for Korean immigrants shows they are not segregated in a poor downtown core at least for now. I would argue this lack of identifiable core support for co-ethnics is one factor that discourages prospective Korean candidates to seek nominations for major political parties in Canadian elections, unlike Winnipeg’s Filipino community.
An experimental political engagement index for Korean immigrants developed and presented in this chapter is a promising approach to understanding immigrants’ integration experience into a new host society in general and Koreans in particular. Subsequent multiple regression analyses demonstrate that a further refinement in this approach may yield useful results. Although it may not be appropriate to make a direct comparison due to the relatively large population size of their own ethnic origins, unlike Winnipeg’s Filipino and East Indian communities, the Korean community is unable to voice their needs and aspiration in an effective manner for their lack of presence in the Winnipeg City Council, Legislative Assembly of Manitoba and Parliament of Canada.

It appears there is a genuine need to search promising 1.5 and/or 2.0 generation Koreans to develop, support, and nurture their aspirations to represent Korean immigrants effectively to fulfill their collective Canadian dreams. In this regard, Korean newspapers in Toronto encourage Korean-Canadians to seek political nominations and run for any major political parties in any constituencies in Canada. It appears that newspaper companies do not care much about the political parties they represent so long as a Korean is elected in Canada. They often provide free coverage and write editorials extolling the virtue of electing a Korean parliamentarian and actively support Korean candidates. In the October 6, 2011 provincial election in Ontario, there were two major party Korean candidates. One ran to represent the Conservatives in the riding of Scarborough – Rouge River and the second ran for the New Democratic Party in the riding of Scarborough – Agincourt. Scarborough contains a large visible minority population. In 2006, 57% of its residents were foreign-born and 67.4% were visible minorities. Major ethnic groups included south Asians 22%, Chinese 19.5%, Blacks 10.3% and Filipinos 6.5% (Statistics
Canada, 2006). The results of the Ontario election shows the two Korean candidates came in third place with Kim receiving 18.7% (6,836) of votes as the Conservative candidate while Choi received 15.7% (5,019) of the votes as the NDP candidate in their respective ridings.
Chapter 8: Education and Employment Integration

There appears to be a real disconnect between the federal government’s sustained efforts in bringing about one-quarter of a million immigrants annually for the last decade from abroad in its attempt to deal with the pressing needs of Canada’s declining birthrates, rapidly aging population and the attendant financial resources needed to support these imperatives. It is disheartening to witness the unacceptable waste and underutilization of human capital among these newcomers because of pervasive institutional and structural racism and lukewarm welcome from the communities they settle in. This poses a serious problem in integrating new permanent residents and citizens into Canadian society as equal partners.

In this chapter, I address this and other issues as I examine the experiences of 12 recent Korean immigrants using semi-structured interviews. We discussed issues related to their attempts to find a job and/or establish a new business or to take over existing businesses as they try to establish a new life in Canada. The challenges they faced in their efforts to get their credentials obtained in Korea are a central focus of the interviews.

Some writers report changes that occur as a result of acculturation that are encountered by immigrants, refugees, indigenous peoples, sojourners and ethnic groups in Canada. As Berry et al. (1987, 505) assert, acculturation is a process leading to a multiple set of outcomes such as assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. After identifying five major types of changes they face, including physical changes such as a new place to live and increased population density, and biological changes through intermarriage, Berry et al. (ibid., 492) focus on three major types of changes. First are the inevitable cultural changes that occur. Second, new types of social relationships are
developed - domination and subordination. Third, psychological changes, behavioral changes, and an alteration in mental health occur as individuals try to adapt to their new surroundings. These conditions cause Korean immigrants along with other immigrants significant stress on a daily basis. One of the major sources of stress in the lives of many Korean Canadian newcomers involves work, which is the topic explored in this chapter.

**Challenges in Finding Suitable Employment**

Individual characteristics and pseudonyms of the 12 interviewees discussed in this chapter are shown on Table 4.6. Since all interviews were conducted in Korean, direct quotations of their comments were translated to English by the researcher. The challenges faced by several Korean professionals who were seeking employment, not seeking to start a new business or taking over an existing business in their daily engagement with the host society are troubling. The two immigrants, one a former high school teacher and the second, a display art technician shared candidly their inner thoughts on their painful journey in trying to find that all important first Canadian full-time paid job, mindful not to utter the dreadful word – “discrimination”! Nonetheless, what they really experienced is the host society’s institutional racism and unwelcoming attitudes and reception on the part of the host society’s constituents. I explore this issue with two participants. Let us now turn to what Mr. “Y” had to say about his motivation to emigrate to Canada and his job seeking experience in Manitoba. Mr. Y believed that North America offers more advantages in terms of education and social environment. Although he was employed in Korea, he felt he could move to North America more easily due to his and his wife’s young age. He had worked for an event/exhibition design company. Because over 80% of his employer’s work was done for overseas markets, he
was predisposed to move to a foreign country to live. His wife was keener to emigrate to North America than he was, but given his international experience through his business, he was not too worried about his prospects abroad. He believed it would be easier for him to show his work – portfolios, drawings, etc. compared with other professional or workers to gain recognition for his skills and ability. They considered emigrating to Australia, the United States, New Zealand and Canada.

In the end, they immigrated to Canada in October 2003. He is 33 years of age, with a two-year community college diploma, married, and has a two-year old son. I asked him about his experiences in finding work in Winnipeg. He said:

Employers appear to hire only people who they know. It may be good for persons within that network of associates. However, this kind of hiring practice is not good for people who are new to the Winnipeg labour market. I would like to request employers to take a chance in hiring new immigrants on a trial basis to determine their potential. It appears to me that Canadian employers prefer to hire a person they know and are comfortable with whose ability consists of 7/10 needed skills versus a new immigrant who has the ability to do 10/10, for example. The reason for employers preferring to hire fellow Canadians is because of the comfort level they have in hiring Canadian as opposed to hiring an unknown quantity – new immigrant.

Although Mr. Y is careful not to say the word discrimination in local hiring decisions, it is easy to detect his sense of frustration in facing discrimination in obtaining a first full-time job in his field of expertise and work experience in Manitoba. The issues surrounding the perceptions of racial discrimination among the survey respondents corroborate those appearing in Chapter 6.
Mr. “T” had similar experiences. He is 47 years of age, married with two sons, 19 and 16 years of age. He had taught at a junior high school in Korea for 22 years before emigrating to Canada. His sister and parents moved to Winnipeg 20 years before his own family arrived and his parents and sister moved to Toronto after four years of living in Manitoba. He stressed the fact that his motivation in moving to Canada had nothing to do with making more money. Rather it is a case of family unification and his search for additional challenges in a new country.

He admits the new challenge he is facing in Canada is much more difficult than he imagined. He shares his frustration in his earnest efforts in trying to obtain a Teacher Assistant’s job as follows and note these are his own words:

School divisions should allow persons like me to work as a Teacher’s Assistant. They should take chances to provide immigrants with a way to make a living and not wasting human resources that are readily available. As I stated before, I have teaching experience at a junior high school in Korea for 23 years and earned an M.A. degree in linguistics. A white woman who was taking a Teacher Assistant certificate course who was volunteering at a public school with me told me that over 90% of those seeking the Teacher Assistant’s certificates are Canadians – mostly whites with a small proportion from Eastern European countries and South America. She added that not all persons who obtained TA certificates get jobs at schools. This really discouraged me from continuing my efforts to get a Teacher Assistant’s certificate.

What these two Korean immigrants are experiencing is not unique in that these phenomena they have experienced first-hand is identified by Frances Henry and Carol Tator (1994, 1-14) as democratic racism.

“Democratic racism” refers to an ideology which permits and sustains the ability to justify maintaining two apparently conflicting values. One set of values consists of a commitment to a democratic society motivated by egalitarian values of fairness, justice and equality. Conflicting with these
liberal values are attitudes and behaviors which include negative feelings about people of colour and which carry the potential for differential treatment or discrimination against them. In its simplest form, democratic racism is an ideology that reduces the conflict between egalitarian and non-egalitarian values. (Ibid., 2-3)

Among the many examples that Henry and Tator identified as stemming from the ideology of democratic racism in Canada, two relate closely with the two Korean immigrants’ experience.

First is the notion that non-whites lack the skills to succeed. Myths that sustain this belief include the idea that other races are not as good as the White race; that they come from culturally inferior backgrounds. Second is the notion that racism is a problem for non-Whites only. Implied in this belief is the notion that were it not for people of colour in our society, racism would not exist. It is their presence, allowed into the country by overly liberal immigration laws, which has created the racism problem. (Ibid., 10)

One other important common experience of the two men I introduced here is an overwhelming sense of resignation. What they revealed, when offered an opportunity, was a candid admission of their helplessness in dealing with the entrenched individual and institutional racism which is well described by Henry and Tator as a part of ideology of democratic racism prevailing in Canada, particularly in the labour market. My assessment of their chances in obtaining employment in the field in which they are well qualified and experienced is it is minimal at best.

It is interesting to note that Gerald Clement, a former Assistant Deputy Minister of Manitoba Department of Labour and Immigration, coined a term “seduction and abandonment policy” when describing how Canada attracts newcomers. He would call situations similar to the two Korean immigrants’ predicament as a “seduction and abandonment” policy, in which “seduction” refers to the publicity promoting Canada as a
desirable immigration destination country while the “abandonment” implies that once an immigrant is admitted to Canada, there is little or no support for finding suitable employment or providing settlement assistance. This situation causes unnecessary difficulties among many immigrants who are struggling to settle in Canada and may also contribute to the idea that Canada is “promising more than it can deliver” in its efforts to entice prospective immigrants from overseas.

Referring to changes associated with acculturation stress, Berry and his colleagues state that while some people have good coping skills, others have more difficulty and experience leading to high rates of acculturation stress (ibid., 495). This concept adequately describes the situations experienced by Mr. Y and Mr. T. The two Korean immigrants mention their stress about the family’s dwindling financial resources as well as their uncertain future in Canada without a full-time employment is leading to illness and anxiety. Mr. Y relates the following experience.

In my case, since I do not have a full-time job, it would be increasingly difficult to settle in Winnipeg. In general for young people in their 30s, an average duration of settlement should occur within two to three years of landing with the saving they brought with them, unless parental support continues or independently wealthy. We feel increasingly worried about our prospect in Manitoba.

Mr. T’s experience is similar:

I spent all my money that I brought with me from Korea in 2.5 years that I have been unemployed. Despite the fact that my wife works part-time, the income is not sufficient to maintain a normal household. Consequently, I am becoming more nervous and this leads to my physical illness and heightened anxiety. I do believe I am sufficiently qualified to be a Teacher’s Assistant with my level 7 Canadian language benchmark. The School divisions should make provision to help persons like me to utilize my valuable work experience and professional qualification obtained in
Korea. The devaluation of foreign credentials and experience is deplorable!

Although Mr. T did not speak of discrimination by prospective employers in not hiring him on the basis of his skin colour, his unspoken words show that indeed he was facing entrenched racial discrimination. This was the main barrier he felt impeded his ability to enter the labour market. His inability to find employment in his field of expertise is really disheartening because it deprives him of a livelihood to support his family while Canada loses for not utilizing human capital he brought with him. It is also evidence that racism is alive and well in Canada.

The Winnipeg School division lost an excellent opportunity to hire Mr. T, an experienced former junior high school teacher, as a Teacher’s Aid. He could act as a bridge between the growing number of students and parents from Korea, other students, teachers, and school administrators about learning from each other to actualize the collective enterprise of making Canada a truly inclusive society. He could also provide assistance to newcomer students and their families from other cultures by nature of sharing his immigrant experience. In a study of the perception of teachers of Punjabi Sikh ancestry of their roles in British Columbia public school system, Beynon and Hirji (2000) make an observation which is equally applicable to teachers of Korean ancestry.

While Punjabi Sikh teachers are bridging between Punjabi and mainstream cultures and attempting to influence selective aspects of Punjabi Sikh culture, they are also confronting institutional racism and sexism. These educators are forging a new model of what it means to be a teacher that is based neither on total conformity with the dominant institution nor on strict radical pedagogy. It is a model that reflects their diverse positions and locations and their individual interpretations of how best to overcome sexism and racism. (Ibid., 16)
Galabuzi and Teelucksingh (2010) also observe that racial discrimination continues to be a major factor in the distribution of opportunities in the Canadian labour market and by extension in deciding the life chances of racialized peoples and immigrants in Canada (ibid, 4).

**Effective Uses of Social Capital and Tenacity of Korean Immigrants**

Despite systemic racial discrimination and unwelcoming host society constituents, not all Korean immigrants’ experiences in Manitoba result in failure. Among the 12 interview subjects, three persons could be considered as examples of success in their settlement efforts - a pharmacist and two nurses. What follows are the stories of personal trials, tribulations, and triumphs among three newcomers who persevered despite the significant challenges they experienced.

Mr. “J” was a licensed pharmacist who owned and operated his own successful drug store for 15 years in South Korea before migrating to Canada.

At the outset of this dissertation, I stated that Koreans are predisposed to investing in and making use of social capital in their society and community without thinking or knowing about it. As it turned out, Mr. J accessed existing social capital available in Canada to his advantage. He graduated from arguably one of the best Korean universities’ faculty of pharmacy. In fact, graduates from professional faculties from that university find it easy to locate full-time employment in Korea. Mr. J’s story reveals the extent to which successful utilization of social capital can result in success in the Canadian labour market.

He tells us about the influence of his university alumni association in Toronto and how his connections with them led to several jobs before he relocated to Winnipeg.
At a Christmas party for our university alumni in Toronto, I complained openly that those who came before me and reasonably well established in Toronto should help new alumni to find jobs in pharmacies. Buying dinner and drinks were not good enough. A few days later I had received a phone call from an alumnae pharmacist who offered me to work in her pharmacy as a technician. I jumped at that opportunity and began working for her for one year and six months. Then I moved to a Shoppers Drug Mart with the help of another alumnae. There I worked for five months. The work experience I had gained from the Shoppers Drug Mart was useful in that I learned to read prescriptions written in English while working for the first pharmacy I did not need to use any English for most of the clients of the pharmacy were Koreans.

As he confided with me, Mr. J continued to maintain and cultivate his old school ties and networks in his new host society. The fruit of his diligence in cultivating his old school ties rewarded him handsomely, as is evident in the following comments:

I had mailed a lot of resumes but had no success until I received a telephone call from an alumnus who was working as a pharmacist at a Zeller’s department store in Winnipeg. In other words, my networking with the graduates from the same pharmaceutical school had worked wonders for me.

Currently Mr. J is satisfied with his accomplishments – working as a licensed pharmacist in Manitoba and operating his own pharmacy that keeps regular business hours. In essence, he is doing exactly the same thing that he had been doing in Korea for 15 years before his immigration to Canada. This fact alone represents a significant success for immigrant professionals. Thus he skillfully avoided suffering from what is known as the status inconsistency felt among immigrant professionals from their home country yet working in marginal jobs in a new host society. Factors that account for his successful labour market integration can be accounted for by the following:
1. Identification and extensive utilization of existing old school networks of community social capital available among Koreans in Toronto.

2. The willingness to take a calculated risk in moving to Winnipeg from Toronto with his family to take advantage of the reduced qualifying period before receiving a pharmacist license in Manitoba compared with that in Ontario.

3. Self-confidence in the knowledge that he graduated from arguably the best faculty of pharmacy in Korea and his determination to succeed in Canada.

Although he is too modest to offer any advice to other immigrants with similar background, an examination of his labour market integration experience would be useful for other professional immigrants.

Now we turn our attention to two registered nurses (RN) whose difficult challenges and valiant efforts to establish themselves in their new host society is worthy of a closer examination.

Mrs. “B” was working as a registered nurse in Korea before migrating to Manitoba attracted by, among other things, an enticing advertisement in Korea by the Manitoba government promoting hospitals in Manitoba which offered to give a $5,000 cash grant immediately upon obtaining a Registered Nurse license.

