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Exploring Chinese Immigration Network and Labor Market Integration of Young Chinese Immigrants in Portugal

Kaihang Wei

Dissertation submitted as partial requirement for the
conferral of
Master in Human Resource Management and Organizational
Consultancy

Supervisor:
Assistant teacher, Prof. Maria Gabriela Matias da Silva,
Department of
Quantitative Methods for Management and Economics,
ISCTE Business School

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Abstract

Today the study of the living experiences of immigrants from the perspective of immigration network is a hot topic. However, there are different opinions on the impact of Immigration Network on the integration of immigrants into the host labor market. This paper aims to enrich the knowledge in this field and explore the integration of young Chinese immigrants into the labor market, in the context of Portuguese labor market. 23 young Chinese people living in Portugal were interviewed and their narratives were interpreted by using the thematic analysis method. The results show that the immigration network not only has a positive impact on young immigrants' labor market integration, including employment, market retention and social resources acquisition, but also has negative effects, including low-quality work, self-closure and over dependence. In addition, the pursuit of money and the pursuit of elite education by the 2nd generation of young immigrants have been discovered and discussed.

Key words: Immigration Network, Host Labor Market Integration, Young Chinese Immigrants

JEL Classification: J61; O15

Resumo

Atualmente o estudo sobre as experiências de vida dos imigrantes da perspectiva da rede de imigração é um tema quente. No entanto, existem diferentes opiniões sobre o impacto da Rede de Imigração na integração de imigrantes no mercado de trabalho no país anfitrião. Este artigo pretende enriquecer o conhecimento nesta área e explorar a inserção dos jovens imigrantes chineses no mercado laboral, no contexto do mercado de trabalho português. 23 jovens chineses residentes em Portugal foram entrevistados e as suas narrativas foram interpretadas à luz do método de análise temática. Os resultados mostram que a rede de imigração não só tem um impacto positivo na inserção dos jovens imigrantes no mercado de trabalho no país anfitrião, incluindo emprego, retenção no mercado e aquisição de recursos sociais, mas também tem efeitos negativos, incluindo trabalho de baixa qualidade, autofechamento e dependência excessiva. Além disso, a perseguição por dinheiro e a perseguição por uma educação de elite por parte de jovens imigrantes da geração 2 foram descobertas e discutidas.

Palavras-chave: Rede de Imigração, Integração no Mercado de Trabalho no País Anfitrião, Jovens Imigrantes Chineses

Classificação JEL: J61; O15

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1. Introduction

In recent years, the Portuguese job market has continued to improve with an unemployment rate of 7.0% in 2018, the lowest since 2004 (Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, 2019). Due to a large influx of foreigners into Portugal, two-thirds of the newly created employment population in 2018 came from immigrants (Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, 2019). Among them, China is the main source country of migrant workers (International Organization for migration (IOM), 2020). While the investment and labor value are brought by Chinese immigrants, Chinese immigrants also bring their families. Then, young immigrants from China will also show an upward trend. Due to the huge differences between China and the Western countries, young Chinese immigrants in Portugal will definitely encounter various difficulties, and the issue of labor market integration is one of them.

In the current research on immigration, most scholars like to introduce the concept of immigration network into it, and the concept of immigration network was born as a result of introducing the concept of social capital into research in the field of immigration. Messi (1998:114, cited in Guo, 2009), Mirda (2006:114, cited in Guo, 2009), and Arango (2001:114, cited in Guo, 2009) all believe that the migration network is a combination of various ties between the first migrants and the latecomers in their hometowns. The ties can be blood, hometown, love, etc. The immigration network can provide various forms of support for latecomers, such as helping others with money, doing errands, and providing accommodation (Guo, 2009). However, no one has explored the research on the introduction of immigration networks into the labor market integration behavior of young immigrants and there is also very little research on young immigrants in the labor market. Li (2012) said that second-generation immigrants have low levels of education and educational expectation, lack of information, and have low utilization rate of educational resources. Their occupation types are all commercial activities, including grocery stores, wholesale stores and restaurants. Except for the similarity of job types, their employers are all Chinese. They are more family-oriented in terms of employment choices, choosing jobs that are helpful to their parents' careers and mainly engaging in immigration business-related jobs. And "children inherit their father's business" is the mainstream (Li,

2012). For these conclusions, due to the lack of broader and targeted factual support, more exploration is still needed to obtain more accurate conclusions. At the same time, by introducing the concept of immigration network, we need to explore the role of immigration network in the process of young immigrants' labor market integration to obtain more unexpected discoveries.

Due to the lack of research in this field, people do not know about the job expectations, the difficulty of entering the workplace and the current jobs situation of young Chinese immigrants. This is not conducive to their development in Portugal and to the immigrants' management by the immigration bureaus. Therefore, first of all, this article hopes to provide some help for the status quo. Secondly, we hope that this study can enrich the knowledge of labor market integration in the field of immigration. Thirdly, by introducing the perspective of migration network, this article can discuss the labor market integration of young immigrants from a different perspective.

Combining the current limited theories on immigration networks and the labor market, the following research questions are hoped to be answered in this study:

1. What role does the immigration network play in the process of labor market integration for young Chinese immigrants?
2. Does the immigration network have a negative impact on young Chinese immigrants' entry into the Portuguese labor market?
3. Are the young Chinese immigrants able to change the status quo regarding their position in the labor market, in Portugal?

A qualitative research was selected to conduct this study, to sample qualified young Chinese immigrants in Portugal, to collect data using online and offline interviews, and to use thematic analysis method to summarize the data. A codebook was made in the form of induction, and some useful conclusions were obtained through discussion.

The purpose of this study is to rely on the collected interview data as much as possible to obtain meaningful conclusions based on the lack of a theoretical framework. Since the analysis process will not be interfered by any established theory, the conclusions drawn will be less biased by the results of previous studies. And this is also conducive to make the conclusions more meaningful and to help young immigrants solve practical problems.

Based on the conclusions obtained, the significance of this study is that firstly since most studies on Portuguese immigrants are in Portuguese, the English-speaking world lacks a direct way to

understand this, which is not conducive to academic exchanges. This thesis will help to show the labor integration research of young Chinese immigrants in Portugal to the English-speaking world, and will be more conducive to academic exchanges. Secondly, the conclusions of this study are also beneficial to the governance of immigration issues and the development of young immigrants in Portugal. In addition, the conclusion can also promote the development of Portuguese labor market. Finally, due to the use of online and offline interviews to collect data, geographically speaking, it breaks through the limitations of a specific scope, which is conducive to obtaining more information and better conclusions.

This research consists of five main sections:

1 Literature review- including theoretical concepts, the history of Chinese immigration, the status quo of immigrants in Portugal, the concept of immigration networks, the current research status of labor market integration from the perspective of immigration networks.

2 Method- containing all the steps of qualitative research, including sampling method, demographic characteristics of the sample, interview method for collecting data, thematic analysis method, and finally obtained codebook.

3 A detailed description of the findings- quoting relevant interview records, and detailed explanations of the 6 themes and several subthemes summarized by the thematic analysis method.

4 Discussion- by combining the findings and literature review, some points of interest worthy of further discussion were drawn, and appropriate conclusions and suggestions were drawn.

5 Conclusion- including the summary of the whole article, the practical significance of the conclusion, the limitations of the article, and suggestions for further exploration in the future.

2. Literature review

2.1 Definition of migration, immigration, and emigration

From the perspective of migration area, migration can be divided into international migration and domestic migration (Lu, 2018). The definition of migration discussed here mainly refers to international migration.

In the Cambridge Online Dictionary, one of the explanations for migration is “the process of people travelling to a new place to live, usually in large numbers”. The definition of migration entails into several key points, (1): the population has moved, (2): the destination can be any place or country, (3): it can be temporary or permanent, (4): the purpose is generally to find work and live in another place.

The “process by which people come in to a foreign country to live there or the number of people coming in” is referred to immigration. Similarly, the interpretation of emigration is “the process of leaving a country permanently and going to live in another one”. The definitions of immigration and emigration narrow the definition of migration as (1) the movement of people between countries, and after this movement, they are (2) for the purpose of living and settling, and (3) they refer to permanent residence or life. The difference between these two words is that immigration emphasizes entering into a new country to live, referred to as "move in", while emigration emphasizes leaving from one country to another, referred to as "move out".

2.2 China's Overseas Migration Culture

Speaking of the culture that has affected Chinese immigration, it must be Confucian culture. American journalist James Miller (2009: 119, cited in Guo, 2009) said: “The premise of Confucianism is that man is defined by a network of kinship that has lasted for centuries. Personal interests are closely integrated with clan interests, because they can extend back and forth to several generations. Respecting the interests of predecessors and descendants is the core of Confucianism” (Guo, 2009). It

is precisely because of the influence of Confucianism that most Chinese immigrants combine their own interests with their family and even the country interests. This makes overseas Chinese, although they have obtained the nationality of another country, willing to maintain contact with their hometown economically. Their sense of meaning in their lives, the pursuit of "roots", the identity of the clan, the emotion of the hometown in the overseas Chinese, and the identity of the motherland will not disappear (Zhang, 2018).

On this basis, China's overseas immigration culture has extended other content. When studying Chinese immigration, Harvard University scholar Kong Feili (2005: 93, cited in Zhang, 2019) pointed out: "Chinese culture has given Chinese immigrants several valuable characteristics, one is the family system, and the other is Commercialization." One of the prominent cultural characteristics of overseas Chinese immigrants' business behavior is the emphasis on Renqing. As one of the core deep relationships in Chinese social interpersonal communication, Renqing plays a very important role in contractual relationships and is an important proposition for the study of Chinese business behavior (Zhang, 2019). Different from the contractual relationship in the commercial field of western society, Renqing is the business activity based on family relationships, relatives, friendships, etc. and brought together. People restrict and regulate their behavior through Renqing relationships to expand business capital, not through signing contracts. This kind of Renqing culture allows Chinese immigrants to quickly gain a foothold abroad, and continue to grow and develop. They use their relatives to bring relatives, friends to help friends, and villagers to bring villagers to go abroad to seek opportunities, survival and development together in the business field, and take root in a foreign country. In terms of immigration mode, this is a kind of "chain immigration" (Zhang, 2019). This is also the reason why many Chinese overseas immigrants come from several major parts of China.

In foreign countries, especially in Western society, contracts are more important, so westerners think that doing business based on Renqing will become a hindrance to the development of Chinese immigrants in other countries. However, it should also be emphasized that more and more Chinese immigrants are willing to accept the Western contract spirit. They still do some business in Renqing, but often have integrated Renqing and the contract norms of modern commerce, in order to better integrate into the local commercial market. In particular, this phenomenon is more common among the second generation of Chinese people. The second generation of Chinese is quite different in terms of educational level, mode of thinking and vision. They are different from their parents in terms of

entrepreneurial motivation, industry standards, business goals and strategies. They are easier to integrate into the host country and have more career development opportunities and peace. Therefore, Gao (2017:96, cited in Zhang, 2019) believes that modern business ethics cannot exclude and deny the traditional Confucian business ethics (Renqing), but it needs continuous inheritance and development (Zhang, 2019).

In addition, there is also the "Guanxi" culture that extends from the Confucian culture, which is also a very important culture for forming the social network of immigrants. Even many scholars directly translate the "relationship" network into a social network. Scholars such as Gold et al. (2002: 2, cited in Chen et al., 2013) believe that Guanxi, in particular, is a Chinese cultural construct that refers to a personalized network of people of any type of relationship who exchange support, resources, benefits/gains, and opportunities. Yang & Kleinman (2008: 2, cited in Chen et al., 2013) believe that Guanxi, in other words, represents individuals' social capital and access to network resources (Chen et al., 2013). Moreover, these two cultures also have an impact on the lives of Chinese immigrant groups. For example, studies have shown that Confucian values of Renqing (or fulfillment of relational obligations) and Guanxi (or social networks) have an impact on Chinese Immigrant in consumer behavior (Cheng et al., 2016).