To provide an appropriate context within which Mrs. B and about 120 other Korean registered nurses’ recruitment and subsequent immigration to Manitoba is necessary. Faced with the chronic shortages of nurses in Manitoba in the late 1990s, the College of Registered Nurses of Manitoba (CRNM) began advertising in Korean nursing newsletters. A contract recruitment agent went to Korea in the early 2000s and began actively recruiting experienced nurses to enter Canada first as students with student visas.
to learn English at the Red River Community College upon arrival in Manitoba and then guide them to prepare for the licensing examination called the Canadian Registered Nurse Examination (CRNE). Upon completing the English course, Korean nurses were taking a seven month nurse refresher course including one month of practice requirement at the Red River Community College. For internationally trained nurses to work as RNs in Manitoba, one needs to be registered with the CRNM. To register with the CRNM, they need to pass the CRNE as well as stringent official language test recognized by the CRNM in all four areas of English – listening, reading, writing, and speaking based on the Canadian English Language Benchmark Assessment for Nurses (CELBAN).  

Mrs. B is 47 years of age, married and with two sons, aged 14 and 11. She is a nurse with about 15 years of work experience in general hospitals. She mentioned that when she was growing up, she yearned to migrate to Japan because her uncle who lived there used to send clothing and nice things to her. However, she did not have any realistic chance to migrate to Japan.

Mrs. B describes her decision to migrate to Canada:

There was an opportunity that presented itself in that the newsletters of the Korean Nurses Association always showed advertisements from hospitals in North America. As you know even if you desired to emigrate, there were no avenues open to you then it could not be realized. I read an advertisement by the Manitoba Government promoting its hospitals with enticing incentives, e.g. $5,000 cash grant immediately upon obtaining a Registered Nurse’s license in the province.

I asked her if she had received any settlement assistance from anyone, and Mrs. B made the following comments:

6 There is a separate language test requirements for French speaking nurses.
I have not received any help from anyone, except the immigration consultant who initially helped us (20 nurses he recruited in Korea to work in Manitoba) to open bank accounts and finding apartments. The cohort of Korean nurses were studying together to prepare for tests and examinations and was the only self-help group that was quite successful in retrospect. The consultant brought 6 cohorts of 20 nurses each for a total of 120 Korean nurses to Manitoba.

Although it is not necessarily unique, the above statement reveals something about the basic nature of Koreans - forming a self-help group in a new host society to build a network of social capital in order to increase their chances of passing the CRNE test. This kind of community assistance was the key to her successful adaptation, not only in Winnipeg, but also within nursing community in Canada.

James Coleman describes social capital as something that is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action. For example, a group whose members show trustworthiness and hold extensive trust in one another are able to achieve considerably more than a comparable group that do not possess trustworthiness and trust. To illustrate his definition of social capital, Coleman (1990, 302-03) provides an example of Korean study circles.

Radical thought is passed on in clandestine study circles, groups of students who may come from the same high school or hometown or church. The same high school or hometown or church provides social relations on which the study circles are later built. The study circles themselves constitute a form of social capital which appears valuable for encouraging opposition to a political system that is afraid of dissent.

In terms of challenges she may have faced in finding a full-time job in her field of expertise in Manitoba as a nurse, Mrs. B states:

I had worked as a nurse in Korea for ten years and worked in Saudi Arabia for four years before my marriage. Nursing is essentially the same whether in Korea or in Canada.
As such, she questioned the need for the extensive training she had to complete in Canada prior to completing the requirements to become a registered nurse.

Although it took two and a half years before she obtained her first full-time Canadian employment in nursing, aside from the time she invested in additional education to integrate into Canadian hospital settings, I would consider Mrs. B as successful. Many other immigrants are unable to practice their profession upon relocating to Canada, so she might be considered ‘one of the lucky ones’.

The third successful person I would like to introduce is Mrs. “P”. She is a 50-year-old nurse married and with two sons, 21 and 18. Her experience in getting the first full-time employment as an RN in Manitoba is quite similar to Mrs. B. It took almost four years before she found her first full-time nursing position as follows:

The nurses union in Korea advertised in the newsletter that hospitals in North America were hiring nurses including Canada. The union offered three months of free English training. While I was taking the language course I received a lot of information on job opportunity overseas from other nurses who were taking English course with me. It was relatively easy to find a job once I obtained a Registered Nurse’s license in October 2004.

I had worked as a Head Nurse in orthopaedic and paediatrics units of general hospitals. I had worked as a Nursing Officer in the Korean Army. The nature of work is essentially the same, except that whereas I was working in hospitals in Korea, I am currently working in a nursing home as a night charge nurse. I had mailed my resumes to all hospitals and nursing homes in Winnipeg.

Although Mrs. P does not speak of racial discrimination or differential treatment in the Manitoba labour market, the fact that with an RN license coupled with many years of nursing experience in general hospitals in Korea, she could only find a full-time nursing position as a night shift charge nurse in a nursing home in Winnipeg is troubling.
Li (1988, 49) notes various forms of racism and ethnocentrism further divide the class structure and provide justifications for differential treatment of minorities. Li argues that in a racialized society where race and ethnicity determines the chance of obtaining a job, the disadvantaged groups are forced to seek lower paying jobs, as discrimination makes the higher-paying jobs are more difficult to get for them (ibid., 50). It appears that the integration experiences of Mr. Y, the display/graphic artist, Mr. T, the former junior high school teacher, and Mrs. P, the nursing home night shift charge, are reflections of what Li argues as an example of the dominant class using ethnicity and race as sources of inequality.

**Immigrants’ Entrepreneurial Experience**

Among the 12 Korean immigrants that I interviewed, the seven remaining immigrants’ settlement experiences can be described as neither wholly positive nor negative. Their stories could be considered as ‘average’ but has one common theme: they are all entrepreneurs of some sort – and many of them came to Canada not having the intention to start their own business. Their self-employment came as a result of difficulty finding work in the city.

Mr. “C” is an experienced cook. By the time he immigrated to Winnipeg, he was already accessing social capital in terms of his friend’s good command of English and his knowledge of local business environment. The family friend introduced Mr. C to three local restaurant owners and one offered him a job. It took only two and a half months to find a job that matched his 12 years of work experience in restaurants and cafeterias in Korea. After working for an owner of a restaurant for about three years and six months, he purchased an existing restaurant as an owner-operator.
It appears that Mr. C has experienced limited difficulty in obtaining his first job in Canada and much of this ease had to do with his 12 years of work experience, in addition to the social contacts that led him to employment early in his arrival. His transition from an employee to an employer also appears to be not terribly difficult for there is very little need for the good command of English as a cook in the operation of a restaurant as an owner-operator. The problem for Mr. C was that the jobs he held were not satisfying; and while he eventually concluded that owning a restaurant would be beneficial, he lacked investment funds to purchase or start his own business. It is important to note that Mr. C did not migrate under the self-employed, business or investor classes. He became self-employed out of necessity.

He was hesitant to reveal the source of funding to purchase an existing take-out Japanese food restaurant. Eventually he used the proceeds from selling his house in Korea to purchase the take-out Japanese food restaurant business in Winnipeg. When asked if he tried to obtain financing from banks or credit unions, he stated that due to the high failure rates of restaurant business, financial institutions avoid lending to restaurateurs. In addition, since he is a new immigrant, he did not have a credit record that could satisfy the lending conditions required by financial institutions. Thus if he did not have the connections in Winnipeg or the equity from selling his home in Korea, Mr. C likely would have a different outcome.

Mr. “N” is a 51 year-old business analyst, married, and living with two grown sons, 25 and 23 years of age at home. He was hesitant to emigrate to Canada even after receiving a visa to enter Canada. His extended families, business associates and friends tried to persuade him not emigrate to Canada, because he was well established in his
professional career. Relocating the family and beginning a new life in Canada was viewed as too difficult and risky for someone with a relatively successful life in Korea.

Mr. N applied and received permission to enter Canada under the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program - Business Component. It meant he had to provide a hefty deposit prior to entry and set up a business after he arrived.

Despite their objections, once he arrived in Manitoba, Mr. N was very interested in obtaining a Tim Hortons franchise in Winnipeg. However, he was informed that due to a long list of applicants to become a franchisee, he might have to wait for two years before his application could be vetted by the company. Due to the long wait time for Tim Hortons franchise, an official of the Manitoba Department of Industry and Trade expressed concern that if he waited for approval, he might not get his $50,000 deposit to be qualified as a MPNP (business – component) returned to him. The Province of Manitoba imposed this mandatory deposit as a means to prevent immigrants who obtained their permanent resident status through the MPNP from leaving the province immediately after obtaining the permanent resident card without fulfilling their prior commitment to create business to employ the nominee and at least one other Canadian or permanent resident. Thus he was persuaded to establish his own business operating a Korean supermarket.

In Korea Mr. N, who holds an MBA, was a business analyst. I asked him to estimate the chances of him finding employment in his field in Canada.

It was more difficult to find employment as a white collar worker in Winnipeg due to my limited English language ability. My earnings potential was lower because employers were not recognizing my past business experience. Due to my lack of Canadian experience, I did not think I could provide accurate forecasting service for my prospective employer.
Mr. N’s self-description of the difficulty in finding suitable white collar employment commensurate with his previous work experience as well as the non-recognition of his Korean educational credentials in Canada is a vexing problem.

It appears he is quietly experiencing what is called the *status inconsistency*. In his study of problems of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles area, Min (1990, 444) states that status inconsistency refers to the situation in which any two of the three major status dimensions – education, occupation and income - are unbalanced (Lenski, 1954; Geschwender, 1968). Min also observes:

Many Korean immigrants achieve economic mobility through self-employment and thus solve the problem of education-income imbalance. However, since most Korean entrepreneurs are engaged in labour intensive, blue collar business, entry into business does not significantly enhance their social status (Min, 1984b, 1988a). Thus most Korean entrepreneurs suffer from the other two kinds of status inconsistency. Immigrants seem to evaluate their occupational status by comparing it to the pre-immigrant occupational status. The discrepancy between pre-immigrant and current occupations may therefore be more important for understanding Korean immigrants’ subjective definition of status inconsistency than that between education and the current occupation. (Min, 1990, 444)

Although Mr. N did not mention it specifically, it is not difficult to detect his unspoken desire to work as a business analyst rather than the physical labour that keeps him busy at his Korean food supermarket. As a result, it is not difficult to imagine that he is experiencing some of the symptoms of the status inconsistency in his new host society.

Other participants have experienced extreme difficulties navigating the transition between the labour markets in Korea and Winnipeg and have also suffered status inconsistency. There was a serious incident that occurred in the Winnipeg’s Korean
immigrant community in 1998. I spoke with the person’s sister on April 1, 2012 to obtain her consent in my discussing the suicide of her brother and to obtain additional details about the incident. Mr. “S” was a 39 year old former high school English teacher from Korea. When he immigrated to Canada as a result of a family reunion in Winnipeg, he could not find any job that is commensurate with his work experience and qualification as a teacher. The only job he could find was at a furniture factory. One day in the summer of 1998, he went to a food wholesaler to buy food and groceries for his parent’s grocery store. While he was there he was accused of shoplifting while exiting the premises. The security personnel kept him in one of the offices there and apparently roughed him up and humiliated him badly. He committed suicide in the attic of his parent’s grocery store on June 12, 1998. This incident did not receive any coverage in the local media. The sister states that a short article was written in the Korea Times Daily published in Toronto during that time. Although he might have had mental illness, his status inconsistency in Canadian society vis-à-vis that in Korea must have troubled him a great deal. The challenge of integrating into a new host society must lead to heightened acculturation stress and exacerbated his mental health as noted by some writers (Berry et al., 1987; Noh et al., 1999). One may speculate if he was a white person the private security personnel may have dealt with it in a gentler manner.

The issue of status inconsistency and mental stress experienced by some immigrants in their process of acculturation as reported by Berry is enlightening (Berry, 1997, 22).

Related to education is one’s place in the economic world. Although high status (like education) is a resource, a common experience for immigrants is a combination of
status loss and limited status mobility (Aycan & Berry, 1996). One’s “departure status” credentials (educational and work experiences) are frequently devalued on arrival (Cumming, Lee, & Oreopoulos, 1989). Sometimes this is due to real differences in qualifications, but it may also be due to ignorance and/or prejudice in the society of settlement, leading to status loss and the risk of stress. For similar reasons the usual main goal of immigration (upward status mobility) is thwarted, leading again to risk for various disorders, such as depression (Beiser, Johnson, & Turner, 1993). In a sense, these problems lie in the interaction between the immigrant and the institutions of the society of settlement; hence, problems of status loss and limited mobility can usually be addressed during the course of acculturation.

Mr. “H” is a dentist-turned-entrepreneur. He operated his own dental clinic in Korea prior to migrating to Manitoba. He first entered Canada with a student visa secure in the knowledge he would receive an immigrant visa under the MPN program. With the funds he brought from Korea, he purchased a Canadian supermarket in Winnipeg along with a second investor already living in Canada.

Due to the lengthy recertification process necessary for him to practice dentistry in Manitoba coupled with his visa condition under the MPNP - business component, he had to start a business or take over an existing business. To obtain a refund of the $50,000 letter of credit he opened in favour of the Province of Manitoba, Mr. H opened his supermarket within 20 months of his arrival in Winnipeg. Asked how his employment experience influenced his family’s settlement in Canada, he answered:

Without receiving recognition for my professional qualification, I would not be able to support my family financially. My wife and children felt somewhat insecure when I had no job and using the savings we brought from Korea. Once I opened the business with a business partner they feel
much more secure in the knowledge that I would be able to support the family from the income generated in the business. However, they wish that I would eventually be able to practice dentistry in Winnipeg.

Mr. H’s experience also reiterates the presence of social capital within Winnipeg’s Korean ethnic church community. Mr. H. began attending a local Korean protestant church upon his arrival in Winnipeg and quickly developed a friendship with a church elder. In fact, Mr. H himself is a church elder from Korea. He subsequently learned that the elder had a desire to own a food supermarket but did not have sufficient capital to purchase it alone. Mr. H persuaded the elder to enter into a business partnership with him. As a result of this partnership, Mr. H could receive the refund of the $50,000 deposit he made to the Province of Manitoba as a condition of being nominated as a MPN.

Shortly after my interview with Mr. H, he sold his part of the business to his partner and moved to Kingston, Ontario because his eldest son was admitted to Queen’s University. His family and many other Koreans like them decide to immigrate to Canada and the United States to give their children a better opportunity to obtain the best post-secondary education. In Korea, it is extremely difficult for young people to enter the best schools. As a result, many families resort to sending their children to dreadful after school programs which are prohibitively expensive and extremely time-consuming. In reference to the high cost of after-school programs in Korea, I often hear from many recent Korean immigrants that it is cheaper to educate their children in Manitoba. As with many immigrants, the decision to migrate to Canada by Mr. H and his family is due to several factors, including the desire to provide better opportunities to their children.

Mr. “L” is a former high school teacher-turned-entrepreneur now in Manitoba. He says that a local Korean introduced him to the owner of a grocery store that needed help,
similar to the stories of Mr. H and Mr. C. This is a classic bonding social capital. The owner did not know much about Mr. L. However, just because he shared the same ethnic background as Mr. L, the owner quickly took a chance with an otherwise total stranger.

Approximately within 15 months of his arrival in Winnipeg Mr. L left that job to set up his own corner grocery store with the funds he brought from Korea. Like Mr. C, he attempted to apply for a loan to purchase the building and the inventory, but Canadian financial institutions would not provide the necessary funding for two reasons. First, Mr. L did not have an established credit record in Canada and second, the general lending practices in Canada are such that they routinely reject loan applications to purchase small retail grocery stores given the uncertainty of the business’ success.

After operating the business for about three years, he sold it and bought another business in Elma, Manitoba. When asked to reflect on the structure of society in Canada versus Korea, Mr. L states that he was extremely dissatisfied with how Korean society is organized, commenting that “it is organized too vertically as opposed to horizontally as in Canada”. He does not regret the decision to migrate and enjoys the quiet pastoral environment Elma offers; his business is thriving and he admits that he and his family are happy there.

Another recent Korean immigrant who had worked for large shipping company and also transformed himself as an entrepreneur by necessity is Mr. “G”. While he considered emigrating to New Zealand, an immigration consultant told him that it would be easier to get a visa from Canada through the MPN program. After his arrival, Mr. G did not actively look for employment for about 21 months as he was living off the funds he brought with him from Korea. One day he was offered a job in a high rise apartment...
building by the owner of the grocery store who also happens to be a Korean, yet another example of social capital at work. Mr. G worked in that store as a part-time cashier for about six months when I interviewed him. Again, he was able to access existing Korean community social capital to gain employment with his limited spoken English ability. He purchased an existing convenience store and made it more attractive to bring more customers.