If Renqing and Guanxi were produced on the basis of Confucian culture and exported abroad, they even clash and blend with foreign cultures and become some new cultural forms. Then, the expression of "Clan feelings" in Chinese immigrant culture lies more in the influence on hometown. The hometown of overseas Chinese is the cradle of Chinese immigrants. Because of the influence of Chinese traditional culture, immigrants living in foreign countries always have a concern for their hometown and support the development of their hometown no matter where they are. This phenomenon is also quite common in China. Overseas immigrants from Zhejiang in China mainly come from Wenzhou and Qingtian areas. They usually remit money to their relatives in their hometown, donate to the construction of hometown schools and roads, or invest in domestic economic development. The behavior of immigrants' remittances to their home country is an important subject of immigration research in Western academic circles (Zhang, 2018). The participation of overseas immigrants from Fucun, China has had an important impact on Fucun's social, economic and cultural development. Their practice of transnationalism first started with sending remittances to their ancestral home, and then gradually involved economic, political, social and cultural fields (Zeng, & Li, 2016).

Therefore, in the hometown of overseas Chinese, overseas Chinese actively participate in traditional clan revival, and local clan revival is closely related to the expression of patriotism. Loving the clan is also a manifestation of patriotism and love for the country (Zhang, 2018). Therefore, here is the feeling of "family, country and world together" in the traditional Chinese culture displayed by Chinese immigrants.

It can be seen that China's migration culture is deeply influenced by traditional Chinese culture, and it also has an impact on the generation and development of immigration activities, even their birthplace. Therefore, some scholars believe that the immigration culture created by China's reform and opening policy transformation has the innate openness and compatibility, and it integrates Chinese traditional excellent culture and foreign advanced culture with an open mind, and becomes a wonderful flower in the contemporary Chinese cultural garden. It allows people in the immigrant area to innovate their thinking, lifestyle and ideas and show its boundless vitality, becoming the most dynamic new culture in contemporary China (Liu, 2016).

2.3 Chinese migrants in Portugal

Portugal is a country that receives a lot of immigrants every year. On June 23 2020, the Portuguese Foreigners and Border Services Agency (SEF) announced the 2019 edition of the Report on Immigration, Borders and Asylum (RIFA). The report shows that the number of foreigners living in Portugal reached 590,348, the highest level ever recorded by SEF since 1976. At the same time, the number of foreign residents increased for the fourth consecutive year, an increase of 22.9% compared to 2018. In 2019, there were 129,155 new foreign residents, a 38.7% increase from 2018 (SEF/GEPI, 2019).

Nevertheless, the history of the Chinese in Portugal started relatively late. Some scholars believe that they are immigrants from Guangdong, China, while others believe that they are Qingtian people from Zhejiang, China. It is also said that perhaps even earlier, there have been Chinese living in Madeira and Azores in Portugal. The exact time is not exact, but it is certainly between the 1920s and 1930s. Later, during the independence and liberation movement of Portuguese colonies, a large number of Chinese from the former colonies came to settle in Portugal. But even so, there were not many Chinese in Portugal, and they had not formed a scale. Until the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Portugal on February 8, 1979, and at the same time, under the

opportunity of the reform and opening policy, the number of Chinese in Portugal began to increase rapidly, and the size of the Chinese community continued to expand. Therefore, Li (2012) believes that the growth of Chinese immigrants in Portugal has experienced three climaxes after the reform and opening up policy. The first time was in the 1990s. The immigrants dreamed of making money overseas for economic purposes. They mainly came from Zhejiang, Shandong, and the Northeast China. They are farmers in Qingtian, self-employed in Wenzhou, and laid-off workers in Northeast China, which includes Heilongjiang Province, Jilin Province and Liaoning Province. The second time, started in 2000, affected by the economic situation, the immigration policies of European countries were tightened, and at the same time, the space for commercial activities of immigrants was restricted. In view of this, the Chinese immigrants who depend on business choose to move to countries with loose policies, and their geographical location is characterized by concentration from northern Europe and Western Europe to southern Europe, and Portugal is one of the countries in southern Europe. For the third time in 2007, Portugal amended its immigration law, which greatly reduced the standards for foreign immigrants to obtain the right of abode. It is easier to obtain legal status, which provides a large number of undocumented and illegal immigrants with opportunities to legalize their status, which in turn triggered a wave of immigration (Li, 2012).

Since then, there has been a fourth wave of immigration, which has not yet been defined academically, and is still happening. On October 9, 2012, Portugal began to promulgate a new immigration law and began to implement the "golden residence" policy. The biggest change was that Portugal for the first time established the investment of non-EU citizens in the form of legislation and specific immigration rules for immigration to Portugal. The promulgation of the new law once again aroused the enthusiasm of Chinese investment and immigration to Portugal. When the new law had only been implemented for one year, nearly 80% of the total "golden residence" visas issued was Chinese.

So far, with the passage of time, the Chinese community in Portugal has grown to a considerable scale. According to the Portuguese Foreigners and Border Services Agency (SEF) released the 2019 version of the Report on Immigration, Borders and Asylum (RIFA), there are currently 27,839 Chinese citizens holding valid residence permits, of which 13,922 are males and 13,917 are women; there are 36 citizens of Taiwan Province of China. (SEF/GEPP, 2019)

2.4 Immigration network

2.4.1 Social capital theory

The theory of social capital was proposed by French scholar Bourdieu in 1980. He believes that social capital is a collection of actual or potential resources, and a continuous social network relationship that can draw certain resources from it (Zhao 2018). Its essence is an interpersonal network (Guo, 2009). Erma further supplemented the content of social capital. He believes that social capital includes: trust, norms, networks, authoritative relationships, and multi-functional social organizations. Social capital is a derivative attribute of social networks (Zhao 2018). At the same time, social network is essentially a type of social capital, which is different from physical capital, labor capital and financial capital. And social capital is informal, intangible, and immaterial, which means the sum of resources or capabilities mobilized through social networks to achieve instrumental or emotional purposes (Liu, 2016). Since social capital is defined as networks, which can in turn be viewed as communities or as patterns of communication (Foley, 2015). Therefore, most scholars like to study social networks from the perspective of social capital.

Lin and Dumin (1986: 201, cited in Côté et al., 2019) believe one way of measuring social capital considers people known in a list of high- and low-prestige occupations. Lin (1999: 201, cited in Côté et al., 2019) believes people in different occupations offer different resources – a product of different class positions and interests (Côté et al., 2019). That is to say, people with high prestige positions have more opportunities to access better resources, so that they can get better and more diverse social capital because of their high social status. Of course, this is not the only standard to measure social capital. For example, clan and immigration also affect social capital. Immigrants' pursuit of their own goals and interests will affect the quality of social capital. Social capital can be good or bad in respect to any of the possible goals that migrants (whether individuals or groups) may want to pursue. If social capital is defined as patterns of connections or communication, then its value as an asset basically depends on the quality and usefulness of the information circulating in those patterns of communication and on the inclusiveness of networks (Foley, 2015). Because of its duality, among the viewpoints that social capital is beneficial to immigration, such as social participation and access to

resources, Bankston (2014) is quick to point out the “dark side” of social capital. The concentration of social capital often results in exclusionary bias or opportunity hoarding, which causes resentment toward the immigrant groups from native minorities (Bankston, 2014).

2.4.2 Social network theory

Formal and informal networks that enable cooperation structural dimension of social capital are defined as social networks. Networks can be viewed as communities or as patterns of communication (Foley, 2015). Milroy (1987:203 cited in Zhang, 2012) believes social network is defined generally as “informal social relationships contracted by an individual” and Stoessel (2002:203 cited in Zhang, 2012)) believes “it is a group of people who know each other in some capacity and with differing degrees of intensity” (Zhang, 2012). Burt (1992: 201, cited in Côté et al., 2019) suggests that large networks are most beneficial in providing social capital (Côté et al., 2019). In addition, historical, social and economic circumstances may shape those networks (Foley, 2015). Simultaneously, recognition of networks should be central to policies regarding immigrants (Bankston, 2014). Therefore, in the study of immigration, it is very important to analyze from the social network.

McPherson et al. (2001:134, cited in Lauer & Yan, 2013) suggest the homophily principle states that contact between similar people occurs at higher rates than among dissimilar people (Lauer & Yan, 2013). According to the closeness and estrangement of social relations, Putman divides them into bonding (bonding) and bridging tie (Bridging tie) social relations (Liu, 2016). Putnam (2000:2, cited in Chuatico & Haan, 2020) suggests social tie formation occurs both within and across homogenous social groups. Social connections that are more diverse and that connect people from outside their immediate social circle are known as bridging social ties, while ties that are more exclusive and homogenous are called bonding socialites (Chuatico & Haan, 2020). According to the nature of relationships, social networks can be divided into positive ties and negative ties. Further research believes that associative relationships are similar to strong relationships, and bridged relationships are similar to weak relationships (Liu, 2016). Granovetter’s (1973:2, cited in Chuatico & Haan, 2020) ‘weak ties’ concept refers to indirect ties that extend outside of an individual’s immediate network, and in turn connects them to more diverse and less familiar networks (huatico & Haan, 2020).

According to Milroy (1987:203, cited in Zhang, 2012), one’s social network can be broadly categorized into two types of systems—closed and open networks. A closed network means that

everyone knows each other and does not allow the outside world to communicate. On the contrary, in an open network, everyone does not necessarily know each other and will contact the outside world. At the same time, Milroy (1987:203, cited in Zhang, 2012) used the terms high density and low density to describe these two different networks. A dense, multiplex social network acts as a mechanism both for exchanging goods and services and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights upon its members. Therefore, high density is more important for closed networks, while open networks are less dense. In addition, Li (1994:204, cited in Zhang, 2012) put forward a classification of three network types for immigrants: exchange ties, interactive ties, and passive ties. The exchange ties and interactive ties are equivalent to the closed and open networks in Milroy's terms. The passive ties are marked by an absence of regular contact, but are equally considered important by the person who depends on such relationships for sentimental and moral support or influence (Zhang, 2012).

According to the previous summary of relevant literature, no matter how scholars express their opinions, their understanding of social networks can be more or less reflected in the following forms. The first is the relationship between people, which means sharing knowledge and information through the relationship between relatives and friends to provide mutual help and support to maintain social activities and life. The second is to share, exchange, and evaluate information through the Internet, and to achieve the purpose of mutual help, because the network is more convenient, and their relatives and friends under the influence of modern technology use social networking software to communicate.

2.4.3 Immigration network theory

Immigration may lead to homophily of ties (Lauer & Yan, 2013). Social relations can be created between immigrants, and a social network of immigrants can be born. However, the research on such a network started at the end of the 20th century when some sociologists brought the concept of social capital into the field of immigration. As the name suggests, the concept of immigration social network refers to the social network that exists among immigrant groups. For its specific definition, different scholars have different views. Liu (2016) believes that "Migrants' Social Networks" (MSNs) refers to the behavior of immigrants due to international migration. At the same time, it is the sum of a series of forms between their original country of residence and their current country of residence, and a series of interpersonal and social relationships related to blood, relatives, emotions, religion, and occupation

(Liu, 2016). Messi (1998:114, cited in Guo, 2009), Mirza (2006:114, cited in Guo, 2009), and Arango (2001:114, cited in Guo, 2009) all believe that the migration network is a combination of various ties between the first migrants and the latecomers in their hometowns. The ties can be blood, hometown, love, etc. The immigration network can provide various forms of support for latecomers, such as helping people with money, doing errands, and providing accommodation (Guo, 2009). Immigrant social capital refers to the mobilization of scarce resources by immigrants through their own network and their membership. Immigration network theory is based on the theories of "social capital" and "cumulative causality". It is believed that early immigrants provide various assistances to latecomers from their hometowns, and at the same time they will have thousands of people with their hometowns due to blood, geography, kinship and other factors and inextricably linked. And its cumulative benefit is the continuous expansion of the network, while reducing the cost and risk of migration (Zhao, 2018). Of course, the scope of immigration network is slightly smaller, and its target is the immigrant groups who have settled in other countries for a long time. In summary, the immigration network is the sum of a series of interpersonal and social relationships linked by blood, homesickness, feelings, religion, culture, and occupation of all immigrants, and immigrants obtain social resources from these complex relationships, such as resources, help and opportunities, etc., in order to achieve the purpose of reducing the cost and risk of immigration. This network itself has the characteristics of cumulative benefits, aggregation, etc., and can continue to grow.