Yet another story of a reluctant entrepreneur is located among my study group. Mr. “S” is a professional conductor and private music academy owner-operator before migrating to Canada, a classically-trained musician turned entrepreneur. In fact, at the time of our interview, he was enrolled in a PhD program in Korea specializing in classical conductors’ courses. He studied music for two years in St. Petersburg, Russia and received a diploma in conducting from Master Classes of 4-6 weeks duration. He talked about challenges he faced in trying to commence business in Winnipeg.

Although I had been admitted as a business immigrant to start a business, I feel my English proficiency is not good enough to start my own business yet. Thus I am trying to improve my English before starting my own business in private music academy or to bringing in students from Korea to study English in Winnipeg.

Although the interviewee did not disclose, it is likely that he earns money in Korea through the music business to pay for the family’s living expenses in Canada, considering he had returned to Korea for one year after landing in Winnipeg. In addition to the language barrier, the longer he lived in Winnipeg, the more he has observed racial prejudices in Winnipeg compared with larger centres such as Toronto or Vancouver. Given that Winnipeg is not as culturally diverse as these larger centres, his perception
was that racism is a significant problem here. His views are similar to the respondents of the survey part of this thesis whose experiences are discussed extensively in Chapter 6.

Finally, Mr. “M” is also an entrepreneur in Korea and unlike the other participants he intends to pursue that kind of work in Canada. When I asked him to describe his first job search experience in his new country, he provided the following account:

I went for a job interview with a seeds packaging company. The interviewer told me that he would inform me within three days if I passed the test. I waited for almost two weeks before I heard from him. It took too much time to make any decision in hiring. If it was in Korea it would have taken much less time. In the meantime, I changed my mind and I thought I should improve my English skills before looking for a job.

Clearly this was a discouraging experience. I asked him to describe any settlement assistance he received and which one was most helpful the importance of social capital appeared again. He described his experience in the following manner.

I received help from a friend who immigrated to Winnipeg about three years before I arrived. In addition, while I was waiting to receive an immigrant visa, I had formed an informal group which consisted of people who were interested in emigrating to Canada. I found the information exchanges among us to be very helpful.

As with the two successful RNs I introduced earlier in this chapter, Koreans appear to access existing social capital and if there is no social capital to be accessed, then they start building a network of social capital not only for themselves but for the benefit of community as a whole. In Mr. M’s case, this community of assistance was created prior to his arrival in Canada. Coleman’s observation noted before is equally applicable here in that Koreans living overseas tend to trust immigrants from Korea
initially for they share the common ancestry, speak the same language and have the same culture.

**Major Factors Influencing Immigration Decisions**

Although individual immigrants’ personal challenges differ from one to the other, there are two major push factors they all experience before they migrate to Canada. The first push factor is the notorious after-school programs for school age children from grade one to 12 in Korea. These activities command high tuition fees and huge time commitments from students and families. The reason these programs are so popular is because of the competition to secure a spot in one of the few top-ranked universities. Without a university degree, Koreans are destined for poor labour market and economic futures. As a result, the after-school programs themselves remain very competitive and popular among Korean families who are anxious to give their children the best chance of succeeding in the labour market as adults. This extreme competition pushes some Korean families out of the country. The second push factor is the widespread ageism within the labour force in Korea. Korean companies aggressively push out workers over 50 years of age. It began with the International Monetary Fund (IMF)’s mandated structural downsizing known as the IMF crisis of 1997 in countries in Asia. However, the same practice is still actively pursued by corporations in Korea.

These are two of the most compelling reasons that push Koreans out of their country and into Canada. The growing competition at schools, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels, means limited opportunities for young people. As is often the case with other immigrants, Korean families emigrate to give their children a better chance. In terms of older workers, the massive layoffs of highly paid, experienced
workers in their mid-forties and fifties are also a factor pushing Koreans out. The prospect of losing employment at the prime of one’s career is a significant push factor for many.

Korean immigrants in Manitoba experience serious difficulty in finding suitable employment and/or creating a new business. The majority of informants were largely pushed out of their homeland and pulled into the new labour market in Manitoba which is more challenging than was expected. Based on the 12 semi-structured interviews I conducted with the Korean immigrants, the labour market experience of Koreans in Manitoba is less than satisfactory for most. It appears that the challenge is to devise measures that would facilitate seamless integration of Korean immigrants into Manitoba labour market commensurate with their prior work experience and credentials received in Korea.

This is not an experience unique to Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. Examined on a national scale, a recent report by the Royal Bank of Canada estimates the value of lost opportunity of immigrants. The study finds if immigrants’ skills were rewarded in a similar way to that of Canadian-born workers, the increase in their incomes would amount to $30.7 billion – the equivalent of 2.1% of Canada’s gross domestic product. Closing the gap with Canadian-born workers would also translate into about 42,000 additional jobs (Globe and Mail, December 16, 2011).

**Time Required to Find the First Job and Employment Rates for the Sexes**

At the time of the survey, 63.8% of the 260 respondents had jobs while the remaining 33.8% did not. Among those who did not have jobs, the largest group was
students attending schools (28.4%), followed by those who were unable to find jobs (18.2%), retired persons (14.8%) and persons in training (9.1%).

On average, it does not take Koreans that long to find work in Manitoba. Over 62% of the respondents took six months or less to find their first Canadian jobs. Another 13% took between six to 12 months to obtain their first job. Fifteen percent of respondents took between one to two years to secure their first job. For the remainder of the respondents (9.6%), it took about three to six years before they obtained their first job in Canada.

Despite the relative ‘ease’ in finding employment, status inconsistency is a significant problem experienced by Koreans living in Manitoba. When comparing the extent of occupational matching between a immigrant’s first job in Canada with their previous job held in Korea, the survey finds only 40.8% had secured similar jobs in Canada while 59.2% did not have similar jobs, as indicated in the semi-structured interviews, most were unhappy about this development - preferring to work in their chosen field rather than operating their own small business.

Close to 40% of the respondents in the survey are working part-time (less than 40 hours/week) and 26.5% are full-time workers. However, there is a large proportion of full-time workers who work more than 40 hours and less than 80 hours weekly (21.5%). Some work as much as between 80 to 110 hours per week, an example of extreme overwork (5.8%). What it means is that they are working on average over 14 hours daily and seven days a week. A study conducted in Los Angeles area of the U.S. examining the cheapness of a Korean immigrant small business makes an insightful observation:

Running an owner-operated small business of the type run by Koreans was a form of dirty work (Oppenheimer, 1974). It was hard and tiring. It
demanded many long and tedious hours of work, day in and day out. It entailed great risks, with little of a cushion of security if one failed. Merely looked at as a form of labor, running a small owner-operated business was an undesirable job by U.S. labor standards. (Light & Bonacich, 1988, 355)

In fact, the situation among Korean small business owner-operators in Winnipeg is not much different from what is observed among Korean small business owner-operators in the Los Angeles area in terms of working extremely long hours. Consequently, a majority of self-employed immigrants (54.6%) do not wish to work longer hours while only 10.4% want to work more.

In terms of job satisfaction, nearly a third (29.6%) indicate they are either very satisfied (11.9%) or satisfied (17.7%). About 23% indicate they are neither satisfied nor unsatisfied about their jobs. In contrast, 15% of the respondents indicate they are either unsatisfied (10.0%) or very unsatisfied (5.0%) with their jobs.

As with the level of satisfaction for wages received, 15% indicate they are either very satisfied (6.5%) or satisfied (8.6%). Twenty-four percent of respondents indicate they are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied about the wages they receive. The remaining respondents are either unsatisfied (11.9%) or very unsatisfied (6.9%) about their wage.

When differences in the employment rates for men and women are considered, a higher percentage of men were employed at 72.1%, while only 47.2% of women were employed at the time of the survey. The significantly lower employment rate for women is troubling because it would require both partners to have jobs to provide for their families and to begin integrating into the new host society.

Overall, the employment rates of Koreans in Winnipeg are slightly better than other immigrant groups. In a survey of 110 Turkish immigrants in the Montreal area,
Aycan and Berry (1996, 240-251) report that despite high levels of education, two-thirds of them were either unemployed or underemployed in the first six months of their arrival in Canada due to a variety of reasons. These include a lack of confidence in ability to use either of Canada’s official languages, difficulty in getting credentials recognized and lack of Canadian work experience. Although immigrants became employed at the same rates as Canadian-born workers, the economic recession impeded their integration into Canadian labour market in more recent years. They concur with Jahoda’s (1982) observation that work has functions other than providing income. They argue that work defines status and identity and in turn enables immigrants to start relationships with others in the community. The more an immigrant interacts with the people in the host society, the faster he or she acquires necessary skills to handle daily life. It is critical for immigrants because adaptation is enhanced by social interactions. Consequently those without jobs experience a decline in psychological well-being and a delay in adaptation.

It is interesting to note the similarity between the Turkish sample and the Korean sample in that their inability to command one of the official languages of Canada inhibits them from getting gainful employment. The major difference between the two separate immigrant groups is that while Korean immigrants start self-employment to deal with the incidence of unemployment and underemployment, the Turkish immigrants appear to seek paid employment.

**High Incidence of Self-employment**

There is a relatively high incidence of self-employment among the Korean immigrants. Among those who work, 33.5% are self-employed compared to the 38.8% who work for employers. The remainder (27.7%) indicate the question is not applicable.
to them. In Canada by comparison (Statistics Canada, 2008, Table 3) only 22.4% of its labour force was engaged in self-employment in both incorporated and unincorporated sectors of the economy.

There have been several studies in the United States concerning the higher incidence of self-employment among Asian immigrants in general and Korean immigrants in particular (Bonacich et al., 1977; Light et al., 1988; Kim et al., 1989; Min, 1990). While examining the apparent success of Korean businesses in Los Angeles area Bonacich et al. (ibid, 59) interpret that Korean success in small business must be seen in the context of failure to become established in one’s chosen profession. Another study by Min notes that one of the main reasons that account for Korean immigrants’ success in the labour intensive small business is that they work extremely long hours (ibid, 440).

In a recent Statistics Canada study based on the Census, Labour Force Survey (LFS) and the Survey of Self-Employment (SSE), Hou and Wang report that by the late 2000s, about 19% of immigrants are self-employed while the rate for Canadian-born is 15% (Hou et al., 2011, 2). In comparison, the rate of self-employment among Korean immigrants in Manitoba is significantly higher at 33.5%.

**Reasons for Self-employment**

It is important to distinguish between those who are self-employed involuntarily due to a lack of suitable paid employment and those who are self-employed by choice in order to fully understand the labour market integration of Korean immigrants. The responses given for the reasons of self-employment are grouped together in Table 8.1 below.
Table 8.1  Reasons for self-employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Number (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unable to find job</td>
<td>26 (40.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By choice</td>
<td>23 (35.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility/freedom</td>
<td>5 (7.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High income potential</td>
<td>8 (12.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To fulfill visa condition (MPNP)</td>
<td>3 (4.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65 (100.0%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manitoba admits many business and skilled immigrants on the basis of their record of success in the country of origin and assesses their prospects as entrepreneurs and skilled workers through the administration of MPNP since 1998. There appears to be a high proportion of self-employed respondents (40%) who are engaged in that form of work because of their inability to find suitable employment due in part to a poor command of English and having no or minimal Canadian experience on their part, and the host society’s lack of empathy and institutions’ democratic racism. Thirty-five percent of self-employed immigrants indicate they are in self-employment either by choice or due to the nature of their occupation. Some respondents (12.3%) state they are in self-employment for the potential of earning higher incomes. Others (7.7%) indicate they enjoy the freedom and flexibility that self-employment confers. Lastly, 4.6% respond they are self-employed to discharge their responsibility for the MPNP condition and get their refund in the amount ranging from $50,000 to $75,000 letter of credit they issued in favour of the Province of Manitoba. Of the 86 self-employed persons in the sample, 29% came as MPN - business component and 5.8% belongs to MPN – skilled worker. Twenty-two percent belongs to the independent class while that for family class is 29%.
Self-employment and Level of Education Received from Korea

An examination of the level of education attained in Korea provides the information necessary to understand what personal attributes account for the likelihood of one entering self-employment. It is interesting to compare the level of education received in Korea and the likelihood of entering self-employment as opposed to paid employment.

Over 66% of Korean immigrants with a Bachelor’s degree or higher education are self-employed. Immigrants with high school graduation or lower education from Korea are at 20.6%, and some college or university education and college diploma holders are the least likely group to be self-employed at 13.2%. The interviews described earlier in this chapter indicate that the major reason for Koreans to start businesses in Canada is due to the lack of sufficient recognition of their educational qualifications. This issue is indicative of the problems newcomers face in having their credentials recognized in the new economy and creating a loss of human capital for receiving countries.

Li reports that despite the popularity of the ethnic enclave and blocked mobility theses, there are other factors that may account for the propensity of immigrants entering self-employment. By using the Longitudinal Immigration Data Base in Canada for 1980 – 1995, Li concludes immigrants with better qualification and means are more likely to enter into self-employment (Li, 2001, 1106, 1126). Li’s argument is not being supported by Korean immigrants’ reasons for entering self-employment. While 45 persons with Bachelor’s degrees or higher education from Korea engage in self-employment, 53 persons are in paid jobs. Nine persons with some college or university education are self-employed, while 22 persons with a similar educational attainment work in paid jobs.
The reality among self-employed Korean immigrants in Winnipeg differs from the observation made of the general population of Canadian immigrants by Li in that Koreans are more likely be “pushed” into self-employment by their inability to overcome the resistance of employers who do not hire new immigrants whose language and culture differ from the established members of the host society. It appears that Korean immigrants can be considered as an example of the blocked mobility thesis advanced by Porter (1965) because a high percentage of them are self-employed involuntarily (40%), as is shown in Table 8.2 above. Although Porter’s example of the blocked mobility thesis contained in his seminal work *vertical mosaic* relates to the English, French, other western and eastern Europeans, Jews and Chinese in different eras, it is comparable to the situation of Korean immigrants who in large proportion involuntarily enter into self-employment in a predominantly small retail grocery business. Their chances of upward mobility in terms of occupational prestige are blocked at least for the first generation of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. Indeed, Korean immigrants appear to be stuck in the “entrance status” as described by Porter (ibid., 68). My argument is supported by Waldinger and others who make a similar observation about the high incidence of self-employment among Koreans in the United States. He postulates it is due to the blocked mobility in their intended occupations that redirected many well-educated toward self-employment (Waldinger et al., 1990, 73).

**Educational Integration of Korean Immigrants**

Among Korean immigrants who are 30 years of age or younger, 14 respondents have some university education, one has a college diploma, one has a Bachelor’s and one has a Master’s degree earned in Canada.
Among those who are older than 30 years of age who acquired Canadian educational credentials, there are ten who achieved some college and university education (11), college diploma (10), Bachelor’s (5), Master’s (5), and three that earned a Doctorate.

It appears that Korean immigrants’ educational integration after emigrating to Canada is relatively low among older immigrants. One plausible explanation for this observation is that the MPNP - business component requires immigrants who have managerial experience and financial capital to invest in a Manitoba business. Thus those who qualify under the MPNP are in their forties and fifties. For this group to get additional training or to enroll in post-secondary institutions in their efforts for the educational integration into Canada is practically not feasible. Others who would be admitted under the MPNP - skilled workers program are comparatively younger and they quickly realize they do not see that the return on their investment in additional education and training in Canada would bring about returns commensurate with the necessary expenditure and time they have to invest.

Discussion

The two recent Korean immigrants’ personal experiences in their attempt to establish a new life in the new host society raises two important questions concerning Canada’s outwardly welcoming immigrants as a multicultural society. The first question is the reluctance to accept foreign credential recognition and immigrants’ work experience gained overseas. The second question is the exercise of subtle democratic racism due to private and institutional employers’ reluctance to offer employment for newly arrived ethnic and visible minorities. These are not isolated incidents confined to
the two Korean immigrants, it is a common occurrence faced by many of Canada’s new immigrants from non-European countries.