Because of the different immigration situation of each country, the views on the social network of each country are different. A more representative one is a study of American immigrant society. Bankston (2014) argues that immigrant groups build networks in different ways based on these factors: the reasons why and conditions under which immigrants leave their native countries, the geographic proximity of the native country to the United States, the immigration policies at the time of migration, and the size of the immigrant population from their native countries (Bankston, 2014). Not only that, Chuatico & Haan(2020) have proposed immigrant network formation occurs not only on the lines of ethnicity, but also on cultural and human capital. Newcomers with lower levels of human capital will be more likely to bond, whereas higher human capital newcomers will often bridge (Chuatico & Haan, 2020).

2.4.4 Immigration network from China in the world

Chinese immigrants are all over the world, so there will be some Chinese immigrant networks in every country. At the same time, the large-scale growth of Chinese immigrants in the world is deeply influenced by its immigration network. Because, in Chinese traditional culture, there is a culture called "family". As the name suggests, the concept of "family" is very important in the hearts of Chinese people. As an ideology, 'family culture' has its roots in ancient Chinese philosophy, and it continues to prevail to the present day. The family culture and its generalization is truly the core of traditional Chinese culture. According to some classic works of traditional Chinese culture such as the Analects of Confucius, family is both a unit of Chinese social structure and the foundation of the entire value system (Chen, 2019). This means that Chinese people will miss their hometown and family no matter where they are. Therefore, Chinese people all yearn for reunion, and also look forward to reunion. Family reunion immigration is a way for China to emigrate overseas, and at the same time, it is also an important reason for the formation of contemporary Chinese immigration (Cheng, 2011). Of course, there are many other types of immigration, such as work immigration, study immigration, skilled immigration and so on. The reason why family reunion immigration is emphasized here is that family reunion immigration is a form of immigrants linked by family affection, nostalgia, blood, and clan. It is the foundation and the largest component of the Chinese immigrant social network and it is also an important factor and reason for its formation. Of course, this form is not inconsistent with the previously mentioned "Renqin" and "Guanxi", because many factors can cause immigration form. However, family reunion is indeed linked by family and homesickness, which conforms to the immigration network. The definition can also be said to be the basis for the formation of the network, and it is also the implementation of this kind of immigration. In the initial stage of the formation of the immigration network, along with the immigration wave, the development of the immigration network is accelerated. For example, overseas Wenzhou people first moved their wives and children abroad, and some of them took their relatives abroad after their children got married. With such continuous expansion, Wenzhou rural areas have naturally formed a migration network with kinship as a link (Xu, 2010). With the development of the immigration network, the social relations of Chinese immigrant groups from different regions are constantly intertwined, and because of the emotional bond of the same Chinese, immigrants from different regions of China are accepted, which makes the current

Chinese immigration network form a particularly strong cohesion. And social resources are also particularly rich, and the social network is also particularly strong.

However, with the continuous development of the Chinese immigration network, some different groups will be formed due to different characteristics. This is inevitable. The first Chinese immigrants are often working for the purpose of earning a living, and the dreamed of making money overseas for economic purposes (Li, 2012), so their knowledge and cultural level is low, and the industry they are engaged in is relatively low. However, with the development of China, more and more high-cultural entities have joined the immigrant group. At this time, even in the same immigration network, it is inevitable that two different groups will be separated (Liu, 2018). Of course, it is also possible that two different sub-social networks are separated in a social network, and they have intersections. But they have their own operating modes. For example, such an example occurred in Germany (Liu, 2018). The composition of the Chinese immigrant group in Germany formed two groups that developed almost in parallel and intersect each other. One is a non-skilled immigrant group represented by immigrants from Zhejiang (especially from Qingtian and Wenzhou), who are mostly engaged in traditional Chinese restaurants and wholesale and retail businesses, and are mostly self-employed; the other group is a group of people who have studied abroad, and a high-level talent group dominated by skilled immigrants. The same is true in France. Since 2000, the number of Chinese students studying in France has increased rapidly. After graduating from higher education, most of them chose to settle in France in exchange for different immigration status (Liu, 2018). They have some common social characteristics: they were born in China after the reform and opening policy, have a master's degree or above, are engaged in knowledge or technology-intensive work, cross borders frequently, and have a high comprehensive level of economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (Liu, 2018).

But in any case, the formation and development of China's immigration network cannot be separated from China's continuous development, continuous opening of policies and the resulting wave of immigration. Since the reform and opening policy, more and more workers have gone to work abroad. The main purpose of this group of going abroad is to increase income, and going abroad is entirely voluntary. After leaving the country, most of these workers make money and return to China, and some of them emigrate overseas and become overseas immigrants. Nowadays, studying abroad and immigration is an important force in contemporary Chinese immigration trend (Cheng, 2011). But

in turn, the immigration network has facilitated the import of immigrants, thus turning into a cycle. It is also the reason why China's immigration export can continue.

2.4.5 Immigration network from China in Portugal

Regarding the research on the Chinese network in Portugal, the Chinese immigration network is definitely not a small social network in Portugal. Since they all come from a social network composed of Chinese people, there must be something in common in the early stages of formation and development. For example, the initial process of communication and information sharing between Chinese immigrant groups is face-to-face communication, which is more convenient for immigrants with relatively wide interpersonal relationships, or relative networks, or the larger "Renqing" and "Guanxi" networks. But for new immigrants who do not have any social resources, they may encounter more difficulties and face greater immigration costs and pressures during the immigration process. But with the development of the times and the development of communication technology, more and more immigrants have begun to accept a new way of information dissemination such as online social platforms. Internet-mediated communication works as an effective antidote against the disruption of ties caused by busyness and mobility (Foley, 2015). Due to the development of technology and the Internet, especially the promotion and use of Internet-based social media, the communication and interaction of new immigrants mainly rely on the network and social networking sites to connect. The extensive use of the Internet makes contact and communication more convenient and cheaper (Liu, 2016). Currently, the social platform most used by Chinese immigrants is WeChat. For many new immigrants, especially immigrants with language barriers and inexperienced foreigners, online social platforms are a very important way for them to obtain social capital and seek support from immigration networks. There are many chat groups in WeChat. These groups are often created with different functions, such as job hunting group, rent-seeking house group, convenient information group, learning exchange group, sale of old things group and so on. For immigrants who need social resources for help, they can easily find the resources they need.

In addition, through the interweaving of various family relations and social relations in the social network of immigrants, a variety of rich Chinese-only social capital can be derived. As we all know, every country may have a Chinatown, or places in an area where Chinese people gather. To take Lisbon as an example, although there is no place officially called Chinatown, there is a gathering area

called Martim Moniz where many Chinese live. In this place, many Chinese shops and Chinese companies gather. For example, Chinese supermarkets, Chinese clothing stores, Chinese wholesale markets, Chinese travel agencies, Chinese restaurants, and various immigrations service agencies, etc. This is a relatively traditional social network, because it mainly needs to obtain information in the form of face-to-face communication, but it is also a place that can be supported by social resources. Furthermore, there will be many large and small community groups in Portugal, both for profit and non-profit. They are groups or organizations formed because of the same interests, beliefs, and interests. While meeting the interests of the Chinese, they can also develop their hobbies and realize their self-worth. There are 38 Chinese associations in Lisbon. They represent different social groups, including business, service industry, education, religion, hobbies, etc. For example, there are Zhejiang Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Lisbon Chinese School, Fo Guang Shan (Non-governmental Buddhism Association), YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), Portuguese Chinese Newspaper, law firm, Chinese medicine clinic, yoga studio, etc. All these Chinese associations or business entities provide the possibility for individuals to expand social communication and participate in social activities (Li, 2012).

Therefore, it can be seen that the social capital possessed by the Chinese immigration network in Portugal is relatively rich, involving work, life, study, spare time, spiritual life and other aspects. This provides greater convenience for immigrants. At the same time, they will also encounter a common problem in the Chinese immigrant society. Due to the improvement and closure of the Chinese immigrant network and the abundance of social capital, a very special phenomenon has been created. Chinese immigrants can live without contacting the society of the host country, because all the difficulties in life can be solved or get help in the immigration network, even if there is a language barrier, which will not be affected. In the opinion of many scholars, this point is relatively negative for immigrants and immigration networks. And there are also negative consequences to restricting one's social network to co-ethnic members. Exclusion of members outside the group and the limitation of freedom of more successful members within the group also occur, which prevents people from obtaining more resources that may be necessary for economic and social integration (Chuatico & Haan, 2020).

2.5 Labor Market Integration

2.5.1 Labor Market Integration

Labor market integration is a process by which individuals and people integrate into the labor market. This kind of performance can be multifaceted. The most intuitive is the employment rate, or whether this person or group participates in the labor market. The form can be full-time or part-time, and people can be self-investment to start a company, etc. They can get income from the labor market and at the same time create value for the labor market. In addition, policies, economy, culture, religion, etc. will all have an impact on labor market integration. For immigrant groups, the immigration network affects all aspects of immigrants' lives, so there is no doubt that it will also affect their Labor Market Integration process.

For example, many Wenzhou immigrants from Wenzhou to overseas, from part-time work to entrepreneurship, almost all develop in the social and economic network of family members (Zhang, 2018). Among them, the social network in the hometown of overseas Chinese is also a part of the Chinese network, which had a great influence when the Chinese first entered the overseas market. The influence of overseas Chinese hometown network on immigrant entrepreneurship is mainly reflected in four aspects: information dissemination, entrepreneurial path, entrepreneurial capital and labor force. The study found that immigrants relied on the social network of overseas Chinese to provide funding for them (Zhao, 2018).

Studies have shown that the impact of immigrant social networks and social capital on Labor Market Integration is also reflected in the institutional background of the recipient country as well as the types of immigrant groups involved and their jobs. Whether the effects are positive or negative further depends on whether or not these groups seek entry to higher-status jobs in the professional, managerial, or technical occupations (Kalter & Kogan, 2014). This is not absolute, but it reflects the importance of exploring the positive and negative attitude towards labor market integration.

2.5.2 The relationship between the Labor Market Integration and Immigration network

2.5.2.1 Positive impact of the immigration network on Labor Market Integration

Regarding the positive impact of the immigration network on Labor Market Integration, the immigration network has reduced the various costs of immigration, including the cost of entering the labor market, and that it is easier for immigrants to obtain jobs and help companies improve the access to qualified employees. Specifically, the positive functions of social networks for newcomers are well documented. Within studies of international migration social network seen try into the country and reduce the short-term costs of settlement, facilitate job acquisition, perpetuate migration patterns and promote remittance practices. Cranford (2005:2566, cited in Rosales, 2014) finds that ‘employers are able to maintain or (re)gain control over a decentralized organization of work by recruiting through social networks’ (Rosales, 2014). In the study of immigration to the United States, social networks lower the entry costs that newcomers face by facilitating entry into the fruit-vending business, and they also expose migrants to exploitation at the hands of fellow paisanos (Rosales, 2014). Social networks are known to play an important part when it comes to matching employees to jobs. All the advantages associated with social networks are more or less straightforwardly transferred to the case of immigrants. For employers, referrals by third parties reduce the uncertainty of the screening process related to the value of potential employees' skills and credentials. For job seekers, the use of social resources provides a means of accessing information on job openings and increases the efficiency of job searches (Kalter & Kogan, 2014). Immigrants who become part of ethnic networks gain access to information on business and job opportunities, on accessing credit, and on cultural practices that enable economic integration (Chuatico & Haan, 2020). Lin (1986:135, cited in Lauer & Yan, 2013) and colleagues find these ties provide status and occupational mobility advantages for their holders (Lauer & Yan, 2013). Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra (2007:1806, cited in Chort, 2017) find a positive impact of networks on wages of Mexican immigrants in the United States (Chort, 2017).

At the same time, the immigration network is about to have an impact on business activities and behaviors in the labor market. Good business activities can affect the gathering of immigrants in the labor market and extend their time in the labor market. Social networks, especially family networks, are important to entrepreneurship in general. Kin ties allow ethnic entrepreneurs to pool together financial capital and labor (Chen et al., 2015). Burt's (1992:135, cited in Lauer & Yan, 2013) findings suggest that network range can help provide advantages for entrepreneurs and for receiving

promotions within large organizations (Lauer & Yan, 2013). At the same time, both entrepreneurial and labor-driven immigrant networks contribute to the concentration of specific immigrant groups in specific economic niches (Eckstein & Peri, 2018).

In addition, there are some more interesting findings. For example, first, migrants who obtained their current job through their migrant network are less likely to experience negative vertical mismatch, which is to have a job requiring a lower skill level than that of the occupation in which they have a comparative productive advantage. By contrast, network use is not found to significantly affect horizontal mismatch, horizontal mismatch corresponds to the case of migrants having a job which does not match their self-declared productive advantage (Chort, 2017). Then, Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra (2007:1806, cited in Chort, 2017) find a positive impact of networks on wages of Mexican immigrants in the United States (Chort, 2017).

2.5.2.2 Negative impact of the immigration network on Labor Market Integration

Regarding the negative effects, many immigration networks are relatively closed, which creates a barrier to the society of the host country or the labor market, which extends to various other problems. Sticking to ethnic bonds might impede the building of more helpful ties to the host society, and might thus lead to lower-quality employment opportunities, often provided within ethnic communities (Kalter & Kogan, 2014). Two implications seem particularly important to understand the contingency of migrant network effects (Kalter & Kogan, 2014): it has been argued that the resources available via migrant networks might be very specific and limited, providing information and influence predominantly for jobs that are already common among the members of the ethnic group. Second, it has been stressed that the utility of the resources contained in networks must be seen relative to alternative means, especially more formal ways, of getting access to the labor market (Kalter & Kogan, 2014). Because of this barrier, immigrants can only obtain social resources from the immigration network, and cannot further enter the Portuguese local labor market to find all kinds of employment. The employment obtained is often low quality. This low quality is manifested in that the skills required by the position are often lower than those mastered by immigrants. This view is in contradiction with the occupation-ability match in the positive view. In addition, dominant-group boundaries in host societies can also facilitate the underrating of foreign credentials, discrimination in workplace hiring

and advancement, and a lack of engagement in workplace cultural experiences and learning. Therefore, there are immigrants with lower social resources, and their upward mobility decreases, making it difficult to cultivate the social capital of the ruler and more likely to occupy a lower position (Côté et al., 2019). Immigrants have a disadvantage simply by being foreign-born in their host countries, where boundaries and unfamiliarity impede access to dominant-group networks (Côté et al., 2019). There are also negative consequences to restricting one's social network to co-ethnic members. Exclusion of members outside the group and the limitation of freedom of more successful members within the group also occur, which prevents people from obtaining more resources that may be necessary for economic and social integration (Chuatico & Haan, 2020).

Secondly, gender is an important aspect to understand the impact of the immigration network on labor market Integration. Generally speaking, women are extra dependent on immigration networks, and at the same time, they will suffer from unfair sharing of information resources. Existing studies have been inconclusive on whether and the extent to which gendered social networks contribute to the gender gap in business performance (Chen et al., 2015). Hagan's (1998:258 cited in Bankston, 2014) 3-year ethnographic study of the Maya community in Houston reveals the gendered nature of social networks. This gendering led to different occupational outcomes for men and women, which also impacted their likelihood of obtaining legal immigrant status (Bankston, 2014). Women with low human capital only find employment in the ethnic economy within work places that are characterized by networks that lack diversity in terms of gender or ethnic composition (Avenarius, 2012). Because of this, Immigrant women rely especially heavily on personal ties for securing work. Their networks channel them into work with clusters of other women from their country of origin (Eckstein & Peri, 2018). Because most of the articles on gender factors are studies on women, and there is no comparative study with male data, the representativeness of the results is questionable and needs to be further explored.

Some immigration networks will have low efficiency of information transmission. When immigrants look for jobs on the immigration network, it has caused a series of problems, such as difficulty in finding jobs. With social boundaries stratifying ethnic groups into occupations, a greater proportion of ethnic minorities and immigrants in a network foster social capital from contacts in low-prestige jobs and ethnic economies – contacts known to be less effective in accessing opportunities in mainstream society. A reliance on co-ethnic ties can lead to difficulty finding

employment, and can impede social participation and mobility because of a lack of mainstream contacts (Côté et al., 2019).

The differences between the immigrants' own culture and the culture of the country where they are located, as well as insufficient language capital, also hinder access to social resources in the immigration network, so this is given the importance of language and the ability to communicate. Côté et al. (2019) believe that in the immigration network, native English speakers can obtain more social resources than non-native speakers (Côté et al., 2019). Initial entry into the country and a lack of familiarity with the host country culture can prevent respondents from accessing social capital, leading to unfavorable social and economic outcomes (Côté et al., 2019). Some ethnic groups choose to live in close proximity to each other, so that they can maintain their culture, ethnic identity, language, as well as can facilitates access to economic resources which are difficult to obtain in mainstream society (Chuatico & Haan, 2020). Among young immigrant groups, especially second-generation immigrants (those who were born in the host country and also grew up in the host country), they often have a relatively small barrier to the host country language and culture – a situation that helps them obtain social network information and an employment advantage to better enter the labor market.

Finally, the stagnant development of immigration networks will also cause immigrants to be unable to effectively obtain resources because they cannot update and develop new information in a timely manner. This creates a cycle in which social networks become stagnant and successively fail to function as effective conduits of information and resources in ways that might help network members equally and in the aggregate (Rosales, 2014).

2.6 New characteristics of young immigrants (generations 1.5 and 2) and Labor Market

Integration

As the times change, more and more young immigrants have emerged in the immigration network. Compared with the older generation of immigrants, the new immigrants have their inherent characteristics. From the perspective of source, many of them are divided into two types. One is born in the host country of immigration. They are not accompanied by immigration activities, nor do they have the subjective intention of immigration. At the same time, they do not enter the labor market for the purpose of doing immigration activities. This generation of people is called 2-generation immigrants. There is also another kind of immigrants who came to the host country with their parents

when they were minors. Like the second-generation immigrants, they are also passive immigrants. They are called 1.5-generation immigrants. Compared with the older generation of immigrants, they are better at using social networking platforms. It can be seen that they can obtain and share resources more efficiently in the immigration network, which can create conditions for them to enter the labor market.

A Li's (2012) study on the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Portugal pointed out that these second-generation immigrants have the characteristics of low education level, low educational expectations, lack of information, and low utilization rate of educational resources. They are more family-oriented in terms of employment choices, choosing jobs that are helpful to their parents' careers and mainly engaging in immigration business-related jobs. And "the son inherits his father's business" is the mainstream (Li, 2012). It can be seen that since their parents are the most important part of the family bond in the immigrant relationship, and some even have family businesses, it is sufficient for them to share information resources from relatives in the immigrant society. But, the closed nature of this immigration network has caused many immigrants to remain concentrated in enterprises of the same clan like Chinese, and they are overly dependent on the immigration network. The social network and labor market of the host country will be separated. The reason for this is also due to their characteristics, such as the low level of education mentioned earlier, and the low utilization of educational resources caused by insufficient cultural capital and human capital. Of course, whether such conclusions are universally representative still needs further exploration. And, this thesis aims to give a relevant contribute to state of the art.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research strategy

This article focuses on young Chinese immigrants and investigates their integration into the labor market in Portugal.

Due to the small amount of current literature on related research, the experiment has no way to formulate a research theoretical framework based on the current research status. Because of it, we can only draw conclusions by getting as much data as possible from the experimental subjects. Therefore, in research methods, qualitative analysis methods are selected. Valerie et al. (2018) believes that rather than having a priori hypotheses, inclusion of qualitative studies allows for inductive generation of themes to identify novel aspects related to performance (Vaughn et al., 2018).

In the selection of samples, young immigrants who meet the requirements are selected for investigation. Thus, the sample needs to meet three requirements. First, for the 1.5 generation young immigrants, they must immigrate to Portugal passively with their families when they were minors. Second, for 2 generation young immigrants, they must be born in Portugal. Third, all young immigrants must be adults, who are at least 18 years old now.

The interview method is used in collecting data. First of all, an interview guideline was determined according to the topics of interest. Afterwards, in-depth interviews were conducted with the experimental subjects. Due to the different conditions of the experimental subjects, we adopt two methods of collecting online and offline. Online interviews are mainly conducted through social software by text or voice chat, while offline interviews are face-to-face interviews at an agreed location and recording with the permission of the other party. Finally, all the text and recording materials were transcribed into written form, and the Chinese were translated into English to make the interview manuscript in both Chinese and English.

In analysis methods, the thematic analysis method is selected. The thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It can

make the research pay more attention to the content of the research object itself, and obtain appropriate research results from a wide range of interviews. In addition, because of the few relevant literatures, it is impossible to generalize the theoretical framework. Therefore, this article will summarize the research theme by applying the inductive method to the interview database and make a codebook.

3.2 Qualitative study

For areas and knowledge that are rarely explored, qualitative research can better define new concepts, reveal the background reasons and explore the entire process.

Rhea Liang et al. (2019) believes that Qualitative research can “represent complexity well” and shed light on culturally situated problems, when fixed choice surveys cannot. Qualitative research, on the other hand, lays researchers' interpretations and reasons for making them more open to critical scrutiny (Liang et al., 2019).

Valerie et al. (2018) believes that first, qualitative data are useful to evaluate some concepts (such as culture) that can be difficult to measure quantitatively. Second, qualitative studies allow concepts to be evaluated in context adding depth to understanding. Finally, rather than having a priori hypotheses, inclusion of qualitative studies allows for inductive generation of themes to identify novel aspects related to performance (Vaughn et al., 2018).

Heyler et al. (2015) believes that conversely, in a qualitative investigation, respondents can determine the content domain of the data collected (Heyler et al., 2015).

In addition, due to the lack of relevant literature, we have no way to define a certain conclusion and investigate on the basis of a certain conclusion. On the contrary, we need to obtain data that has never been explored and conclude themes from it. Because of this characteristic, this study adopts a qualitative research method.

3.3 Sample

In this study, with the assistance of two other researchers, a total of valid 23 young immigrants were interviewed in Portugal.