In an effort to identify the root cause of the non-recognition of foreign credentials and immigrants’ prior work experience, Guo (2007, 36) argues, it is caused by the epistemological misconceptions of difference and knowledge and ontological commitment to positivistic and universal measurement. He notes that other commentators argue Canada endorses pluralism only in superficial ways. Guo discusses the harsh reality of the non-recognition of credentials faced by non-European new immigrants below (ibid., 37).

It can be concluded that the devaluation and denigration of immigrants’ knowledge and experience become the new head tax to keep ‘undesirables’ out. Just as the head tax was raised every time the criteria were met, so too the obstacles to professional accreditation multiply. As such, the accreditation issue is used as the new strategy to maintain the subordination of immigrants and to reinforce the extant power relations in Canada.

In a survey of 404 professional immigrants from China and India in Vancouver, British Columbia, Basran and Zong report that a large number of foreign-trained visible minority professional immigrants have experienced downward social mobility after their immigration to Canada and the significant human capital they brought with them has been underutilized (Basran & Zong, 1998, 6). They conclude that visible minority professional immigrants perceive they face systemic obstacles to their entry into respective professions (ibid., 20). Their finding is very similar to my findings that Korean immigrants with Bachelor’s degrees and higher exhibit a higher intensity of perceived
racism (31%). My finding is also quite similar to another study of longitudinal surveys of over 400 Cuban exiles and refugees in three different waves in the 1970s in south Florida in which the writer reports that when access to resources allows competition in obtaining residential and labour markets, it leads to increased consciousness of ethnic differences. He observes that more educated minority groups will have higher levels of ethnic awareness (Portes, 1984, 385). Another report studying perceived discrimination and coping skills among the so-called “Boat People” fleeing from the war in Vietnam who had settled in Canada (Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotian) states that 26% (168) of the total sample who participated in the ten-year follow-up survey report they had experienced discrimination since their arrival in Canada (Beiser et al., 1984). One important difference to note between my sample and the southeast Asian refugees is the level of education received from their countries of origin prior to their arrival in Canada. While the number of refugees who had a high school diploma or higher is less than 30%, the comparable proportion in my sample is 71.6%. This distinction is important because the report suggests the higher one’s level of education the more likely they would perceive discrimination from the host society (Portes, ibid, 389). Another study also reports refugees who have received some education in Canada and have exposure to media are more likely to report perception of racial discrimination (Beiser et al., ibid).

In a study of 525 adult refugees who were professional or had managerial positions before arriving in Alberta between 1992 and 1997, Krahn et al. (2000) report that recent refugees are more likely than other Canadians to be unemployed. They noted that only one-quarter of the refugees who had professional/managerial positions in their country of origin had similar jobs at the time of the interview. Thus they observe strong
evidence of downward occupational movement after the refugees’ entry into Canada (ibid., 81). Despite the necessity to maintain high professional standards by professional organizations, they conclude the rejection of foreign credentials can also serve to restrict entry into high-status, well-paying occupations, even if there are evident shortages of qualified professionals in these fields (ibid., 82).

The second question has to do with the insidious and difficult to identify and eradicate institutional racism that is pervasive in Canadian society. Although it is uncommon these days to confront overt racial prejudice shown by host society members, many scholars (Fleras, 2010; Lian & Matthews, 1998; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005; Dei, 1996) write that Canada is a stratified racist society. Lian and Matthews make the following observations about the racial discrimination occurring in Canada (ibid., 468).

All our evidence suggests that, while our traditional “vertical mosaic” of ethnic differences may be disappearing, it has been replaced by a strong “coloured mosaic” of racial differences in terms of income rewards and benefits. While this does not necessarily mean that we have racial discrimination when it comes to other social benefits such as location of residence, access to public facilities, and the extreme forms of discrimination that have characterized some other societies, our evidence leads us to conclude that there is some considerable level of racial discrimination in Canada in terms of financial rewards for educational achievement. In this respect at least, yes, we are a racist society.

While some commentators give limited support for Lian and Matthews’ conclusion (Nakhaie, 2008, 322), Hum and Simpson sound a note of caution in treating visible minorities as a homogeneous group for public policy purposes, particularly employment equity strategies. The figures they used are based on Statistics Canada’s Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) master file. They argue it provides more detailed differences among groups than publicly released data. It finds visible minority
immigrant males experience a statistically significant unexplained wage gap. They interpret it as though Canada is not overtly discriminatory in its dealings with visible minorities, but the labour market disadvantages do exist for immigrants specifically. It reports black males, both foreign and native–born, suffer substantial wage disadvantages (Hum & Simpson, 2000, 45-8). Pendakur and Pendakur (2005, 20-21) suggest that those with a deep visible minority identity make them ‘more’ different from the majority than those visible minorities who do not have a deep ethnic identity. They suggest this differentness may lead to discrimination and poorer labour market outcomes.

In examining the SLID data, Gee and Prus (2000, 252) observe that race does affect labour force participation patterns, although it matters less for education and occupation. It notes non-whites are less likely to be employed full-time, and more likely to be unemployed or not participating in paid employment. They assert that racial minorities face obstacles in getting equal pay for the work of equal value. Bloemraad (2012, 11) also notes that inequality in earnings based on race or national origin would raise concerns not only about the wasted human capital, but also the likelihood this would lead to a diminished sense of belonging on the part of immigrants and their subsequent integration into Canada. This, in turn, would lead to reducing the confidence of the majority’s belief in the economic benefits of immigration.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reported on the observations I made from semi-structured interviews with 12 Korean immigrants residing in Manitoba. With the exception of one pharmacist, two nurses and a high school teacher turned self-employed businessman, the remainder face enormous challenges in their efforts to settle in the community and
integrate into the larger Canadian society. The common factors that contribute to successful settlement and integration include the ability to recognize available social capital within the community and to utilize it for all its worth. When social capital is not available, they quickly start creating their own social capital to be utilized by themselves and other co-ethnics to access. It is also shown a degree of self-confidence and tenacity helped them to successfully navigate the unfamiliar employment and labour market. It also required some calculated risk-taking on the part of immigrants themselves to move to other provinces to obtain professional licenses from a self-governing licensing body in their occupation and to work, in the case of the pharmacist.

The majority of immigrants face tough challenges of non-recognition of their credentials, devaluation of work experience obtained in Korea and lack of Canadian work experience, and polite but insidious democratic racism they encounter from institutional or private employers and other people they meet in the neighbourhood. Some of them experience anxiety and tension that lead to ill health and depression and in the worst case, even leading to a suicide. The survey results indicate a disproportionately high incidence of involuntary self-employment among Korean immigrants which appears to support the blocked mobility thesis championed by Porter in another era in Canadian history. It is probable these first generation Korean immigrants may continue to remain in the entrance status and may not be able to move to higher status occupations due to any combination of the lack of recognition for credentials, devaluation of previous work experience, discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, unfamiliarity with the norm of dominant cultural practices and customs, and the lack of proficiency in English. Consequently the only hope for them to improve the family’s future in Canada appears largely dependent
on the success of their offspring. The unrealistically high expectation and pressure by parents applied to the 1.5 and second generation immigrants create a host of other sets of problems which is very complex and beyond the scope of this research.
Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Canada as a nation is currently facing two serious challenges: First, it needs to maintain the current high standard of living in the face of growing economic threats. Second, it has to provide adequate health care services for young and old. It has to deal with these twin challenges while its birth rate has been declining steadily and the need for providing old age security for burgeoning retirees is too enormous for even the federal government to deal with. One solution is to encourage more immigration. The research documented in this dissertation is timely since Koreans increasingly make up a significant portion of newcomers to the country. Furthermore, without an understanding of how social, economic and political integration occurs, any social planning around increasing immigration is doomed to fail.

I argue that examining the role social capital plays in successful integration of newcomers is critical for both immigrants themselves and the host society in nation building efforts.

There are three major research questions which guided my study to understand the integration experiences of Korean immigrants in Manitoba. The three questions are:

Question 1 To what extent have Korean immigrants been integrated into Canadian society?

Question 2 To what extent have Korean immigrants been integrated into the Canadian political system?

Question 3 To what extent have Korean immigrants been integrated into the Canadian educational and employment systems?
As it has been shown in previous chapters, I would like to first restate what my research has revealed; second, the knowledge gaps that still remain; third, policy options for public officials to consider making and/or adjusting; and finally, future research areas that may offer further insights into the dynamics involved in terms of enhancing integration experiences of immigrants from Korea and from other immigrant sending-nations in Asia, Africa and South America.

**Social Integration of Korean Immigrants in Manitoba**

Canada’s official position on immigrant integration is often described in the literature as a “two-way-street”, implying that immigrants are expected to learn the established norms and standards of the host society as quickly as possible while the host society’s various institutions, such as governments, educational institutions, hospitals and clinics, small and large businesses, banks and financial institutions, police and judiciaries, and established citizens, would make the necessary accommodation for its future citizens to make them feel they are valuable new neighbours and welcomed by the established members of the host society. As I stated in Chapter 6, my conceptualization of immigrant integration is an act of mutual selection. Immigrants choose a nation-state to migrate to and the state in turn, selects its future citizens. I recognize that immigrants’ integration into a new host society cannot be accomplished by the sustained efforts on the part of immigrants alone. It also requires the host society’s institutions and citizens’ full understanding in recognizing the long-term benefits of embracing newcomers and the willing participation in making immigrants’ integration into Canada complete. However, an examination of the host society’s role in this two-way concept must be left for another study. In conducting this research, I have made a significant contribution to help develop
a further refinement of social capital theories and operationalizing research in terms of measuring various kinds and quantity of social capital available in immigrant communities, especially among Korean Canadians living in Manitoba. For example, the political engagement index I created would be extremely useful in this regard.

Social capital, as I have argued, is a central concept in understanding integration. Integration is not likely to occur without the participation of the community. Whether these communities are multiracial or homogeneous, like the Korean Canadian community in Winnipeg, integration cannot happen without the valuable connections and networks they provide. The participation of the immigrant community in the integration process is one element that most definitions of integration tend to ignore. My dissertation results indicate that researchers cannot ignore this influence and this element must be included in any conceptualization of social capital. In an attempt to better understand the role social capital might play in Korean immigrants’ integration into Manitoba, I delineated the major theoretical perspectives of Bourdieu, Coleman, Lin, Field, Portes, Putnam, Sensenbrener and others. Then I presented my own working definition of social capital for the purpose of this research.

Social capital is embedded in networks and structures that can be accessed by persons and/or communities that have not necessarily invested in the creation and maintenance of the networks or structures by virtue of a membership in that network. Social capital mindset is akin to value introjection because like value introjection, the mindset encourages community members to act in ways very different from strictly economic contributions in that it becomes a resource which is accessible to individuals and groups within a community to utilize. The willingness to invest in social capital is similar to bounded solidarity because it promotes interests of people from the same country to take care of one another in a new host society. (Enforceable) trust is based on the anticipation of benefits associated with good standing in a particular group or community although I have some reservation about the enforceability component of
that trust. Reciprocity consists of the accumulation of “credit” based on the good deeds to others supported by the norm of reciprocity.

In short, it may be helpful to operationalize value introjection as including social capital mindset and operationalize bounded solidarity as comprising the willingness to invest in social capital. Although these two concepts do not completely overlap with value introjection and bounded solidarity, they are tangible elements of each. All of the four sources of social capital identified by Coleman - value introjection, reciprocity, bounded solidarity and (enforceable) trust - are appropriated by new Korean immigrants in their attempt to start a new life in Winnipeg. As Bourdieu aptly points out, social capital is created when community members invest in networks that can be appropriated by members within the bounded community. Evidence and the workings of social capital within Winnipeg’s Korean community are analyzed using these definitions.

Since social capital is an important factor influencing the integration of immigrants in their new host society, I set out to examine the extent of social capital among Korean immigrant community in Winnipeg. To obtain information about the degree of integration of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg into the host society, survey items were developed to ascertain if various forms of social capital discussed in Chapter 3 are available in the Korean community in Winnipeg. The primary reason for doing this is to use social capital as a proxy in measuring the degree of integration into Canadian society by Korean immigrants.

The results of factor analysis identified two factors of social capital. To distinguish one kind from the other, I designate the first as “social capital mindset” while the second is called “willingness to invest in social capital”.

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Recall that the primary research question for this dissertation is: To what extent are Korean immigrants integrated into the larger Canadian society? The models on willingness to invest in social capital and perceived racism provide partial answers to this question. Among Winnipeg’s Korean immigrant males, four factors are statistically significant on the willingness to invest in social capital. The social capital mindset has the strongest influence on the willingness to invest in social capital, followed closely by the Bachelor’s degree or higher education from Korea, civic involvement, donation and observance of Canadian cultural practices, and high school or some post-secondary education from Korea. Among Winnipeg’s Korean immigrant females, three factors are statistically significant on the willingness to invest in social capital. The social capital mindset has the strongest influence on the willingness to invest in social capital followed by high school or some post-secondary education from Korea, and civic involvement, donation and observance of Canadian cultural practices. These findings lead me to conclude there exists a strong will to utilize existing social capital within its community and if it is wanting, Korean immigrants are willing to invest in social capital that would assist them to integrate into Canadian society. In essence, willingness to invest in social capital is like glue that would hold the community’s networks of social capital together and make it available for the current and future waves of Korean immigrants to access.

The prevalence of perceived racism is very strong amongst the respondents in the survey. My analysis of the survey data indicates Korean immigrants in Winnipeg have shown a high intensity of perception of racism, especially among those with Bachelor’s degrees or higher (31%), followed by people with some post-secondary education (27.5%). Those with high school or less (10.3%) felt least strongly about their perception
of racism. This finding suggests serious negative implications for the successful integration of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg and may also be applicable to other Canadian cities and towns where Korean immigrants live.

It is important to note that my findings suggest latent personal racism described as polite racism and subliminal racism together with the entrenched institutional racism is responsible for a very strongly felt perception of racism among Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. Because racism operates in communities to maintain the status quo, Korean immigrants in a predominantly white society would suffer silently and the hegemony of power remains with the dominant group as some writers suggest (Henry & Tator, 2006).

While I do not want to be overly critical of Canadian Immigration Acts and Regulations and its administration by bureaucrats, Jakobowski’s (1997) analysis of Canadian immigration law and its administration is quite revealing in terms of the legislative craftsmanship in making the wording in the act look benign, yet they are used to continue to prevent people from Asia, Africa, South America and the Caribbean islands from entering Canada. I now turn my attention to her arguments to show the extent of double talk in enacting and/or revising immigration Acts and Regulations. Needless to say, people from these areas are visible minorities in Canada, but not in their home countries.

After conceding that questions of racism in relation to Canadian immigration laws are complex, Jakubowski (1997, 21) analyzes ways in which racism manifests itself in Canadian immigration laws, policies and practices.

While acknowledging these literal gains, the non-discriminatory Immigration Act is not as just and fair as it appears to be. The language of discrimination may have been removed but, in less obvious ways, immigration law is still racist. The number and location of immigration
offices outside of Canada and the discretion awarded to immigration officers in determining adaptability suggests that immigration, to some degree, is still being “controlled.”

Jakubowski shows the infamous “continuous journey“ provision contained in the 1908 Act is somehow manifest in a different cloak in the Safe Country Provision in the revised Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2002:

This particular provision of Bill C-86 is reminiscent of the discriminatory legislation passed by the Canadian government in 1908 to restrict the entry of East Indian immigrants into Canada. The Continuous Journey Stipulation bears striking resemblance to the Safe Country Provision of Bill C-86. As the Inter-Church Committee for Refugees suggests, historians correctly criticized the Continuous Journey Stipulation because it was used as a means of controlling what groups of people would be permitted to stay in Canada. They further contended that, on reflection, many historians will offer a similar criticism of the Safe Country Provision. (Ibid., 85)

Jakobowski insists Canadian immigration law as written is racist in intent while affording deniability for the government of being called racist from the public (ibid., 43):

It is argued throughout that while a deracialized discourse is defensible against accusations of racism, “it is capable nevertheless of justifying racial discrimination by providing other non-racist criteria for the differential treatment of a group distinguished by its racial characteristics”.