Table 3.1 Demographic data of interviewees

N.	Name	Gender	Age	Generation	Time in Portugal (year)	Chinese ancestral home
1	Zhang	Male	24	2	Birth	Qingtian, Zhejiang Province
2	Hao	Female	21	2	Birth	Qingtian, Zhejiang Province
3	Lan	Female	21	2	Birth	Lishui, Zhejiang Province
4	Wang	Male	27	1.5	9	Putian, Fujian Province
5	Jiang	Male	26	1.5	12	Zhejiang Province
6	Tian	Female	23	1.5	12	Fuqing, Fujian Province
7	Ma	Female	21	2	Birth	Lishui, Zhejiang Province
8	Guo	Female	24	2	Birth	Lishui, Zhejiang Province
9	Huang	Male	19	1.5	9	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
10	Zhou	Male	24	1.5	8	Qingtian, Zhejiang Province
11	Zhao	Male	22	1.5	17	Qingtian, Zhejiang Province
12	Zhai	Male	21	1.5	8	Liaoning province
13	Tang	Male	23	1.5	10	Ruian, Zhejiang Province
14	Liao	Male	23	1.5	11	Ruian, Zhejiang Province
15	Lin	Female	23	1.5	11	Beijing
16	Zhen	Male	24	1.5	10	Qingdao, Shandong Province
17	Yi	Female	23	2	Birth	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
18	Luo	Male	19	2	Birth	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
19	Pan	Female	21	1.5	5	Putian, Fujian Province
20	Li	Male	20	1.5	7	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
21	Xv	Male	35*	1.5	19	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
22	Liu	Male	42*	3*	17	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
23	Xia	Female	17*	2	Birth	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
24	Ning	Female	20	1.5	9	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
25	Shi	Male	19	1.5	16	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province
26	Mu	Male	18	1.5	9	Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province

* Invalid data (No. 21 is too old (discrete value). No. 22 is the 3 generation immigrants. No. 23 is a minor. The data of three respondents are excluded from the data analysis.)

Table 3.2 Educational background and work experience of interviewees

N.	Name	Educational level	Student/Work	Working Experience
1	Zhang	Undergraduate	Work	Running own business
2	Hao	Undergraduate	Student	Internship
3	Lan	Undergraduate	Student	Parttime+help famliy business
4	Wang	Undergraduate	Student	Fulltime
5	Jiang	primary school	Work	Fulltime
6	Tian	Undergraduate	Student	Fulltime
7	Ma	Graduate	Student	Parttime
8	Guo	Undergraduate	Work	Parttime
9	Huang	senior high school	Student	Help famliy business
10	Zhou	senior high school	Work	Running the clothing business

11	Zhao	junior high school	Work	Fulltime+grocery store+Chinese restaur.
12	Zhai	senior high school	Work	Fulltime
13	Tang	junior high school	Work	Running my own grocery store co.
14	Liao	junior high school	Work	Fulltime
15	Lin	Graduate	Student	
16	Zhen	junior high school	Work	Fulltime
17	Yi	Graduate	Student	Fulltime
18	Luo	Undergraduate	Student	Parttime
19	Pan	Undergraduate	Student	Part-time job
20	Li	Undergraduate	Student	
21	Xv	junior high school	Work	Fulltime
22	Liu		Work	Running own construction co.
23	Xia	senior high school	Student	
24	Ning	Undergraduate	Student	
25	Shi	Undergraduate	Student	
26	Mu	Undergraduate	Student	Part-time job

14 are men and 9 are women. Among them, 7 are 2 generation immigrants and 16 are 1.5 generation immigrants. Except for the 2 generation immigrants who lived in Portugal from birth, the 1.5 generation immigrants have the shortest time in Portugal for 5 years and the longest time for 16 years.

In terms of Chinese ancestral homes, 17 are from Zhejiang Province, China, 3 are from Fujian Province, and the rest are from Shandong Province, Liaoning Province, and Beijing. The reason for the immigration from Beijing is because this young immigrant's father is a scientist and his family belongs to the only skilled immigrant family for all people. Among all the interviewees from Zhejiang Province, 7 are from Wenzhou City, Zhejiang Province. In addition, 4 are from Qingtian, 3 are from Lishui, 2 are from Ruian, and 1 is unknown. Among the respondents from Fujian Province, 2 are from Putian and 1 is from Fuqing.

The education level of all of them is mainly undergraduate, reaching 12, followed by 4 in junior high school, 3 in senior high school, 3 in master's degree and 1 in elementary school. Among them, the only respondent whose education level is elementary school dropped out in the 7th grade and therefore did not complete junior high school education.

Furthermore, among the 23 interviewees, 14 are still students and 9 are working. Even though the majority of respondents are students, most of them already have work experience. 19 of the 23 interviewees had work experience. Although the content of the work varies, 3 of them are doing their

own business, 8 are working full-time, 6 are part-time, 2 have internship experience, and 2 are helping to look after the family business. Among them, one has both part-time experience and internship experience. One has part-time experience and also helps take care of the family business.

Among the 14 students, 4 have no work experience. Among the rest, 5 have part-time experience and 3 have full-time experience. All 3 students with full-time experience felt that they needed more knowledge at work, and chose to continue their studies after recognizing their development directions. The remaining 2 students only have internship experience and helping with business at home.

3.4 Data gathering technics

As mentioned above, an advantage of conducting interviews is that it is possible to collect data more extensively and in detail and it is not necessary to take a large sample, because interview research that has an idiographic aim typically seeks a sample size that is sufficiently small for individual cases to have a locatable voice within the study, and for an intensive analysis of each case to be conducted (Robinson, 2014). At the same time, the interview method also has the advantages of wide adaptability, flexible operation, and producing real and specific data.

However, the interview method also has certain shortcomings. First, the cost is very high, because it includes not only human, financial and material resources, but also consumes a lot of time. This study involves three data collectors, who spent a year interviewing interviewees. A huge amount of transcription and translation work was carried out through interview records. Second, another drawback of the interview method is that it is difficult to judge the saturation of the sample size. Francis et al. (2010) believe that in interview studies, sample size is often justified by interviewing participants until reaching “data saturation”. The specific number will depend on the complexity of the research questions and of the interview topic guide, the diversity of the sample and the nature of the analysis (Francis et al., 2010). Because there are too many variables to consider, the boundary of when to stop the data collection becomes very blurred.

Before the investigation, we developed an interview guideline with all open-ended questions. The question setting was flexibly adjusted according to the interviewee's actual situation and answers, and the interviewee's answers are in-depth.

In the process of sampling, there are mainly two ways. One is to use our own identity as a Chinese and social recourse to go deep into the Chinese community for finding and contacting the interviewees.

The second is to find respondents who voluntarily participate in this study by posting information on seeking subjects on the Internet.

The interviews are conducted online and offline. Online interviews are mainly conducted through social software, such as WeChat, which is the most widely used social software in the Chinese community, and are recorded through voice or text. Offline interviews are mainly conducted through face-to-face, with voluntary interviewees making appointments in advance and recording interview content through audio recordings. The advantage of the two methods is that, first, although the traditional face-to-face interview can achieve better results, the online interview makes our interviewees no longer limited to a specific area of Portugal. Second, the life and work schedules of the interviewees are different. Online interviews can be more flexible in terms of time and places. Third, some interviewees are introverted and prefer to interview online. Fourth, online interviews also have advantages in the subsequent transcription process, because it is more time-saving. The recording content of face-to-face interviews needs to be manually transcribed into Chinese and English written expression by listening to the audio recording. In contrast, online interview is more efficient and time-consuming in this respect, because the recording content of online interviews can be converted into text through the software, which is much better than the traditional face-to-face interview.

The next step is to transcribe all audio and text materials and organize them into interview drafts. All interviews are conducted in Chinese. Therefore, it is still necessary to translate Chinese into English after sorting out to form a bilingual Chinese-English interview draft.

When the samples saturation was achieved, the work of collecting data for the research stops, and all the interviews begin to be aggregated for later use in thematic analysis and codebook production.

3.5 Data coding and analysis

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It offers an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analyzing qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). By encoding the database, the relevant codes are summarized into themes and subthemes. A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Finally, the codebook is obtained by explaining each theme and subthemes.

Due to the lack of relevant theories in this study, the theoretical framework cannot be obtained from the literature review, so induction is used in the thematic analysis method. An inductive approach means the themes identified are strongly linked to the data themselves.

In the article (Braun & Clarke, 2006), the author provides clear guidelines to those wanting to start thematic analysis. To see the table below, this study will also follow this step for data analysis.

Table 3.3 Thematic analysis guidelines

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

According to the research steps of thematic analysis, the interview contents of all 23 interviewees were reviewed one by one. After familiarizing with content, code the relevant content according to the research question. According to the steps in the above table, 6 themes were identified (see the complete codebook in the appendix):

- Theme 1: Reasons for using the immigration network
- Theme 2: The process of job choices influenced by immigration network
- Theme 3: Ways to apply for a job and career status
- Theme 4: The influence factors of young immigrants' career choice
- Theme 5: The influence factors of labor market retention
- Theme 6: Obstacles to entering the local labor market

Through the codebook, it is possible to analyze and explain the themes of research interest. In the next chapter, the codebook will be explained in more depth.

4. Findings

This chapter presents the findings of 23 interviews conducted by thematic analysis. After screening, all participants were young immigrants, namely 1.5 generation immigrants and 2 generation immigrants.

4.1 Immigration network and labor market

Immigration network plays an important role in the life of immigrants and the various interpersonal relationships and cultural ideas in the immigration network are imperceptibly influencing immigrants' thoughts and behaviors. Therefore, from the perspective of labor market, the immigration network has a positive or negative effect on the immigrant's labor market integration behavior, expectation or thought.

4.2 Theme 1: Reasons for using the immigration network

The theme "Reasons for using the immigration network" is classified into five subthemes:

1. Closeness to the immigration network: The distance between immigration network and immigrants
2. Influenced by parents: The influence of parents on their children's behaviors and thoughts.
3. Language: linguistic capital.
4. Discrimination: Behavior and language discrimination.
5. Views on work: Views, expectations and evaluations of work, etc.

4.2.1 Closeness to immigration network

The study showed that most of the young immigrants living in Portugal came from the same areas of China. The ancestors of most of them were in Zhejiang Province and Fujian Province. For those from Zhejiang Province, most of them come from Qingtian and Lishui County, whereas those from Fujian Province are mostly from Putian County. In these areas, there is a considerable migration network with a stable culture, which drives immigrants continuously to emigrate from China to Portugal.

Q: I interviewed a lot of people from Qingtian. Why are there so many people in Qingtian?

A: Qingtian is the hometown of overseas Chinese people, 200,000 of whom in Europe.” (Zhang, Interview 1)

“A: People living in Fujian Province always have a tradition of going abroad. At that time, China's economic situation was so bad. If people only make a living in the country, I think it is very difficult. They probably only have enough money for themselves, and there is no extra money. Then we happened to have that tradition, and then go abroad to seek for a better life. I don't think everyone has such a strong career ambition, and at least my family members are not, for example. But I think there are places where people's career ambitions are really strong. I don't know why, but I guess it's because people are poor, and if they see someone around them have a good life, they want to own it. Then they will imitate them, going abroad to make a living. ” (Wang, Interview 4)

At the same time, Chinese culture is an important factor to have a sense of belonging to the immigration network. It is very positive that almost all respondents have their own preference for Chinese culture, especially the food culture. Also some cultural factors have a very important impact on the personal growth of the immigrants.

“There is a lot about Chinese culture that I like. I think that Chinese culture has a kind of beauty, especially the food culture. For example, in the Dragon Boat Festival, Mid-Autumn Festival, Lantern Festival and Spring Festival, People will eat the corresponding traditional food.” (Zhang, interview 1)

“The implicit and flexibility of Chinese culture have shaped most of my personality.” (Tian, Interview 6)

The composition of friends shows which groups of people a person has close contact with. In this study, most of the respondents' friends are mainly Chinese.

“When I was in Portugal, my friends were basically Chinese. I had only one or two Portuguese friends.” (Wang, Interview 4)

Having Chinese relatives in Portugal is one of the most direct ways to get help in the immigration network. Relatives can often help them solve problems in their life and work, like attaining legal residency. Most of the respondents said they had relatives in Portugal, while the others said they had no relatives in Portugal.

“But we have many relatives here, like my uncles and his family; we always help each other when in trouble” (Huang, Interview 9)

“No, we have no relatives here. This is also a troublesome thing.” (Wang, Interview 4)

The connection with China, measured by the frequency people visit China, is another indicator of the sense of belonging to the immigration network.

“Yes, but now I stay in China for a while every year.” (Zhang, Interview 1)

“I went back to China 3 months after I was born here, and then returned to Portugal at the age of 4 and have been living here since then. I have also returned to China during the summer vacation.” (Ma, Interview 7)

Furthermore, various activities organized by Chinese people are also important resources to develop the immigration network.

“I have never participated in the activities organized by the Chinese, but my family believes in Christianity, so I will participate in the Christian Church activities here. There are a lot of activities held by Chinese people here, such as Christmas performances, summer camps for summer vacations, and many church events. It seems that Lisbon also hosts the Water Cube singing competition every year, and the champion will go to Beijing to compete.” (Lan, Interview 3)

Nationality identification, as the name implies, is the identification of one's Chinese identity. Almost all respondents think they are still Chinese and keep the Chinese nationality.

“Q: If someone asks you if you are Chinese or Portuguese, how would you answer, or will you answer depending on the situation?”

A: Chinese, no doubt” (Zhang, interview 1)

The powerful social resources of immigrants refer to the social resources obtained from the immigration network. Young immigrants can get help from their relatives and friends to solve the problems of residency and work.

“Q: Who are your parents looking for help from when they have difficulties?”

A: What's the difficulty? If I can solve it, I will solve it. If I can't solve it, I will find my cousin, because in her work she can know a lot of people, and then solve it properly.” (Lan, Interview 3)

“As far as I know, some of them [Chinese immigrants] would like to work in Chinese stores or restaurants at first after they come here, accumulate their working experience and explore the business situations here.” (Zhou, Interview 10)

Finally, introverted and unsocial personality is also one of the reasons why they do not like to communicate with Portuguese communities and tend to seek social resources in the immigrant network.

“Q: Didn't you have a particularly good Portuguese friend?”

A: No, but I am also not a sociable person. Other Chinese in our class can get along well with foreigners.” (Lan, Interview 3)

“A: I had a very good relationship with my Chinese classmate, but I didn't have good relationship with other immigrants from other countries, because I couldn't communicate with them. The Chinese classmate could speak both Chinese and Portuguese, so I had better relationship with him than others; he helped me in many aspects.” (Huang, Interview 9)

4.2.2 Influenced by parents

Parents often play a very important role in a large variety of ties in the immigration network. Parents convey all kinds of information resources of immigration network to their kids all the time, and provide them with help. At the same time, they have a profound impact on their children thoughts.

“Q: As a young immigrant, how can we improve or promote their success in study and work? Give some advice to them?”

A: The high-rise buildings are on the ground, so they need to lay their own foundations, integrate into the local society, and learn the local culture... These are the things my parents told me, and I just quoted my parents' words.” (Zhang, interview 1)

“A: I have been abroad for a long time and sometimes I want to eat Chinese food. This makes me feel very comfortable. My parents are still very traditional. I am influenced by my parents in terms of ideas.” (Hao, Interview 2)

4.2.3 Language

The low language capital and language barrier introduced severe difficulties to informants to integrate into the local society. Consequently, they often prefer to be in a comfort zone and, thus, choose to contact people within the immigration community.

“A: There were language barriers, it was not easy to integrate, but there were good teachers and classmates to help, and I had only started to enjoy campus life since the international school.” (Lan, Interview 3)

“A: I was depressed and autistic, because I was a foreigner in the school, and I couldn’t speak their language. My classmates always laughed at my accent and I had no friend there. I hated the school life at that time and could learn nothing there.” (Zhen, Interview 16)

4.2.4 Discrimination

Discrimination is also a problem that immigrants often encounter. No matter what kind of discrimination, it will make it more difficult for them to integrate into local society and have a sense of belonging to the immigration network.

“OK. When I was about 20 years old, I remembered it was the New Year holiday, I hang out with six or seven friends at night to watch a football game in a small bar, then when we went out from the bar, more than 20 young guys around 16 to 17 years old quickly surrounded us and said some bad words to us, such as ‘chink’ and ‘stupid Chinese’...We were extremely angry about that and then fought with them. It’s quite normal to face discrimination here, we are helpless but numb.” (Zhou, Interview 10)

However, some of their negative treatments of discrimination will make them more alienated from the local society and more dependent on the immigration network.

“Q: Did you face any discrimination?”

A: I faced much discrimination, for example, some Portuguese called me “Chinoca” and I was super angry for that. Once, a three-year-old child called me that, and I shouted at him and his parents.” (Zhen, Interview 16)

4.2.5 Views on work

A stable job often enables workers to keep in touch with specific groups in a region. So, another factor to make them close to the immigration network is that they can get jobs more easily in the immigration network, and they feel that the experience gained from working here is useful, even if they don't know Portuguese.

“My part-time job is easy to get. Since most of the sushi restaurants in Lisbon are owned by Chinese people, I went directly to ask if there was a part-time job. As I am a Chinese, the owner of the restaurant agreed with me to have a part-time job.”(Pan, Interview 19)

4.3 Theme 2: The process of job choices influenced by immigration network

The theme “The process of job choices influenced by immigration network” is classified into three subthemes:

1. Influenced by parents: The parents’ influence on children's behaviors and thoughts.
2. Social capital: The sum of the help and support received in the immigration network.
3. Culture and expectations: Cultural reasons and personal expectations.

4.3.1 Influenced by parents

The relation to parents is one of the most important emotional bonds in Chinese culture and often influences younger generation’s job choices and expectations. For some interviewees, the parents of them have very clear job expectations on their children, but some parents incline to respect their children's choices.

Q: Do your parents want you to find another job? Are they still planning to let you inherit their business?

A: They want me to inherit their business. After all, when my parents are old, there will be some business that needs people to inherit. (Zhang, Interview 1)

Q: What do your parents want you to do in the future?

A: My parents always say to me -"You can choose any job you want, but you must choose it by yourself seriously." (Hao, Interview 2)

People’s education level determines the type and field of their work in the future. Therefore, parents' educational expectations on their children will also affect the young generation's job choices. In the study, most of the parents have indifferent attitude towards their children's education, but the rest of the parents have clear requirements for it.

Q: “Have your parents ever encouraged you to get a specific degree?”

A: “My parents have never tried to interfere with my choices and I can do everything if I am happy with that. If I want to continuously study, like getting the master’s or even higher degree, they will support me. However, if I want to quit school and start to work, it’s also ok, as well” (Huang, Interview 9)

Q: Do your parents have any expectations about your degree?

A: My father requires me to have a graduate degree. Because he thinks that a bachelor's degree is not enough in modern society and he doesn't want me to work in low-end jobs, so he wants me to go to graduate school. (Yi, Interview 17)

In addition, the other influence factor is parents' expectations for their children's job. Similarly, some parents have indifferent attitude towards this, while others have specific requirements for their children's work.

“Q: Have your parents ever encouraged you to get a specific degree?”

A: No, my mom wanted me to work as early as possible, and she thought that it's not important to acquire knowledge. She wants me to learn how to make sushi and be a sushi chef in the future.” (Zhen, Interview 16)

“Q: What will they hope you to do in the future?”

A: As long as it's the job I like, and they don't have any requirements from me.” (Guo, Interview 8)

Moreover, many young immigrants' parents have businesses in Portugal, such as restaurants, grocery stores, clothing stores, etc. Therefore, they always face the question about inheriting the family business in the future.

“Q: Do you think that you will continue to inherit your family business?”

A: I think I will inherit it, but I have my own ideas.

Q: What is the idea? Do you want to own your business independently?

A: Yes, right.” (Zhai, interview 12)

4.3.2 Social capital

Under the influence of immigration network, social capital can be better transformed into cultural capital, because young immigrants can get training, learning and better education from the immigration network and then increase their competitive advantages in the Portuguese labor market.

“Q: What do your parents think? Are they willing to send you to an international school?”

A: Yes.

Q: Have they ever thought about choosing an international school just for a better education and a future development?

A: My mom thought so.

Q: How did they do it?

A: They sent me to an international elementary school in the fifth grade. ” (Lan, Interview 3)

There is a phenomenon called downgrade learning and it happens in 1.5 generations immigrants. The downgrade learning means immigrant parents ask their children to go to lower grades to study at school when they first arrived in Portugal in order to enable young immigrants to better transit from Chinese schools to Portuguese schools. The reason why parents do this is because parents think it can make their children better integrate into the local school life. It is also a common practice in the immigration network, but 1.5 generation immigrants are generally dissatisfied with it and feel that it is useless and even a waste of time.

“Q: Do you remember how you felt when you first arrived in Portugal?”

A: I felt angry

Q: Why?

A: I don't know why. I lived well in China but my parents had to bring me here. I was in the second grade at junior high school in China at that time, but after I came here, my parents asked me to start studying in the sixth grade at primary school. I didn't think I wanted to study, so I did not continue to study in the end.” (Jiang, Interview 5)

In addition, young immigrants can also get social resources directly from the immigration network, such as getting jobs through the friends' recommendations. Furthermore, the social capital from the migrant network can open a channel for them to into the labor market.

“Q: How did you get this informal job opportunity?”

A: I have a job in the local organization to do marketing in the holidays. I know it through the introduction of people I know, because they all think this job is very interesting.” (Hao, Interview 2)

“A: When I was working in my parents' shop, they paid me salary, and I got money to run my own business. But actually, the money is not enough to run a business, that's why I borrowed some money from my friends.” (Zhou, Interview 10)

However, the jobs obtained from the immigration network are generally low-end, low entry threshold, low technical requirements and low salary, such as restaurant waiters, grocery store salesmen, etc.

“Q: Do you think it's easy to get a job?”

A: For me, I think it's super easy to get a job here, but you have to consider what kind of job it is. In other words, it's easy to be a waiter in a restaurant or be an assistant in a store. However it's impossible to the financial-related work or to be a doctor.” (Guo, Interview 8)

4.3.3 Culture and expectations

Influenced by culture (the class concept, Mianzi and Guanxi), some interviewees will be more ambitious in pursuit of better work and upper social status.

“A: We are from Wenzhou in Zhejiang Province. You know, the culture in Wenzhou is that everyone wants to have their own business. People from our places feel that they have to be the boss.” (Huang, Interview 9)

Job expectation is the most direct factor to affect job choices, because all the jobs' specific requirements will be reflected in the jobs choices. For young immigrants, whether to inherit their family business or go back to China to find the jobs is the high-frequency discussed topic.

“Q: What is your job expectation? Or do you think that you will continue to inherit your family business from an early age?

A: I think I will inherit it.” (Zhai, Interview12)

“Q: What are your job expectations in Portugal?

A: I never think that I will work in Portugal in the future, I would like to go to Africa, or go back to China in the future.” (Huang, Interview 9)

4.4 Theme 3: Ways to apply for a job and Career status

The theme “Ways to apply for a job and Career status” is classified into two subthemes:

1. Ways to get a job: The channel of the work obtained.
2. Work status: Areas and types of work, job retention, etc.

4.4.1 Ways to get a job

All the channels of obtaining work can be classified into - inheriting the family business, introductions from friends and families, web searching, school recommendations, recruitments and other. Among them, the most common channel is inheriting the family business.

“Q: What kind of job are you doing now?”

A: I am helping my parents with the business in restaurant.” (Zhai, Interview 12)

Moreover, the immigration network helps young immigrants gain access to the labor market, such as supports from their parents' social capital and information shared by friends.

“Q: Have you ever had any working or internship experience?”