(Reeves, 1983, 4)

The two painful experiences of my interview subjects (Mr. T and Mr. Y) provide sufficient evidence to suggest that democratic racism is occurring in Manitoba despite it being very difficult to detect. This is arguably the nefarious, difficult to prove, form of racism known as democratic racism. Also, in a paper assessing emerging trends in research on racism and inequality in Canada, Wilkinson (2003, 109-138) makes an observation on democratic racism in Canada: “real progress toward the eradication of
discrimination and racism would require drastic changes to the social, cultural, economic and political structures of our society – transformations which contemporary governments are not prepared to make.” The so-called “seduction and abandonment policy” is harmful to both the immigrant and the host society. Korean immigrants in Winnipeg often encounter democratic racism from prospective employers and realize how difficult it is to deal with the non-recognition of foreign credentials and discounted valuation of their work experience acquired overseas. The host society loses because the human resources immigrants brought to Canada are being wasted or underutilized, leading to reduced GDP and additional medical costs if immigrants suffer from depression or mental illness as a result of prolonged unemployment and/or underemployment. The selection of immigrants from overseas is only half the task while ensuring they settle in communities quickly and integrate into Canadian society in due course is the other half.

**Findings – Political Integration of Korean Immigrants**

Not surprisingly, the Korean-Canadians in my study exhibit low levels of political engagement. The political engagement models I developed in the regression analyses were good predictors of political engagement. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that a systematic analysis of Korean community in Canada has been attempted to understand their political engagement as a part of understanding overall integration experiences of Korean immigrants into Canadian society. More importantly, the development of a political engagement index which enables measuring different intensity of various forms political behavior may be considered a meaningful contribution I make
to the general lack of research in Canadian literature on integration experiences of Korean immigrants.

It appears Korean immigrants’ political integration is a function of the length of residence in Canada as those who resided in Canada longer than six years show a high level of intensity compared to those more recently arrived. This finding supports Chui et al.’s finding (1991, 30) that it takes at least a decade for immigrants before participating in a new polity. It also affirms an earlier finding in analyzing an association between economic inequality and political engagement by Solt (2008, 48) that the higher one’s income, the higher is their political engagement. I also examined the various factors that account for the variations in political engagement of Korean immigrants by age, gender, class of immigration, level of education received in Korea, lengths of residence in Canada, and the social capital mindset. This research also reveals the relationship between church attendance and political engagement is statistically significant and appears to support the argument by Kazemipur (2011, 24) in that Korean immigrants appear to be using religion unknowingly as an antidote to their social isolation from the mainstream Canadian society and the status inconsistency they experience in the new host society.

As in other large population centres in Canada, many new Korean immigrants attend various Protestant churches in Winnipeg. Ethnic churches function as community centres aside from providing the spiritual practices and learning. Nearly all of these churches provide meals after Sunday service for fellowship among regular members and visitors. For new immigrants, it is a welcoming site and a refuge from the not-so-familiar people and places outside the church walls. In addition to providing religious services,
they teach Korean as a means to teach about the Bible and to help retain Korean customs and cultural traditions and value system informally. After church service during fellowship time new immigrants can easily learn from others about schools, school divisions, choice residential areas, business opportunities, banking and financial services, and health care services, without having to speak English. The more recent Korean immigrants are highly selective in choosing the best schools for their children to increase their chances to enter prestigious universities in Canada and the U.S. This is mainly because the majority of recent immigrants chose to abandon the dreadful after-school programs in Korea in favour of the more liberal Canadian schools while still maintaining their high expectations for their children gaining admissions to select universities.

Korean churches are the sites where friendships form which would enable members and adherents to form social networks. That would help in starting a business partnership when the amount of investment required is too high for one person to safely manage. For example, Mr. H’s business partnership with another long-term resident church elder who welcomed Mr. H’s infusion of capital to form a business partnership to enabled them to purchase the supermarket.

Another interesting function Korean churches serve implicitly is the conferring of titles in church hierarchy. They are called *jibsa* (deacon), *jangno* (elder) for men, and *kwonsa* (elderess) for women. It is jangno’s title that is much sought after among men who may feel intensely about the status inconsistency. They appear to covet it in order to compensate for the loss of status they held in Korea (Min, 1992). Although there are many exceptional church elders who straddle between Korean and Canadian society seamlessly, others may remain in the Korean immigrant milieu, either unable or
unwilling to integrate into Canadian society. I would designate the latter as a case of negative aspect of social capital. It is interesting to note that I did not observe any evidence of negative social capital as documented by Portes and Sensenbrenner of an earlier field work conducted by Ruben Rumbaut (Portes, 1993). This is an issue I would explore in a future study.

**Findings - Education and Employment Integration of Korean Immigrants**

It is important to note that while the findings I presented for social and political integration of Korean immigrants are based on the quantitative survey questionnaires, most of the findings presented for employment and education integration of Korean immigrants were obtained through the 12 semi-structured personal interviews that I conducted.

With the exception of one pharmacist, two nurses and a high school teacher turned self-employed businessman, the remainder face enormous challenges in their efforts to settle in the community and to integrate into the larger Canadian society. The common factors that contribute to successful settlement and integration include the ability to recognize available social capital within the community and to utilize it for all its worth. When social capital is not available, they quickly start creating their own social capital to be utilized by themselves and other co-ethnics to access. It is also shown that a degree of self-confidence and tenacity helped them to successfully navigate the unfamiliar employment and labour market. It also required some calculated risk taking on the part of immigrants themselves to move to other province to obtain professional license from self-governing licensing body in their occupation and to work, as in the case of the pharmacist.
The majority of immigrants face tough challenges of non-recognition of their credentials, devaluation of work experience obtained in Korea and lack of Canadian work experience, and polite but insidious democratic racism they encounter from institutional or private employers and other people they meet in the neighborhood. The survey results indicate a disproportionally high incidence of involuntary self-employment among Korean immigrants which appear to support the blocked mobility thesis championed by Porter in another era in Canadian history. It is probable that these first generation Korean immigrants may continue to remain in the entrance status and may not be able to move onto higher status occupations due to any combination of the lack of recognition for credentials, devaluation of previous work experience, discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, unfamiliarity with the norms of dominant cultural practice and customs, and the lack of proficiency in English. Consequently the only hope for them to improve the family’s future in Canada appears largely dependent on the success of their offspring.

**Limitations of the Study**

There are some limitations contained in this study and I discuss these to better contextualize the findings. First, while I argue that immigrant integration is a two-way street, I was unable to undertake a companion study of the perceptions held by the host society. In order to fully understand integration, we need a measurement of the willingness of the host society to accept and accommodate newcomers. Without this part of the equation, my examination of the integration is incomplete. This two-way street imposes significant methodological challenges. How does one create a statistically coherent index of integration that mixes questions from the host and immigrant communities? Not only is this conceptually vague, but the operationalization of such a
Another limitation of this research is that despite my efforts in the operationalization of the notion of social capital, there still remains more work in reducing problems associated with the conceptualization of social capital in the literature. Although my work has done much in contributing to identifying key aspects of willingness to invest in social capital and the social capital mindset, we need to work on identifying items related to trust, norms of reciprocity, bounded solidarity, bridging social capital, and bonding social capital as articulated by the social capital theorists James Coleman, Nan Lin, Alejandro Portes, Robert Putnam and others. Until we can as an interdisciplinary academic community come to an agreement as to the items that form social capital, this endeavor remains difficult.

The next step to advancing our knowledge of social capital would be to see if the results on willingness to invest in social capital and the social capital mindset could be replicated in a study of immigrant Koreans throughout Canada. Ideally we would also want to replicate the results of this study among other ethnic groups and in other countries. The magnitude of such activity is significant and well beyond the scope of this study, however, the question is crucially important. If we are unable to obtain similar results with different populations, then the utility of social capital as a concept can be seriously questioned. Without this information, the theory cannot mature and contribute to academic knowledge about how societies function.
Finally, although it would have been ideal to conduct the semi-structured interviews after the survey had been analyzed, it was not possible for this to happen. Instead I used the interviews as a guide for preparing the questionnaire since no survey of social capital exists. Now that I have completed this exercise, I would conduct the survey first, then do the interviews and use the qualitative information in a different way.

**Immigration Policy Debates and Considerations**

The Conservative government in Canada has been increasing the number of temporary foreign worker (TFW) visas vis-a-vis the permanent immigrant visas. The latest statistics indicates there were 208,000 more TFWs in Canada in 2010 compared with the number reported in 2005 (Statistics Canada, Facts and Figures, 2010). This newer development in issuing comparatively large numbers of TFW visas is an example of short-sighted immigration policy-making on the part of the government. It has taken that option because of increasing pressure from the country’s employers in various sectors of the economy.

A recent announcement made by the Minister of Immigration Jason Kenney indicates that under the new regulation commencing in 2013, applicants over 35 years of age will get one point deduction for each year they are over 35. Also, the ability to speak English or French will receive significantly higher points than the current rule. This new rule will adversely impact Korean immigrants for their English-speaking ability is comparatively lower than immigrants from the traditional European source countries and they are comparably older when they arrive in Canada. In addition, the new rule can be considered an exercise of democratic racism by the federal government in that although the language of the new regulation is non-discriminatory, in practice it will effectively
discriminate non-English speaking prospective immigrants from China, south Asia and Korea. The overall objective of the new regulation is to help employers bring in the workers they require and make it simpler for TFW to apply for citizenship while in Canada. The rule also reduces the points for work experience acquired outside of Canada (Globe and Mail, August 21, 2012). The primary reason why this occurs is because employers avoid spending expenditures for hiring new employees that require training and continue upgrading the skills of existing employees. Bringing in prospective new employees from overseas via TFW visas is a quick fix for employers but when contracts expire and or the companies lay off the TFWs, they are on their own. Some TFWs return to their country of origin while others may try to remain in Canada legally, go underground or move to a third country. As the term TPWs implies it is not a stable standard stream of permanent immigration of people from overseas. It takes a minimum of five to ten years for average immigrants with permanent residence status to feel at “home” as new Canadians. Because the enterprise of nation building and integration of new peoples into their new host society is a long-term process on the part of immigrants themselves, it requires a secure and long-term commitment on the part of host society’s orders of governments and established institutions and sustained welcoming from the native–born population and the earlier arrivals as their good neighbours. Since the topic of TFWs is not the main issue that I researched, I will simply note the percentage of TFWs as a percent of total immigrants admitted to Canada since the Harper government took office in 2006. It grew from 46.8% in 2005 when Martin’s Liberals were in charge and jumped to 55.2% in 2006; the last available data shows 64.9% in 2010, an alarming rate of increase in the number of TFW visas. Bloemraad (2012, 15) also raises concern
over the recent move to increased TFW visas, arguing that Canadians overwhelmingly favour permanent immigration and a rapid increase in this population could have a serious negative effect on public opinion. It is important to note that the current government is increasing the number of economic immigrants while it is drastically cutting existing settlement programs that are designed to improve the integration by government departments and reducing its support funding to NGOs. This development is highly counter productive, for if the government does not pay requisite attention to providing support services for new immigrants, it will likely have serious problems to deal with in the not-too-distant future. Equally important issues that require the government’s attention surround foreign credentials recognition and pervasive racism that persists without the government’s bold, sustained and genuine efforts.

A paper by Hiebert and Sherrell (2009) assessing the then current state of immigrant integration services available in British Columbia note that the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP) is considered most promising of all integration services model. The WICWP is premised on the belief that society must prepare itself for newcomers and includes engagement with many larger community partners than before. In addition, its objectives of educating the public about the importance of immigration and thus changing attitudes toward immigrants across the society are helpful. Then they express guarded optimism that in the then current economic climate, the more important question will be to justify existing programs, rather than imagine and implement even better ones (Hiebert & Sherrell, 2009, 39). Three years in politics is almost an eternity. The federal government did not renew the contract for the Metropolis Project, arguably the most valuable resource of networks of policy-makers,
academics and NGOs as well as immigrant communities in helping them help themselves to better integrate into Canada. When the government of the day is cutting programs and budgets of existing settlement and integration services throughout the nation in a dramatic attempt to reducing the budget deficits, it is somewhat futile for me to suggest anything that may require additional public expenditures.

What I propose instead would require no spending on the part of anyone. I would like to propose that Canadians adopt a newcomer or newcomer family by first showing interest in them as a friend and/or a mentor. I propose this idea based on my own personal experience of first seeking accessible social capital and subsequently investing in the network of social capital for the benefit of myself as well as others in the community. Although the story of my personal journey may sound like a fairy tale, it did happen to me. It shows the utility of both social capital and integration in directing my life path.

The following is a synopsis of my early Canadian life that began in Toronto over four decades ago. The first job I got was a factory assembly job on Kipling Avenue near Islington subway station. I worked there for two weeks and quickly realized I could not handle the hard physical labour. A Korean fellow who immigrated to Canada after completing a contract in a German mine suggested I look for an orderly’s job in a general hospital. He was very kind to me and he even drove me to different hospitals and waited outside until the interviews were concluded. I visited a general hospital in Scarborough and met with an English male nurse who was the supervisor of nursing assistants (orderlies). He told me there was no vacancy. A few days later, a fellow Korean church choir member gave me a tip that a Korean registered nurse working at the hospital I had just visited should be able to help me to get a job there. When I asked for her help, she
agreed to speak with the male nurse and I got a job through social capital that was available for me to access. This is a good example of bonding social capital among fellow Koreans with bridging social capital that linked a Korean nurse with an English male nurse at their workplace. While I was working in the general hospital I struck up a conversation with a patient who was in there for some testing. He was curious about me and asked me a number of personal questions. When he learned my wife was an accomplished pianist and music teacher, he volunteered to introduce my wife to his aunt who was a registered music teacher in Toronto. After listening to my wife playing one of Bach’s preludes on her piano, his aunt was really impressed and introduced my wife to a good friend of Glenn Gould. Honestly, we did not have a clue who Glenn Gould was at that time! After playing samples of music by Bach, Beethoven and Schubert, the other pianist also appeared very impressed with my wife’s playing. As it turned out, it was an audition to become an Ontario Registered Music Teacher. This is an example of bridging social capital working at its best. My wife taught for many years in Scarborough and Winnipeg as a private music teacher and has produced many good musicians, including singer-songwriter Chantal Kraviazuk. In order for social capital to work for immigrants, they need to recognize the availability of accessible bonding social capital in their own community members first before looking for bridging social capital which is normally located outside of their normal circle of friends and associates. If immigrants continue to live among their own community and make no efforts to network with people outside of their own milieu, the probability of accessing bridging social capital is more remote. One day I read a small free English tutorial sign at New College bulletin board in Toronto. I called the fellow and he began teaching me English in his apartment. Over the years, we
became good friends and he provided me with free legal advice because he was a legal counsel for the Ontario Attorney General’s office.

To deal effectively with employers’ avoidance in hiring new immigrants who were trained in non-English or non-French speaking countries, it is recommended that Canada in close consultation with provincial counterparts pay a certain percentage of new employees’ wages after certain conditions have been met by employers. It would cost money initially, but would yield handsome dividends in the long term.

**Suggested Areas for Future Research**

It appears that identifying other concepts within social capital and operationalizing them would allow the actual refinement of social capital theory. Also, an investigation of political engagement of other immigrant groups would reveal if Korean immigrants’ political engagement is similar or different from other groups. A future study examining the host society’s role in integrating newcomers would yield meaningful dividends, especially when successive Canadian governments are using immigration as an economic driver in maintaining a high standard of living and combatting a declining birth rate in Canada.

Future research on the role of church attendance may reveal an interesting insight into the formation of bonding social capital among Korean immigrants and the difference in the frequency of accessing and the amount of bridging social capital utilized between regular church attendees and non-church attendees among Korean immigrants. Because over 70% of Korean immigrants in North America attend Korean churches (Min, 1992, 1371), mostly Protestant churches on a regular basis for a variety of reasons, the role they play in the formation of social capital, positive or negative, cannot be ignored. The
Canadian and international research on the role religion plays in social capital formation and integration among newcomers is a very important area for future research. Further research on political engagement of Korean and other immigrants in larger urban centres in Canada may also assist in confirming the political engagement index I have created for Korean Canadians. Also, acculturation difficulties faced by Korean immigrants in their efforts to integrate into Canada may warrant further research.

Despite Korean immigrants’ determined efforts to succeed in a new host society to access existing social capital within its own community in concert with their willingness to invest in social capital, the evidence presented in this research leads me to conclude that Korean immigrants are unable to fully integrate into Canadian society in terms of political, social, education and employment domains. As it has been shown in this dissertation, polite democratic racism and lukewarm reception by the host society’s established institutions and their new neighbours account for less than satisfactory integration experiences of Korean immigrants in Manitoba.