A: Since now, my only working experience is to work for my parents' shop, I always stay there in my spare time, and it's money-saving because they don't need to employ more workers.” (Huang, Interview 9)

“A: I had a job in the local organization to do marketing in the holidays. I know it through the introduction of people I know, because they all think this job is very interesting.” (Hao, Interview 2)

At the same time, there are two main ways for young immigrants to contact with the immigration network and they are respectively face-to-face and cell phone. The way of Face to face includes through Chinese grocery store, Chinese friends and Chinese community and the way of cell phone includes mainly Wechat app.

“Q: How did you get the opportunity to work ?”

A: For the morning job, I got the information from the Wechat group. I saw an advertisement there before, and I delivered my CV to the specific email address. For the night job, because I worked in the EI Corte Ingles many years before, the employer asked me if I would like to go back there to work since it had a vacancy.

Q: How did you get the first job in EI Corte Ingles.

A: My friend told me that it had a seller vacancy there, so I went to the interview and got the job.” (Zhen, Interview 16)

4.4.2 Work status

For some young immigrants who have already had work experience, their current work status is an important topic, because the exploration of work status can reflect whether there is jobs diversity or jobs limitation in migrant network. In the study, respondents' work areas can be roughly divided into - grocery store, restaurant, education, tourism, and other. And their job types can be divided into full time, part time, doing business, helping the family business and internships.

“Q: Are you working or studying now?”

A: I have inherited my father's business.

Q: Specifically, what business are you doing here?

A: Shops, restaurants, and import and export trade, at the same time, there is a bit of business in China.

Q: Is the business here the same as the domestic business?

A: No, the business here is the most traditional department store business and catering, and the domestic business is the investment industry. ” (Zhang, interview 1)

The retention in the labor market refers to the length of time that young immigrants stay in the labor market and the study focused on the reasons for the short stay situation. In this research, this situation can be divided into three categories: return to China for job, return to school for studying and family reasons.

“Q: Are you willing to have the Portuguese nationality, why?

A: I should not join the Portuguese nationality, because I want to go back to China afterwards.” (Zhang, interview 1)

“Q: Do you like this job?

A: I like this job very much. But I quit it in August, because I'm going to the graduate school. I went to Universidade Catolica DE lisboa to study management as a graduate student.” (Yi, Interview 17)

“I finished my previous job, and stayed at home for almost one and a half month. Since my parents have gone back in China, the family's store needs people to help.” (Jiang, Interview 5)

In fact, 1.5 and 2 generations young immigrants' jobs are different. Due to have a better education, the second-generation immigrants' jobs tend to be more high-end, knowledge-based and technical oriented, such as doctors. However, the 1.5 generation immigrants' jobs are low-end and labor-oriented, such as hotel attendants and shopping guides.

“Q: What kind of ideal job do you want to do in the future?

A: I started an internship at the hospital in the last year. After the internship, I will participate in finding jobs and consider if I can enter a pharmaceutical company in Portugal.” (Ma, Interview 7, 2 generation immigration)

“Q: What kind of job are you doing now?

A: I am helping my parents with the business in restaurant.” (Zhai, interview 12, 1.5 generation immigration)

4.5 Theme 4: The influence factors of young immigrants' career choice.

The theme “The influence factors of young immigrants' career choice.” is classified into four subthemes:

1. Objective characteristics: Objective influence factors of career choice.
2. Subjective thoughts: Subjective influence factors of career choice.
3. Immigration Network Impact: Influence of social capital from immigration network
4. Cultural influence: Influence of traditional culture.

4.5.1 Objective characteristics

As mentioned above, 1.5 generation immigrants and 2 generation immigrants have different jobs choices. But the 2 generation immigrants' jobs will be more high-end and knowledge-based than that of 1.5 generation immigrants.

“Q: What kind of ideal job do you like and want to do in the future?”

A: I had an internship in the last year. After my internship at the hospital, I will participate in finding work and consider if I can enter a pharmaceutical company.” (Ma, Interview 7, 2 generation immigration)

“Q: What kind of job are you doing now?”

A: I am helping my parents with the business in restaurant.” (Zhai, interview 12, 1.5 generation immigration)

The education and training can determine the direction of their future employment. Because each person has different cultural capital after education and training, this will give them a variety of jobs to choose from. For young immigrants, the biggest feature is that they have a strong language capital, and they can speak many languages. In addition, most of them are forced to master many languages because of their living environment.

“Q: How did you communicate with others, for example, your colleagues and teachers?”

A: I used English to communicate with them. My English is good enough to talk with them, and I started to learn Portuguese. After studying some Portuguese, I had no difficulty to communicate with others anymore.” (Lin, Interview 15)

In addition, it is also important to investigate young immigrants’ educational background because it's obvious that their educational background determines the range of work they can choose. Their educational backgrounds are divided into junior high school diploma, senior high school diploma, undergraduate diploma, master's degree and other learning experiences.

“A: I stayed in the sixth grade at primary school for three years because there were too many classes to be absent by me. But the school stipulated that I could only stay for a maximum of three years in one grade, so I couldn't continue to study in sixth grade, consequently I was promoted to seventh grade. And even so, I still escaped too many classes.

Q: So did you go back to China to study in junior high school again?

A: No, I was 17.5 years old at that time. I could decide by myself whether to give up studying, so I gave up and didn't study anymore.” (Jiang, Interview 5)

4.5.2 Subjective thoughts

Subjective view of work is very decisive to the career choice. The content of subjective ideas related to work is particularly rich, including attitudes toward work, views on job experiences, company brand, future career ideas, and job expectations.

The attitude towards the work reflects whether young immigrants love the job and have the motivation to do the work. In this study, some people like their existing work, but the other are not. The reasons why they don't like their current job can be summarized as low salary, poor working atmosphere, boring work, hard work, etc.

“Q: What do you think about your current job now? Do you like it?

A: I don't like the working atmosphere very much. I face a lot of pressure from my boss every day.” (Tian, Interview 6)

A job that can provide valuable experience for young immigrants also affects their career choice and a beneficial work experience is attractive to them. In the study, most of the respondents believed that they had gained valuable experience from their work, which was conducive to their growth in the workplace.

“Q: Do you think this working experience is useful for you?”

A: Yes, of course. Corte Ingles is a big and famous company, and it helps me to improve my CV. In addition, I learnt a lot from my job and I could have the opportunities to get in touch with the customs, tax, and law-related knowledge.” (Zhen, Interview 16)

Company brands are often the reason why they are attracted to different companies. In the study, company brands that young immigrants like are high salary, suitable position, room for growth and promotion, company culture, professional knowledge, flexible working place and time, company benefits, etc.

“Q: What is the most important employer value in your job application?”

A: Higher salary, and cost-effective” (Liao, Interview 14)

In fact, future career idea shows the highest position that they are likely to achieve in the future within their ability. This will make young immigrants more clear about their career goals and provide motivation for their promotion. The answers in the interview included bosses, managers, researchers and others.

“Q: What is the best job and position you can achieve on a certain day in the future?”

A: I'd like to have my own restaurant and become a boss.” (Zhai, interview 12)

In addition, there are also job expectations that will affect career choices, but this content was introduced before, and will not be repeated here.

Besides, the subjective thoughts also include the idea of education. The relevant topics discussed in this paper are the learning view, the attitudes toward learning, the reasons for choosing majors, the attitudes toward Portuguese education and the influence of majors on career choice.

In terms of learning view, most of the interviewees believe that excellent academic performance cannot prove that a student is excellent. At the same time, excellent students need more social practice.

“Q: So what do you think a successful student should have?”

A: In addition to good enough scores, you have to integrate into the local society and maintain your own good performance.” (Zhang, Interview 1)

In addition, the young immigrants' attitude towards learning has an impact on their motivation to study. The findings suggest that some respondents feel that learning is very important and they are willing to study at schools. On the contrary, some people are not interested in learning and most of them come from 1.5 generation immigrants.

“Q: How was your life in school?”

A: I left school after I finished my junior high school. I am not interested in studying there. Though I had no language problem, and I can communicate with everyone there, but I just don't like to study.” (Zhao, Interview 11)

“Q: Do you like what you are studying?”

A: Yes, I love my major very much. It's very interesting and I enjoy what I am studying now. I made many friends who have the same interest with me there.” (Lin, Interview 15)

The choice of major determines the future work field, so it is very valuable to explore the reasons for young immigrants' major choice. In this research, there are many reasons for choosing majors, which can be roughly classified as - better employment, making more money in the future, interest trending, and the admission application policy and so on.

“Q: Do you like your major? Why do you choose this major?”

A: I like my major very much, because I like playing computer since childhood. I think computer is a very interesting thing, so I chose programming as my major and started to learn programming.” (Luo, Interview 18)

In addition to the work and education thoughts, there is still the exploration of young immigrants' success view and life view. Although these two aspects will not directly affect their career choice, their definition of success and outlook on life both will affect their choice of work to a certain extent. The main views of success are earning more money and the main views on life are being more independent.

“Q: Why do you think it is so important to earn more money?”

A: Because I think it's important to have savings, not only to buy a car or a house, I should also have spare money for some unknown situation like illness. ” (Zhou, Interview 10)

“Q: How can someone be considered to have a success in life?”

A: Someone can take care of themselves, take care of the family, and maintain the relationship between friends.” (Zhao, Interview 11)

4.5.3 Immigration network impact

When facing the career choice, young immigrants will naturally be affected by the immigration network. And this kind of influence mainly comes from parents. Parents' thoughts and behaviors will

affect the young immigrants' employment choice. In terms of parental influence, the main concerns are job expectations and the family business inheriting.

“Q: Do your parents encourage you to study medicine and become a doctor in the future?”

A: Stand by! They all support me whatever I do, as long as I don't do things that are illegal and wicked.

Q: So, you are also very determined, will not you consider other work?

A: No, I don't think I have anything else to do.

Q: Will not your parents consider letting you to inherit family business?

A: No, because I am too familiar with them. ” (Lan, Interview 3)

Finally, young immigrants who come from the same Chinese ancestral region will also have a tendency to do some business, because these Chinese ancestral places retain the cultural tradition of doing business.

“Q: Why do you want to run your own business instead of working as an employee?”

A: We are from Wenzhou in Zhejiang Province. The culture in Wenzhou is that everyone wants to have their own business. Unlike people in other parts of China, they are conservative. People from our places feel that they have to be the boss. We feel that working for other people is a disgrace.” (Huang, Interview 9)

4.5.4 Cultural influence

In terms of culture, although the interviewees seldom mention class concepts, Renqing and Guanxi and these topics are relatively abstract, there is no doubt that they have an impact on career choice.

In terms of class concept, respondents believe that classes are divided by wealth. If someone wants to enter a higher class, they must earn more money and receive better education.

“Q: Could you describe the difference between each layer? How could you distinguish them?”

A: I judge the class by their wealth. People who are in upper layer have ten millions of wealth accumulated, but people in the middle layer like us only have enough money to use, and those who are in lower layer may live in a poor life.

Q: What do people need to do to move to the upper layer?

A: They need to earn and save money and have a good education” (Zhou, Interview 10)

In terms of Mianzi, enough Mianzi means having the right and reputation, engaging in a higher-end career, and having a good family and education background.

“Q: What does a “mianzi-saving” job mean? Can you give examples for this kind of jobs?”

A: “mianzi-saving” jobs refer to those jobs which can actually make you feel you really have “mianzi”. For example, being a professor, a public servant, top manager...

Q: How can someone aspire to get a “mianzi-saving” job?”