To improve the integration experiences of Korean immigrants and others from different parts of the world, I make the following recommendations:

To federal, provincial/territorial governments:

Based on the evidence I have obtained through conducting the qualitative interviews and the quantitative survey, Korean immigrants in Manitoba suffer from serious unemployment and underemployment. To help better utilize the human capital these immigrants bring to Canada and to minimize possible long-term health effects that prolonged unemployment and underemployment and blocked mobility will have on these immigrants, I make the following specific recommendations.
1. Provide a refundable wage subsidy of at least 30% of the nominal wage for hiring a newly-arrived foreign trained immigrant for at least one year’s full-time employment. The cost of the administration of the program shall be shared equally by the respective governments and can be negotiated through federal-provincial agreements. This program would encourage more businesses to hire newcomers and provide newcomers with the “Canadian” experience needed to obtain further employment.

2. Continue funding integration expenditures that are designed to help engaging community organizations in delivering services. The cost of maintaining (the pre-2012 federal budget) these programs would be significantly less than the cost of purchasing one CF-35 fighter jet. This is a classic example of a trade-off between the guns versus butter argument as illustrated by the first Nobel economics laureate, Paul Samuelson. To return the control over settlement funding to the provinces is also an important step in this process. As the experiments in B.C. and Manitoba have shown, when local control over settlement is strong, the successful integration of newcomers is enhanced.

3. Appoint visible minority judges in the Supreme Court, Federal Appeals Court and provincial courts. For example, of the 100 new federally-appointed judges, 98 are white (Globe and Mail, 2012). This may assist in a small way to rectify the great imbalance in the participation of racialized minorities in the political and justice arenas.
The federal government and associated political parties should also encourage more racialized minorities to participate in politics. Incentives and encouragement would be beneficial, particularly in attracting Korean Canadians to this type of career. Certainly, there seems to be willingness among highly educated Korean Canadians to invest in social capital, why not use it in the political arena?

To established public institutions and business and commercial employers:

As it has been revealed clearly through the personal interviews, employers are reluctant to hire Korean immigrants based on the latent fear of hiring a visible minority as an employee and not recognizing their credentials and discounting their work experience obtained in Korea. To ameliorate the situation, I make following specific recommendations.

1. Hire qualified immigrants and take chances for they will likely become your valuable employees quickly. All they need is a chance to show what they can do for your company/establishment. Given the looming labour shortage in almost all sectors, Canadian businesses cannot afford to let the human capital of newcomers go to waste.

2. Stop pressuring the federal government to bring in more TFWs as a quick fix. It is preferable to hire and train immigrants who arrive in Canada as permanent residents in the long run. Among the TFWs, encourage more programs and venues for them to stay in Canada. This is a program that can be expanded, particularly among the growing international student community, of which Koreans make up a
significant proportion. We want these newcomers to stay in Canada, especially the ones with Canadian post-secondary education and work experience.

To teachers and school administrators in all public and private schools:

Ensure anti-racism continues to be a central part of the curriculum at all levels. Although I recognize that racism permeates all aspects of life, including through parenting, observation and life circumstance, continuing to have education focus its curriculum on anti-racism issues is important to an increasingly diverse society.

1. Since the manifestation of racism is regarded among educators as “attitudinal”, the issue needs to be taught at schools when children are going through their formative years. In addition to an anti-racism curriculum, it needs to become an ongoing, year-round campaign in schools. This effort needs to be combined with efforts at other levels, such as enforcing anti-racism workplace legislation – which already exists – but lacks a mechanism for implementation and monitoring. The evidence of my dissertation to support this policy implication comes from the qualitative interviews as participants shared with me their experiences of racism in the school system. As well, at least two of my participants are school teachers themselves, and although a small sample, do have important insights to share about the structural influences on racism in the institution.

To Canadian citizens and neighbours in communities all across the nation:
Since Korean immigrants’ social capital mindset and the willingness to invest in social capital are shown to be significant, anything that would lead to reducing racism in the community and promote a welcoming community spirit would bear fruit. I make two specific recommendations.

1. Take an interest in your new neighbours. Although their skin colour appears different, they speak with unfamiliar accents, eat foods unfamiliar with yours, nevertheless they will become good friends to you and yours for now and future generations. This interest can go a long way in creating a more socially harmonious community and will contribute to a decline in racism of all types.

2. Volunteer in anything that may help ease your new neighbours’ smooth transition into the Canadian way of living. It has been shown that the integration experience is aided when members of the host society actively participate.

Conclusion

First, my introduction of the notions “social capital mindset” and “willingness to invest in social capital” into the social capital literature and making these nebulous notions to be measured by utilizing an exploratory factor analysis technique is indeed a significant contribution in the refinement of the social capital theory research endeavor. Until now, most of the components of social capital have not been adequately operationalized. Attempts have been made to operationalize other components such as norms of reciprocity, trust and bounded solidarity—but these new components also add an additional dimension to this concept.
Second, I consider the experimental political engagement index created in the dissertation almost as important as the achievement stated above. Not much research has been conducted on the political behaviors of newcomers. What research that has been conducted is limited to superficial examinations of voter turnout. The political engagement index adds a deeper understanding of the processes that influence voting among Korean Canadians. A next step would be to see if the factor analysis of these components can be replicated among other immigrant and non-immigrant groups.

Third, the discovery and documentation of the high intensity of perceived racism felt among Korean immigrants was not a surprise, but the magnitude and its influence on the isolation expressed by Korean newcomers was greater than expected. These findings underscore the need for anti-racism initiatives in Canada, important to consider because of the increasing ethnic diversity of Canada as a direct result of increased immigration worldwide. It is my strongest belief that until we as a Canadian society can recognize our racist past and present, we can do little to enhance the integration experiences of all newcomers, regardless of where they come from. The integration experience cannot be successful if racism continues to influence the institutional and social fabric of our society. Although my research was unable to examine the influence of the host society on Korean Canadians, my research has concluded there are some characteristics among newcomers that do shape success, such as the willingness to invest in social capital and the social capital mindset. Those with high scores on these concepts are more likely to succeed in social integration and are more active in the political institutions. Those with lower scores experience some difficulty. As a social researcher, I am aware there are many factors that influence the successful integration of newcomers. These
characteristics are, in my opinion, important to consider when examining the integration process. With a deeper examination of these and other aspects associated with integration and social capital, I hope that the next generation of Korean-Canadians can lead more successful and happier lives in Canada.
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APPENDIX A

Understanding Korean Immigrant Community in Terms of Its Integration into Canada

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Number: ____________________

Respondent Number: ____________________

July 25, 2009
INSTRUCTIONS:
Please be advised that there are no right or wrong answers in this survey. We are interested in learning about your experience as a newcomer in Canada. Please circle or check an answer which is most close to your situation/opinion or response.

1. Are you 18 years of age or older? Yes ________ ; No ________
1 a) Are you a landed immigrant in Canada? Yes______ ; No ________
If you answered No to Q. 1 and/or Q.1 a) above, there is no need for you to continue this survey. Would you give this survey to household members who are eligible? However, if you are staying in Canada as a visitor, student, or on a temporary work permit, please indicate your intention to apply for a permanent resident application here. Yes ___ ; No ____ In that case, do not answer Q. 7 through Q. 29 and to resume on Q. 30.
Thank you.

IMMIGRATION INFORMATION:
The following questions are about your immigration to Canada. This information is required for statistical purpose.
2. When did you first arrive in Canada as an immigrant? Month /Year (_____/_______)
3. What was your immigrant class at landing?
   independent class ____
   family class ______
   provincial nominee – business class ____
   provincial nominee – skilled worker ____
   other, please specify ___
4. What year did you arrive in Winnipeg/Manitoba? ________________
5. How would you describe your ethnic background? ____________________
6. Do you have Canadian citizenship? Yes ____ ; No ____ ; I have applied _______
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The following questions are designed to obtain information about the extent of your political involvement in Canada and Korea.

Political Participation in Canada

7. Are you eligible to vote in an election in Canada? Yes___ ; No ___ (If No, go to Q.10)
   • Don’t know _____

8. If yes, have you ever voted in any elections (municipal, provincial, or federal)?
   Yes ____ No ___ (If No, go to Q. 10)

9. If you answered yes above, did you vote in the last federal election in November 2008?
   Yes ____ (If No, go to Q. 11.) No ___

10. If you answered No above, indicate your reasons for not voting:
    I don’t know anything about candidates or issues ____
    Too busy making a living ______
    I am not interested in voting ______
    Ineligible, not a citizen _____
    Other, please specify ________________________________

11. Are you currently or have you ever taken a membership in Canadian political party?
    Yes____ No ___

12. Have you ever sought a nomination for a public office?
    Yes ____ ; No. ______ (If No, go to Q. 15)

13 a) Have you ever considered running for a public office? Yes ___; No. ___ ;
    Maybe _____

13 b) Did you run for a public office? Yes _____ ; No. __________

14. If you answered “No” above, please explain why you did not run.

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

15. Have you ever made a donation to a political party in Canada? Yes ___; No ___

16. Have you ever donated money for a Korean candidate running for office elsewhere in Canada? Yes_____; No ______

17. Have you ever tried to help a candidate using other means?

_____________________________________________________________________
18. Do you think politicians in Canada care about immigration issues?
   Yes _____ ; No _____ ; Don’t know ________
19. Do they care about Korean immigrants?
   Yes _____ ; No _____ ; Don’t know ________
20. Do municipal politicians pay more attention to issues involving Korean-Canadians
    than provincial and federal politicians? Yes _______ ; No __________
    If you answered “yes”, above, please specify how they are different.
    _____________________________________________________________
21. Have you ever had an election sign on your lawn or property?
   Yes ___ ; No ___
22. Have you ever served as a returning officer or scrutinizer in a Canadian election?
   Yes ___ ; No ___
23. In Canada, have you ever tried to influence decisions made by the three levels of
government using one or more of the following means? (select all that apply)
   writing a letter _____
   telephone ___
   signing a petition____
   personal visit _____
   Internet ______
   other, please specify _________________________________
24. Have you ever participated in a rally to voice your opinion in Canada?
   Yes __ ; No _____
25. Do you follow Canadian politics in the news? If yes, please specify.
   Please mark all that apply.
   Canadian television _____
   Canadian newspaper _____
   Canadian Internet _____
   Korean satellite T.V. _____
   Korean newspaper from Toronto or Vancouver ______
   Korean internet site or e-newspaper from Toronto or Vancouver ______
   Other, please specify _________________
The following questions are about your political activities while you lived in Korea:
If you immigrated to Canada before you were eligible to vote, please go to Q. 30.

26. Have you ever tried to influence decisions made by the three levels of government in Korea using one or more of the following means? (Please mark all that apply)
   letter ____
   telephone ____
   petition ____
   personal visit ____
   Internet ____
   Other, please specify ______________________

27. In Korea, had you ever participated in a rally to voice your opinion?
   Yes ___ ; No ____

28. Did you know the names and party affiliation of past and present members of public officials (federal, provincial and municipal) for your riding?   Yes ___ ; No ____ ; Some, but not all ______

29 a) Do you follow Korean politics in the news today?
   Yes _____ No ___ (If No, go to Q. 30.)

29 b) If you answered “yes”, please indicate your method of keeping yourself up to date. Mark all that apply.
   1. Korean satellite T.V. ______
   2. Korean newspaper from Toronto or Vancouver ______
   3. Korean internet or e-newspaper from Toronto or Vancouver ______
   4. Other, please specify ______________________

29 c) How often do you follow Korean political news?
   1. daily ___ ; 2. weekly ___ ; 3. monthly ___

Economic Experiences

In this part of the survey you are asked to share your experience with employment before and after you immigrated to Canada.
First few questions are about your employment in Korea.
While you lived in Korea:

30. What was your main occupation prior to immigrating to Canada? Please be specific.

________________________

The following questions are about your first job and subsequent employment in Canada:

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

31 a) Do you currently have a job? 1. Yes ____ ; 2. No _____(If No, go to Q. 39)

31 b) If you are not currently working, what are you doing presently?

1. I am in training _____ ; 2. retired ______ ; 3. attending school _____ ;

4. I am still unemployed ____ (If No, go to Q.39.)

33. Approximately how long did it take for you to find your first job in Canada after your
arrival? Report in months _____________

34 a) What kind of job was it? Please be specific __________________________

34 b) Did this job has any relationship to your last job in Korea?

__________________________________________

35 a) How many hours do you work in a typical week? ______ hours

35 b) Do you wish to work more hours?

1. Yes _______ ; 2. No _________

Are you self-employed? Yes ____ No_____ ( If No, Go to Q. 37)

36. Why are you self-employed? Please explain your reasons for self-employment.

____________________________________________________

37 a) Are you satisfied with your current job?

Please circle your level of satisfaction from 1 to 5, “5” being the lowest level of satisfaction:

1 2 3 4 5

37 b) If you are satisfied, please indicate why?

____________________________________________________

38. Do you think your current pay is commensurate with your qualifications and work
experience? Please circle your level of satisfaction from 1 to 5, “5” being the lowest
level of satisfaction: 1 2 3 4 5
The next questions are about your interaction with the host society (Canada).

39 a) Have you helped any new immigrants adapt to life in Canada?
1. Yes _____; 2. No. _____ (If No, go to Q. 40); 8. Don’t know ________;
9. No response ______
39 b) If you answered Yes above, are they your ----? (Please mark all that apply.)
   1. relative(s) ___ ; 2. in-law(s) _____ ; 3. friend (s) ______ ; 4. acquaintance (s) ______;
5. other ___ ; 8. Don’t know _____ ; 9. No response ______
39 c) What kind of help have you offered? (Please mark all that apply.)
   1. advice _____ ; 2. financial help (loan, scholarship, bursary) _____;
3. information (access and service) 4. legal help _____ ; 5. child care _____;
   6. basic needs (food, housing) _____ ; 7. general support _____;
   8. transportation ___; 9. language help _____; 10. find/look for work _____;
   11. emotional support ___ ; 12. other, please specify __________________;
98. Don’t know _____ ; 99. No response __________

40 a) Have you made any new friends in Canada?
   Yes ____; No ____ (if No, go to Q. 41); 8. Don’t know ____;
9. No response ______
40 b) Where or how did you meet your new friends? (Please mark all that apply.)
   1. through relatives or friends from Korea _____;
2. through relatives or friends from Canada ______;
3. an ethnic organization _____;
4. sports, hobbies, or club ______ ; 5. workplace _____;
6. language classes _____ ; 7. other schools _____;
8. children’s school or daycare _____;
9. community/neighborhood ______
40 c) How many of these new friends belong to the same ethnic or cultural group as you?
   1. All of them _____ ; 2. most of them _____ ;
The following questions ask you to assess your feelings about living in Canada. Abbreviation Keys: SA (strongly agree); A (agree); N (neutral); D (disagree); SD (strongly disagree); N/A (not applicable); DK (don’t know); NR (no response)

SA   A   N   D   SD   N/A   DK   NR

44 a. I speak
with my neighbours on a frequent basis.

44 b. I have a fantastic relationship with my neighbours

44 c. I am completely satisfied with my current neighborhood.

45. How would you rate your life satisfaction in Canada?
a. I am better off than our neighbours in terms of my personal and/or family wealth.

b. I am poor now and I will never be able to catch up with my neighbour.

c. I may have more money, but I am working too hard.

d. If Canadian employers recognized my credentials, I could have been a white collar professional as I was in Korea.

**Social Integration**
The following questions are designed to obtain information about your adjustment in Canadian society in general.

The following questions ask you about your volunteer activities and community involvement and cultural practices.

46 a) I always donate money to Canadian charities.

46 b) I always donate money to Korean charities.
47 a) I celebrate all Canadian holidays. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

47 b) I celebrate only Korean holidays. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

48. a) It is important to me that our children retain Korean language, culture, and customs. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

48. b) It is important to me for our children to learn English language, culture, and customs. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

48 a) It is important that our children’s future spouses be Koreans. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

48 b) It does not matter what culture my children’s spouses are. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

48 c) Religious holidays & practices are very important to me. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

49 a) I volunteer to work for Canadian community organizations, hospitals, and schools. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

49 b) I volunteer to work for Korean community organizations and schools. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

50. The following questions are designed to obtain your perceptions of how Canadians and Canada’s various institutions deal with future citizens.

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<td>a. I think Canadians respect all ethnic minorities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Canadians treat immigrants like me unfairly.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Canadians are not racist.  

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

d. Employers avoid hiring Koreans.  

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

e. Canadian politicians pay only lip-service to diversity.  

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

f. Police and law enforcement officers treat visible minorities unfairly  

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

### SOCIAL CAPITAL/ Community Network & Resources

The simplest way to understand the concept of social capital for Koreans is the meaning of a Korean word pronounced, “bback.” It is found in networks and structures that can be accessed by people who are members of these networks and structures.

51. The following questions are about your perceptions of Winnipeg’s Korean community. Please mark your answers according to the keys shown above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. The community helps new Korean immigrants because they are from Korea.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. It is difficult to deal with Canadians because of my unfamiliarity with the host language and culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Koreans should stick together to build a stronger community of our own.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Since we immigrated to Canada, we should adapt to Canadian ways as quickly as possible.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. We do not necessarily help out other Koreans just because they are from Korea.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
f. I feel more secure by maintaining ties with the local Korean community.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

g. The Korean community is no more trustworthy than other communities.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

h. Immigrants receive hardly any help outside the Korean community.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

i. Koreans in Winnipeg have a strong sense of ethnic identity.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

j. Koreans in Winnipeg do not think they are treated poorly than other communities.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

k. It is necessary for Koreans to help each other to survive in Winnipeg.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

l. Koreans are not expected to help other Koreans.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

m. Koreans have strong affinity with other Koreans.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

52. Questions concerning the Korean community in Winnipeg (continued)

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. If one fails to return the favour it will affect the chances of receiving favour again from the community.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9</td>
<td></td>
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<th>N/A</th>
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<th>NR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. If everyone in the Korean community helps each other, how the favour is returned is not important.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<th>N/A</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. Koreans trust each other.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d. Favours are easy to give in the Korean community.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e. Koreans extend favours often without regard to future payback.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
f. Koreans expect that a favour extended be returned in the same form as it was received.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

g. There is more pressure to repay favours to members of the Korean community than to non-members.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

h. Koreans who received favour should return it by giving or doing something in equal value.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

i. Koreans in Winnipeg are required to extend favour to their community members.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

j. Koreans tend to consider one’s reputation before extending any favour.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

k. Koreans expect money loaned be repaid with money.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

l. We feel obligated to help non-Koreans if we received a favour from them.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

m. Those who fail to reciprocate a favour are in danger of being shunned in the community.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

n. Koreans expect favours they extend will be returned.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

o. Koreans are reliable.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

p. Community standard dictates that a favour received is expected to be returned to the community.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

q. It is desirable for Koreans to help each other since it will increase the amount of help available within the community.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9
r. When Koreans extend favours among themselves, returning the favour is more important than who returns the favour.

s. It is acceptable if the recipient of favour returns the favour to the giver’s family or friends.

t. It is acceptable if the recipient returned favour received to others in the community.

u. Koreans tend to extend favours to those who are active in the community.

53. Questions concerning the Korean community in Winnipeg (continued)

<table>
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<th>N</th>
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<th>SD</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Would you make a significant donation to establish a scholarship fund to develop future Korean leaders?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Would you make a significant donation to build a Korean nursing home in Winnipeg?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Would you make a significant donation to buy or build a new church/place of worship for Koreans?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Would you consider adopting a child whose Korean immigrant parents died?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. A gifted young Korean musician is prevented from entering a major competition. Would you consider making a significant donation to help him or her?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. If a Korean needs a kidney or bone marrow to save a life, I am prepared to donate mine.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Would you participate in the rotating credit association (“gye”) to raise funds in the Korean</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
community?

h. Would you borrow money from a community member to start or maintain your business? 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

i. Would you loan money to a Korean immigrant on the basis of the person’s character? 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

j. The Korean community is small enough to monitor the conduct of borrowers who neglect to repay character loans. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

m. The Korean community is capable of applying informal sanctions against violators of loan repayments. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Basic demographic information is necessary to better understand the integration experiences of a divergent population.

55. Would you please indicate your highest level of education in Canada? __________________________
in Korea? __________________________

56. Please indicate your current marital status?
   1. married ____ ; 2. married, but living apart (“goose family”) _____ ;
   3. single _____ ; 4. common-law _____ ;
   5. divorced _____ ; 6. separated ______ ;
   7. widowed ___

57. What was your family income in Canada before taxes last year (gross income)?
   1. less than $9,999 ____ ;
   2. $10,000 - $19,999 _____ ;
   3. $20,000 - $29,999 _____ ;
   4. $30,000 - $39,999 ___ ;
   5. $40,000 - $49,999 ___ ;
   6. $50,000 - $59,999 ______ ;
   7. $60,000 - $ 69,999______ ;
8. $70,000 - $79,999 ___;
9. Over $80,000 _____;
88. DK ___

58. Please indicate your date of birth.
   Month __________; Date __________; Year __________

59. If you have children, how many of your children live with you and their age?
   Number: ___________; Age: ________________________

60. Please indicate your sex. 1. male _________; 2. female ______________
Thank you so much for completing this survey. It will be very useful for the research project. If you would like to take part in an in depth interview of about 30 minutes at a later date, please provide your name and telephone number. If you are interested in receiving the results of this study please provide your name and mailing address.

1. I would like to participate in an in depth personal interview for the research project. If yes, please provide your contact information below.
   Name:
   Telephone No.:

2. I would like to receive a copy of the results of the research project. _______
   Name:
   Mailing Address:

Please note that all information is kept in a secure office at the University of Manitoba. Only my supervisor and I have access. Any personal details provided are kept separate from the survey.
Appendix B (Korean version)
부록 가

한국 교민 사회의 캐나다 융화 과정을 사회 자본 이론을 통한 이해

설문

설문번호:
응답자 번호:

안내:
이 설문 조사는 옳은답과 그른답이 없습니다.
우리는 귀하의 이민자로서의 경험을 배우고 싶습니다. 해당난에 O 표나 √표시를 귀하의 상황이나 의견과 일치하는 것을 선택하십시오.
1. 당신은 18 살 이상이십니까? 예 __ 아니요 __
2. 당신은 이민자이십니까? 예 __ 아니요 __

귀하가 상기한 질문 1 번이나 질문 1.a)에 “아니요”라고 대답하셨으면, 이 설문서를 작성하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 이런 경우에는 가족들 중에 해당 되시는 분께 설문서를 전달해 주시면 고맙겠습니다. 하지만, 귀하가 방문자, 학생, 단기 취업목적으로 캐나다에 머무르시면, 당신의 캐나다 영주권 신청의사를 밝혀 주십시오. 예 __; 아니요 __ 이 경우에는 질문 6 번에서 질문 30 번까지는 뛰어 넘으시고, 질문 31 번 부터 답변 주십시오.

이민에 관한 사항:

아래에 있는 질문들은 캐나다로 이민한 것에 대한 질문입니다. 이 정보는 통계를 내는데 필요합니다.

2. 캐나다에 처음 오신 날짜는 언제입니까? 월/년 (__/___)
3. 어떤 이민 종류로 처음 캐나다에 입국하셨습니까?
   독립이민
   가족이민
   주정부지명-사업이민
   주정부지명-기능공 이민
   기타, 어떤것인지 씌주십시오. 예)학생, 방문자, 단기취업등
4. 몇년도에 위니펙/마니토바주에 오셨습니까?
5. 당신의 민족배경은 무엇이라고 표현사겠습니까?
6. 캐나다 시민권을 소유하고 있으십니까? 예 __ 아니요 __ 진행중

정치 참여

다음의 질문들은 귀하의 한국이나 캐나다에서의 정치 참여도를 파악하기 위함입니다.

캐나다 정치 참여도

7. 귀하는 캐나다에서 투표권이 있습니까? 예 __ 아니요 __ (“아니요”라고 답했으면 질문 10 으로)
8. 투표권이 있으시다면 투표를 (시의회, 주의회, 연방의회)하신 적이 있으신가?
예 네 아니요 (“아니요”라고 답했으면 질문 10으로)

9. 위에 답이 “예”이었다면 작년 2008년 11월 연방선거 때 투표 하셨습니까?
예 아니요

10. 위에 답이 “아니요”이었다면 투표하지 않은 이유를 써주십시오.
후보자를 아무도 몰랐기 때문에 사느냐고 바꿨습니다.
투표에 관심이 없습니다.
시민이 아니어서 불가능합니다.
기타, 설명해주십시오.

11. 현재, 아니면 이전이라도 캐나다 정당에 가입하셨습니까?
예 아니요

12. 귀하는 출마하기 위하여 공천 받으려고 노력하신 일이 있습니까?
예 아니요 (“아니요”라고 답했으면 질문 15로)

13. 선거에 출마한 경험이 있으신가?
예 아니요

14. 위에 질문에 “아니요”라고 답하셨으면, 왜 출마하지 않았으셨는지 그 이유를 말씀해 주십시오.

15. 캐나다 정당에 기부를 해보신적이 있으신가? 예 아니요

16. 한국인이 출마하는 캐나다의 다른 선거구에 돈을 기부해 보신적이 있으신가?
예 아니요

17. 돈 이외에 다른 방법으로 후보자를 도와주신적이 있습니까?
예 아니요 (“예”라고 답했으면 어떤 방법으로 도움을 줬는지 설명해 주십시오.)

18. 캐나다의 정치인들이 이민에 대해 관심을 가지고 있다고 보십니까?
예 아니요 절대로

19. 캐나다 정치인들이 한국 이민자들에게 충분한 관심이 있다고 보십니까?
예 아니요 절대로
20. 시의원들이 주의원들이나 연방의원들 보다 한국계 캐나다에 대한 관심을 더 많이 가지고 있다고 생각하십니까? 예__ 아니요
   위에서 “예”라고 대답하셨으면 그 이유를 설명해주십시오.

21. 당신의 주택이나 소유 건물에 선거 표를 붙인 경험이 있습니까?
   예__ 아니요

22. 귀하는 선거 참관인으로 봉사한 경험이 있습니까? 예__ 아니요

23. 귀하는 캐나다에서 시정부, 주정부, 연방정부의 정책결정에 영향을 미치려고 시도해 보신적이 있으십니까? (해당사항을 모두 선택하십시오.)
   편지쓰기
   전화
   탄원서서명
   개별방문
   인터넷
   기타, 자세히 열거하십시오.

24. 정치모임에 참석해서서 캐나다 정치에 대한 개인적인 생각을 말해보신적이 있습니까? 예__ 아니요

25. 캐나다 정치를 뉴스를 통해 접하고 계십니까?
   예__ 아니요__ (“예”라고 답하셨다면 해당사항을 모두 선택해 주십시오.)
   캐나다 텔레비전
   캐나다 신문
   캐나다 인터넷
   한국위성 텔레비전
   한국신문(토론토, 밴쿠버판)
   한국인터넷(토론토 밴쿠버)
   기타, 자세히 열거하십시오.

다음 질문들은 귀하의 한국거주시 정치 참여도를 측정하기 위함입니다. 귀하가 성인이 되기전에(투표권이 없을때) 이주하였으면 질문 30 번으로 가십시오.

26. 귀하가 한국에서 정부의 정책 수립에 영향을 미치려고 시도해 보신적이 있습니까? (해당사항을 모두 선택하십시오.)
   편지쓰기
   전화
   탄원서
개별방문
인터넷
기타, 자세히 열거하십시오

27. 한국에서 정치모임에 참석해서 정치에 대한 개인적인 생각을 말해보신적이 있으십니까? 예__ 아니요

28. 귀하는 소속된 선거구의 현의원 이름이나 직전의원들의 성명과 소속당 이름을(시의원,도의원,국회의원) 기억하신니까? 예__ 아니요__ 몇명은 알지만 다른 모릅니다

29.a) 오늘의 한국정치에 대한 정보를 알고 계십니까? 예__ 아니요
("아니요"라고 답했으면 질문 30으로)

29.b) 위에서 "예"라고 답하셨으면 어떤 방법으로 한국 정치를 접하고 계신지 골라주십시오.
   한국위성방송
   한국신문(토론토,벤쿠버판)
   한국인터넷(토론토,벤쿠버판)
   기타, 자세히 열거하십시오

29.c) 얼마나 자주 정치에 대한 한국뉴스를 접하고 계십니까?
   매일__ 매주__ 매달

경제적 경험
이부분에서는 귀하가 캐나다에 오시기 전이나 오신 후 경험이 있는 직장에 관한 질문들입니다. 처음 몇가지 질문은 한국에 계실때의 직장과 관계가 됩니다.

30. 캐나다에 오시기 전의 직업은 무엇이었습니까? 정확히 밝혀주십시오

다음의 질문들은 귀하의 캐나다 첫 일자리와 그 이후의 직장에 관한것입니다.

현재 고용상태
31.a) 현재 직업을 가지고 계십니까? 예__ 아니요
("아니요"라고 답했으면 질문 38으로)

31.b) 현재 일을 마다 하고 있으시다면 요즘은 무엇을 하고 계십니까?
   1.훈련중__ 2.은퇴__ 3.재학__ 4.실직상태
33. 캐나다에 오시고 나서 첫 직업을 잡는데 얼마나 걸리셨습니까? 
남수로 기록해 주십시오.

34.a) 어떤 직업이었습니까? 설명해 주십시오.

34.b) 이 직업이 한국에서 하셨던 직업과 연관되어 있습니까?

35.a) 1주일 동안 평균 몇 시간을 일하셨습니까? ___ 시간

35.b) 일하는 시간을 더 늘리고 싶습니까? 예 ___ 아니요

35.c) 개인 사업을 소유하고 계십니까? 예 ___ 아니요 ___ (“아니요”라고 답했으면 질문 37 으로)

36. 개인사업을 하는 이유를 말씀해 주십시오.

37.a) 현재 직업에 대해 만족하고 계신니까?

만족도를 O 표해 주십시오. “5” 최저만족도이고 “1”은 최고만족도입니다.
1 2 3 4 5

37.b) 만족하고 계시다면 이유를 말씀해 주십시오

38. 현재 직장에서 받는 돈이 직장에서 귀하의 경험이나 자격에 비해서 적당하다고 생각하십니까?

만족도를 O 표해 주십시오. “5” 최저만족도이고 “1”은 최고만족도입니다.
1 2 3 4 5

다음 질문들은 귀하의 캐나다 사회 내에서의 생활상입니다.

39.a) 새로 캐나다에 온 이민자들을 도와주신적이 있습니까? 예 아니요 ___ (“아니요”라고 답했으면 질문 38 으로) 8.모름
9.무응답

39.b) 위에 답이 “예”였다면 그 도와주신 분과 어떤 관계입니까? (해당사항을 모두 선택하십시오.)
1.친척 2.처가집식구 3.친구 4.아는 사람
5. 다른사람__ 8. 모름__ 9. 무응답

39.c) 어떤방식으로 도와주셨습니까? (해당사항을 모두 선택하십시오.)
1. 조언__ 2. 재정적도움(돈을빌려주, 장학금, 학자금)
3. 생활정보__ 4. 법적인도움__ 5. 아이를돌봄
6. 기본적인도움(식품, 주거지)__ 7. 일반적인도움
8. 차태워주기__ 9. 언어의도움 10. 일자리찾아주기
11. 정신적도움(학교일) __ 12. 기타. 자세히 기록해주세요
98. 모름__ 99. 무응답

40.a) 캐나다에 와서 새로운 친구를 사귀었습니까? 예 __ 아니요 __
8. 모름__ 9. 무응답 (“아니요”라고 답했으면 질문 41 으로)

40.b) 어디서, 어떤식으로 이웃들을 만나셨는지를 말씀해 주십시오. (해당사항을 모두 선택하십시오.)
1. 한국의 친구나 친척을 통하여
2. 캐나다에 있는 친구나 친척을 통하여
3. 소수민족단체
4. 취미나 동호회에서
5. 직장
6. 영어학교
7. 다른학교
8. 자녀들의 학교나 어린이집
9. 집/동네

40.c) 이 친구들 중에 어느정도가 같은 나라 사람입니까?
1. 전부__ 2. 대부분__ 3. 반정도__ 4. 약간__ 5. 전무
8. 모름__ 9. 무응답
40.d) 친구들 중에 얼마나 최근(2 년이내) 캐나다로 온 이민자들입니까?
1. 전부__ 2. 대부분__ 3. 반정도__ 4. 몇명__ 5. 전무
8. 모름__ 9. 무응답
40.e) 얼마나 자주 캐나다에 있는 친구들과 대화하거나 만나십니까?
1. 매일__ 2. 매주__ 3. 매달__ 4. 1 년에 서너번
5. 매년__ 6. 처음만난후 연락두절__ 8. 모름__ 9. 무응답

41.a) 이웃들 중에 같은 나라 사람들이 어느정도 있으십니까?
1. 전부__ 2. 대부분__ 3. 반정도__ 4. 몇명__ 5. 전무
8. 모름__ 9. 무응답

42.b) 어느 정도가 최근(2 년이내) 캐나다로 이민 온자들입니까?
1. 전부 2. 대부분 3. 반정도 4. 몇명 5. 전무
8. 모름 9. 무응답

43.a) 급한 일이 생겼을 경우 도움을 요청할 수 있는 한국인 친구들이 위니펙에 몇명 정도 있습니까? 1. 전무 2. 1명 3. 2명 4. 3명 이상

43.b) 급한 일이 생겼을 경우 도움을 요청할 수 있는 캐나다인 친구들이 위니펙에 몇명 정도 있습니까? 1. 전무 2. 1명 3. 2명 4. 3명 이상

다음 질문들은 귀하가 캐나다에서 생활하시면서 느끼는 점을 측정하기 위함입니다. 약자내용: 전동(전적으로 동의함); 동(동의함); 중(중간);
부동(부동의); 전부동(전적으로 부동의); 상무(상관없음); 모(모름); 무(무응답)

44.a) 나는 이웃과 자주 대화합 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9
44.b) 나는 이웃과 잘 친하게 지엽 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9
44.c) 나는 나의 이웃에 대하여 만족함 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

45. 귀하의 캐나다 생활 만족도는?

a) 나는 내 이웃 보다도 개인적으로나 가족 단위로 형편이 더 좋다 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9
b) 나는 지금 가난한 편이며 내 이웃을 따라가기가 불가능하다. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9
c) 나는 돈은 조금 있지만 일반 열심히 한다. 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

d) 캐나다 회사들이 나의 학력을 인정해 주었다면, 캐나다에서 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9
한국에서처럼 전문직에 근무할 수 있었을 것이다.

사회적응화
다음 질문들은 귀하가 캐나다 사회에 얼마나 잘 적응하셨는지를 측정하기 위함입니다.

다음 질문들은 귀하가 지역사회에서 봉사하시는 일과 한국 고유의 문화를 지키시려는 의도를 파악하기 위함입니다.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>전동</th>
<th>동</th>
<th>중</th>
<th>부동</th>
<th>전부동</th>
<th>상무</th>
<th>모</th>
<th>무</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46.a) 나는 항상 캐나다 자선기관에 기부합니다.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46.b) 나는 항상 한국 자선단체에 기부합니다.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47.a) 나는 캐나다의 명절을 지킵니다.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47.b) 나는 한국의 명절만 지킵니다.</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.a) 나는 우리 자녀들이 한국어와 한국 문화를 지키는 것이 아주 중요합니다.</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.b) 나는 우리 자녀들이 영어와 영어권 문화를 배우는 것이 중요합니다.</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.c) 종교적인 휴일이나 예식이 나에게</td>
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</tbody>
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아주 중요합니다.

49.a) 나는 캐나다의 지역사회단체, 병원, 학교등에서 자원봉사를합니다  

49.b) 나는 한국인 단체나 한글학교에서 자원봉사를합니다

다음 질문들은 캐나다 사람들과 캐나다의 여러기관들이 이민자들을 어떻게 받아들이는지 귀하가 생각하고 계시는지를 알기 위함입니다.

| 50.a) 내 생각에 캐나디언들은 모든 소수민족들을 존중한다 | 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 |
| 50.b) 캐나디언들은 나와 같은 이민자들을 차별한다 | 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 |
| 50.c) 캐나디언들은 인종차별 주의자가 아니다 | 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 |

| 51.d) 고용주들은 한국인들을 고용하기를 꺼린다. | 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 |
| 51.e) 캐나다의 정치인들은 말로만 다민족주의를 찬양한다. | 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 |
| 52.f) 경찰이나 치안 당국자들은 유색인종들을 불공평하게 다룬다. | 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 |
사회자본/지역사회 구조와 재원
한국인들에게 사회자본 개념을 쉽게 이해시키는 것은 한국어 “빽”입니다.
사회자본은 지역 사회의 구조와 조직속에 존재하며 그 조직의 구성원은 이 자본을
활용할 수가 있습니다.

51. 다음 질문들은 위니펙 교민사회에 실정을 귀하가 느끼시는대로 답해주십시오.

### a) 한인교민 사회는 새 이민자를 도와 주는데 그 이유는 그들이 한국인이기 때문입니다.

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</table>

### b) 캐나다 사람들과 상대하기가 어려운 이유는 내가 영어를 잘 모르기 때문입니다.

<table>
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</table>

### c) 한인들은 똑똑이 뭉쳐서 힘있는 한인 사회를 만들어야 한다.

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</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### d) 캐나다에 기왕 이민 온 바에야 하루속히 캐나다 풍습을 배워야 한다.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
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<th>9</th>
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</table>

### e) 한국인이라고 해서 우리가 무조건 도와 주지는 않는다.

<table>
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<th>7</th>
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</thead>
</table>

### f) 나는 한인사회와 관계를 계속 유지한

<table>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
g) 한인사회가 다른 민족 사회와 비교하여 더 믿을 만한 것은 아니다.

h) 이민자들은 한인사회 이외에는 전연 도움을 받지 못한다.

i) 위니펙 한인 교민들은 한국인이라는 긍지가 강하다.

j) 위니펙 한인들은 다른 민족보다 더 심한 차별을 받는다고 생각하지 않는다.

k) 위니펙에서 살아남기 위해서는 한인들은 한인들을 도와주어야만 한다.

l) 한인들은 죽 한인들을 도와주기를 기대하지 않는다.

m) 한인들은 한인들끼리 유대감이 강하다.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>전통 동 중 부동 전부동 상무 모 무</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  7  8  9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52. 위니펙 교민사회에 관한 질문(계속)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>전통 동 중 부동 전부동 상무 모 무</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  7  8  9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) 도움을 한번 받고 갈지 않으면 다음에 교민 사회로 부터 도움을 받기가 어렵다.

b) 교민들이 서로 도와주면 베풀어준 호의가 어떻게 갈아지느냐는 중요하지 않다.
c) 한인들은 한인들을 믿는다 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

d) 한인사회에서는 도움을 베풀는 일이 혼하다.

e) 한인들은 도움을 베풀 때 나중에 큰 덕을 보려고 기대하지 않는다.

f) 한인들은 자기가 베풀 호의가 똑같은 대가로 값어지기를 기대한다.

g) 한인사회에서 받은 호의는 꺼 다시 값어야 한다는 심리감이 다른민족들 한테서 받은것보다 더 강하다

h) 도움을 받은 한인들은 그 도움 받은 것과 동등한 값어지를 값어야 한다.

i) 위니펙 교민들은 다른 교민들에게 도움을 주기를 기대 한다.

j) 한인들은 호의를 베풀기 전에 받은 사람의 인격부터 먼저 고려한다.

k) 한인들은 돈을 벌려듈때 반드시 돈으로 다시 받기를 기대한다.

l) 한인들은 타민족으로부터 도움을 받으면, 꺼 그들에게 값어야 한다고 생각한다.

m) 도움을 받은 사람이 그것을 갚지 않으면 교민 사회에서 외롭기가 된다.
n) 한인들은 호의를 베풀면
그 호의가 다시 되돌아 오기를 기대한다.

o) 한인들은 믿음직하다

p) 교민사회의 불문율이 호의를 받았으면 꼭 다시 갚아야 한다.

q) 한인들이 한인들을 도와 주면 교민사회 전체에 존재하는 도움들의 양이 그만큼 컸지가 마련이다.

r) 한인들이 한인에게 호의를 베풀면, 그 호의가 꼭 그 당사자에게 환원 대는 것이 그다지 중요하지 않다.
단 그 호의가 환원이 되어야 한다

s) 호의를 받은 사람이 호의를 베푼 사람의 가족이나 친지에게 갚으면 축하다

r) 호의를 받은 사람이 다른 교민에게 호의를 베푸는 것으로 축하다

u) 한인들은 교민사회에 얼굴을 내미는 사람에게 호의를 베푼다

53. 위니펙 교민사회에 관한 질문(계속)

a) 귀하는 한인사회 장래
지도자 양성을 위하여 장학기금을 설치하시겠습니까?
b) 귀하는 위니펙에 한인양로원을 설립하는데 상당한 금액을 기증하시겠습니까?

c) 귀하는 성전을 짓거나 사기 위하여 큰 금액을 기증하시겠습니까?

d) 고아가 된, 한국 이민자의 자녀를 양자로 받아 들이려고 고려하시겠습니까?

e) 장례가 축량되는 어린 한국음악가가 돈이 없어서 콩쿨대회에 참석할 수 없다면 귀하의 장기를 기증하시겠습니까?

f) 한국 사람이, 생명을 유지하기 위하여 한국 사람이 신장이나골수가 필요하다면 귀하의 장기를 기증하시겠습니까?

g) 한인사회에서 자금을 모으기 위하여 “계”를 시작하시겠습니까?

h) 귀하는 사업을 시작하거나 현상유지하기 위하여 교민으로부터 사채를 빌리겠습니까?

이행 동 중 부동 전부동 상무 모 두

i) 귀하는 한국 이민자의 얼굴만 보고 돈을 빌려 주시겠습니까?

j) 한인사회는 작기 때문에 신용만보고 빌려준 돈을 갚지 않는 사람을 감시할 수 있다. 한인사회는 돈을 갚지 않은 사람은 비공식적으로 제재할 수 있다.
인구정보
다양한 민족의 융화과정을 잘 이해하기 위해서는 기본적인 인구 정보가 꾹 필요합니다.

55. 최고학력성취를 기술하십시오. 캐나다에서
 한국에서

56. 귀하의 결혼상태?
  1. 결혼  2. 결혼은 했지만 떨어져 살고있음(기러기 가족)
  3. 미혼  4. 동거
  5. 이혼  6. 별거  7. 미망인

57. 귀하의 작년 가정 총수입(세금 공제 이전)
  1. 9,999불 미만 __;
  2. 10,000 불~19,999 불 __;
  3. 20,000 불~29,999 불 __;
  4. 30,000 불~39,999 불 __;
  5. 40,000 불~49,999 불 __;
  6. 50,000 불~59,999 불 __;
  7. 60,000 불~69,999 불 __;
  8. 70,000 불~79,999 불 __;
  9. 80,000 불 이상 __;
  88. 모름 __;

58. 귀하의 생년월일

월 __ 날짜 __ 년

59. 집에서 함께 사는 자녀들이 있으시면 그들의 숫자와 나이

숫자: ___ 나이: ___

60. 귀하의 성별 1. 남자 ___ 2. 여자
이 설문 조사서를 써주셔서 너무나 감사합니다. 제공해 주신 자료는 아주 유익하게 쓰여질 것입니다. 만약에 귀하가 나중에 약 30 분 가량 저와 좀 더 구체적으로 시행하는 면담에 참석 하시기를 원하신다면 성함과 전화번호를 적어 주십시오. 또 본인의 연구의 결과에 관심이 있으시면, 성함과 주소를 적어주십시오.

1. 나는 차후에 있을 연구원과의 면담에 참가하고 싶습니다. 관심이 있으시면 성함과 전화번호를 아래 적어 주십시오.
   이름: 
   전화번호: 

2. 나는 이 연구의 결과를 사본을 받고 싶습니다.
   이름: 
   주소: 
   전자우편주소: 

제공해 주신 모든 자료는 마니토바 대학교 사회학과 사무실에 안전하게 보관되어질 것입니다. 본인의 지도교수와 지반이 이 자료를 볼수가 있으며, 개인적인 정보는 설문조사에서 분리되어 저장합니다.
Appendix C
Interview Guide

The purpose of the interview is to better understand the settlement experiences with regards to Korean immigrants to Manitoba’s economic, social, and political life.

Immigration Questions

1. What year did you arrive in Canada? ______________________

1.1 What year did you arrive in Winnipeg? ____________________

1.2 What was your visa status upon arrival?
   i) immigrant ( )
   ii) student ( )
   iii) visitor ( )
   iv) other( ) please specify ___________________

1.3 Please explain what made you to decide to emigrate to Canada?

2. Are you currently employed?
   Yes ( ) No ( ) retired ( ) self-employed ( ) other ______

Job Search Questions for all respondents

3. How long after your arrival in Canada did you find your first job in Winnipeg?

3.1 Was it difficulty to find your first job? Why or why not?

3.2 What strategies/methods have you used to find your first job in Winnipeg?

3.3 Please explain your employment history. How does each job relate to the skills and training you have received both in Korea and Canada?

3.4 Have you received any help from friends, family, or government, religious or other entities in finding a job since your arrival in Canada? Please describe the sources, nature and frequencies of settlement assistance you have received so far.

If the respondent is currently unemployed go to Question 5.
If the respondent is self-employed, go to Question 6.
Questions for Employed Persons

4. What is your current job/occupation? ___________________

4.1 Please tell me about how you got this job or your experience in applying for this job.

4.2 Is (was) your employment related to your occupation or training in Korea?
   Yes (    ) No (    )
   Please explain.

4.3 Are you satisfied with your current job?
   Yes (     ) No (     )
   Why or why not?

Questions for Unemployed Persons

5. Why are you not working?

5.1 Please provide information on any job(s) you might have held since your arrival in Canada.

5.2 Do you believe your skills, education, and training are readily accepted by employers or were they being dismissed or undervalued in the Canadian labour market?
   Please explain the answers you have given – why or why not.

5.3 What are the types of difficulties you are encountering in finding work in Manitoba?
   Why do you think these situations have occurred?

Questions for Self-employed Persons

6. Have you started a new business or taken over an existing business?
   New business (   ) existing business (   )

6.1 How long were you in Canada before you started your own business?

6.2 Why did you start your own business?

6.3 Please explain the process and your experience of opening a new business or taking over an existing business in Manitoba.

6.4 In your opinion, what could government do to help you start a new business?

6.5 Future Plans
7. Have you ever thought of or are you currently planning to move to another province to seek better opportunity for you and your children?
   Yes (  )  No (  )
   Please explain.

   **Immigration and Settlement Questions**
   All respondents to answer the following questions:

8. What can the federal government do to help newcomers like yourself to find work?

9. What can the provincial government do to help newcomers like yourself to find work?

10. What can employers do to help newcomers like yourself to find work?

11. How has your economic status and income affected you and your family’s settlement in Canada?

12. How do you think your employment experience influenced you and your family’s settlement in Canada?

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**Demographic Information**

13. Gender
   Male (  )  Female (  )

14. Age
   How old are you?

15. Levels and kinds of Education
   i) highest level attained in Korea ____________________________
   ii) highest level attained in Canada ___________________________
   iii) attained elsewhere than in Korea and Canada _______

16. Marital Status
   a. single
   a. married
   b. separated
   c. divorced
   d. widow/er

17. Number of children and age

   *Thank you for your time and interest in this research project.*
22 July 2009

TO: Bong-Hwan Kim  
Principal Investigator

FROM: Bruce Tefft, Chair  
Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board (PSREB)

Re: Protocol #P2009-046  
"Understanding Korean Immigrant Community in Terms of its Integration into the Host Society using the Social Capital Theories"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol, as revised, has received human ethics approval by the Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval has been issued based on your agreement with the change(s) to your original protocol secured by the PSREB. It is the researcher's responsibility to comply with any copyright requirements. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- if you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to Eveline Sauvette in the Office of Research Services, (e-mail: eveline.sauvette@umanitoba.ca, or fax 261-0325), including the Sponsor name, before your account can be opened.

- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval, otherwise the account will be locked.


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