A: Firstly, ones who want to get these kinds of jobs should have a relatively high educational level with related profession knowledge. Then, it's better if their family have the ability and background to help them.” (Zhou, Interview 10)

4.6 Theme 5: The influence factors of labor market retention

The theme “The influence factors of labor market retention” is classified into four subthemes:

1. Personal reason: Personality characteristics, personal advantages and other personal factors.
2. Requirements to Job: Specific requirements for the work.
3. Requirements to Life: Specific requirements for the life.
4. Immigration Network Impact: The impact of relationships and information from immigration networks.

4.6.1 Personal reason

Retention of the labor market refers to the time staying in the labor market. In the study, it was found that some personal reasons could affect their willingness to stay in the Portuguese labor market. First of all, everyone's personality is different. Extroverted people are more adaptable to the labor market in Portugal, while introverted people may show opposite results.

“A: That's because I personally feel bored, I have no sense of accomplishment in this job, and I have no enthusiasm for this job. Perhaps the qualities required for this job are not in line with my personality, I am not happy to socialize with others. But if you want to be a shopping guide, you need all these abilities. But when I was doing this job, I felt that this job required me to violate my original character, as if I were going to play another role.” (Wang, Interview 4)

“Personally, I am open-minded and like to communicate with others, so it is easy to enter the Portuguese society.” (Mu, Interview 26)

In addition, the employment advantage is also a key factor for young immigrants to have a long-term foothold in the labor market. Maintaining the employment advantage can make them improve their competitiveness and create conditions for promotion. The employment advantages are language capital, national status (Chinese), good emotional management, professional knowledge, permanent residency, high education and other.

“Q: What are your advantages in the workplace?”

A: Personal growth background and language skills.” (Hao, Interview 2)

4.6.2 Requirements to job

Job requirements affect young immigrants’ judgment of job satisfaction and consequently influence their retention in the labor market. The first factor to be considered is their personal views, including attitudes toward work, views on work experience, future care ideas, ease of getting a job and the awareness of the local labor market.

The first thing to consider is young immigrants’ attitude to work. Naturally, there will be two opposite attitudes: like and dislike. There are some reasons why they don't like their jobs including bad working atmosphere, feeling lost at work, boredom, low salary and hardness.

“Q: What do you think of your present job? Do you like it?”

A: I don't like the working atmosphere very much. I face a lot of pressure from my boss every day.”(Tian, Interview 6)

In addition, young immigrants’ perception about the usefulness of their work experience also affects their work retention. If they think a job is valuable to them, they will choose to work for a long time. The valuable experiences of their work include improving resumes, handling interpersonal relationships, acquiring professional knowledge, and handling customer issues.

“Q: Do you think this year's work experience will be useful for your future development?”

A: These experiences will be helpful for my future development, such as dealing with interpersonal relationships and personal emotions.” (Tian, Interview 6)

Future career aspirations are also a big driver, since they will be more motivated to stay in a job when they feel that they have a chance to move to a higher position. For example, they want to be bosses, managers, researchers and others.

“Q: What would be the best job position that you could achieve one day?”

A: I think I will be a boss and have my own successful business.” (Huang, Interview 9)

The ease of getting a job will also affect young immigrants’ retention in the labor market. Generally, the easier it is to obtain a job, the easier it will be for them to stay in the labor market, because if they are not satisfied with the current jobs, they can get another one in a short time, which greatly reduces their time outside the labor market and enables them to retain in the labor market more consistently. In this research, many respondents think that it is relatively easy to find a job in the Portuguese labor market, but the salary isn’t too high and the job benefits isn’t very good and it belongs to the low-end job.

“Q: Do you find it easy to find a job here?”

A: It's easy. Of course, the unemployment rate in Portugal is very high, but it is very easy for a Chinese to find a job in Portugal. Of course, the salaries there are also very low. So there is nothing to be happy about getting a job.” (Wang, Interview 4)

Next, it is particularly important to investigate the status of their retention in the labor market. For young immigrants, there are probably two reasons for leaving the Portuguese labor market. One is to return to China to work, the other is to return to school for further study.

“Q: Then, do you have the willingness to have the Portuguese nationality, why?”

A: I should not join the Portuguese nationality, because after all, I want to go back to China afterwards.” (Zhang, Interview 1)

“Q: Do you like what you are doing now?”

A: It's okay; in fact, there have been many struggles in this process. Because I am quite old now and people of my age have already worked. I also had a relatively stable job before I went to college. It was a great determination that I decided to quit my job and went to university in Taiwan.” (Wang, Interview 4)

Unlike labor market retention, job retention refers to how often young immigrants change jobs and shows whether they have stable jobs in the labor market.

“Q: So did your formal learning experience end in 7th grade and did not continue studying after 7th grade?”

A: Yet, then after coming out of the edit training class, it was the end of 2014. I got a job as a restaurant waiter, and one day I saw the "Portuguese-Chinese Newspaper" company recruiting art editors, so I sent a resume to it. I passed the interview and started working. I worked for almost two years, because the newspaper's internal management was loose, and I became lazy. I also found myself a little anxious, so I stopped working. Probably at the end of 2016, I worked for a year in a real estate company, and I feel that this job is not suitable for me.

Q: Then, what was happened?

A: Then I did a data management work in the warehouse area and the work content was probably similar to e-commerce companies, helping the company to manage the inventory.

Q: Have you been working till this year?

A: I worked here for 1.5 years and because my mom had a car accident last year and I had to go home to take care of her. This year my mother got depression again, so I felt it was time to go home, so I resigned.” (Jiang, Interview 5)

The reasons for the resignation of young immigrants are also a great concern. In the study, the common reasons to resign are further studies, unmatched work and low wage.

“Q: Wasn't it two months in summer?”

B: No, after three months, I originally wanted to leave, but the company insisted me to stay and continue to work because they thought my work ability was very good, but this job didn't match my major. And this was my main consideration.” (Guo, Interview 8)

4.6.3 Requirements to life

In addition to their job requirements, their requirements for life also affect their retention in the labor market. Therefore, the first thing to explore is young immigrants' attitude towards life in Portugal. Respondents with negative attitudes toward life in Portugal tend to return to China in the future.

“Q: You really made a big determination to go to college. Do you like living in Portugal? I just heard that you didn't like it very much. Can you tell me why?”

A: I don't like it, and I even hate it. Actually, I think the time I went to Portugal was awkward. When I was 15 years old, I arrived in Portugal. At that time, it was the most difficult period to live.

Q: Why did you choose to study in Taiwan, China instead of Europe or other regions?

A: As early as that time, I felt that I was deeply influenced by Taiwan's popular culture and I hope to live in a society with Chinese culture. I don't want to be a stranger because in a western society, I can't express I voice.” (Wang, Interview 4)

In addition, the instability of residence is also a possible cause of job change. The change of residence is due to work or study.

“Q: Do you live always in the same region?

A: I lived with my parents in Coimbra since I came here in Grade 6 until I graduated from high school. Then, after I entered the university in Lisbon, I live here alone.” (Lin, Interview 15)

“Q: Where did you live at that time?

A: We lived with my mom in Porto at first. She was working in a restaurant, and the restaurant's boss offered the accommodation for all the workers.

Q: When did you come to Lisbon?

A: I came to Lisbon five years ago alone, and tried to gain more jobs opportunities here.” (Zhen, Interview 16)

Finally, it is young immigrants' view on whether life is fulfilling, because it will make them feel that life is meaningful and choose to retain in the labor market.

“Q: Do you think you are a fulfilling person now?

A: I feel that at the beginning of the semester, I am a fulfilling person, because while I am at school, I also work part-time as a tutor or something else, but I don't feel fulfilled when I am on vacation.” (Wang, Interview 4)

4.6.4 Immigration network impact

Similarly, the retention of the labor market can also be affected by the migration network, whose influence is also mainly from parents. Because both of parents' expectations and family business unintentionally require young immigrants to enter the labor market and retain them in the labor market.

“Q: Do your parents want you to find another job? Are they still planning to let you inherit your father's business?

A: They want me to inherit my father's business.” (Zhang, Interview 1)

In addition, parents' educational attitude to their children also affects the retention time of young immigrants in the labor market. Some parents want their children to finish their education and enter the labor market as early as possible, while some parents hope their children can get as higher education as possible, so that the time for young immigrants to stay in the labor market will be reduced.

“Q: Why do your parents think that study is useless and unnecessary?”

A: Because they think that having a high education degree may cannot make a lot of money.”

(Tang, Interview 13)

“Q: Have your parents ever encouraged you to get a specific education degree?”

A: Yes, because my father is a professor in a university now, he wants me to obtain the degree as high as I can. My parents encourage me to obtain the PhD degree.” (Lin, Interview 15)

4.7 Theme 6: Obstacles to entering the local labor market

The theme “Obstacles to entering the local labor market” is classified into five subthemes:

1. Language: Linguistic capital.
2. Character: Personal personality factors.
3. Discrimination: Behavior and language discrimination.
4. Culture: Traditional cultural factors,
5. Personal opinion: Personal views and comments.

Portuguese labor market includes Chinese labor market and local labor market. The work obtained through immigration network mainly comes from Chinese labor market and the local labor market is mainly formed by Portuguese. However, most young immigrants choose to work in Chinese enterprises rather than local companies in Portugal. The reasons for this should be discussed in this chapter.

4.7.1 Language

First of all, language is the biggest cause of this phenomenon. And there are two reasons why they are difficult to enter the local labor market regarding language problems. First, 1.5 generation immigrants

immigrated to Portugal passively when they were young and they were still at the age of learning. At that time, they could not speak Portuguese, and therefore they could not study and communicate well in school, which makes them be weary of studying. Because of this, most of them dropped out of school very early, which led to their low education level and finally affected their employment. At the same time, it also limits them to enter the local labor market, but the Chinese labor market can more easily accept them. Second, because their mother tongue is not Portuguese, it also causes difficulties for 1.5 generation immigrants to enter the local labor market, even if some of them can speak Portuguese very well.

“At first it is language. I think it is the biggest obstacle. There was no way to communicate smoothly with classmates, and then I hadn’t any friends. During my teenage years, I lived a very lonely life. Later, the language barrier was gradually overcome. In fact, after I stayed there for many years, I couldn’t say that I completely mastered Portuguese.” (Wang, Interview 4)

“Q: Did you enjoy the classes there?”

A: Definitely no! I couldn’t understand Portuguese, and could learn nothing there. I didn’t know what the teachers were teaching and they never helped me with my problems, and they always said ‘don’t ask me, I don’t know either’ to me, so I quit study there soon after three months.” (Zhou, Interview 10)

4.7.2 Character

In addition to objective reasons, there are also some subjective reasons that can cause such obstacles. Among them, the biggest reason comes from characters. Some young immigrants show that they don't like to socialize. Especially, some of them don't like talking to people other than Chinese.

“Q: Do you dare to socialize in school?”

A: I just don’t like socializing. But for some foreign classmates (except for the Portuguese), I think it would be better to talk with them. Maybe we are all foreigners, and there will be more common topics in Portugal.” (Wang, Interview 4)

4.7.3 Discrimination

Discrimination is also a particularly direct reason, especially in the work, which will make them

estrangle from the local labor market.

“Q: Do you feel uncomfortable or nervous when someone talks about you?”

A: Yes, of course.

Q: Do you remember what they said?”

A: I remember one time when I was at work and I was eating chicken feet in the company. And then I was seen by my foreigner colleagues. One of my colleagues asked me what to eat and I said that I ate chicken feet. He had an incredible expression consequently. He looked at me as if he saw a monster. Then he said that Chinese always liked to eat something disgusting. At that time I felt pretty uncomfortable.” (Wang, Interview 4)

Similarly, the attitude towards discrimination is particularly important, because people who are negative about it are more likely to be affected by discrimination. In the study, young immigrants choose to be indifferent or fight back.

“Q: You said before that when you were young, someone would talk about your Asian face and you would be very uncomfortable. Can you elaborate on what happened?”

A: For example, they pressed their hands at the corners of their eyes and pulled them toward the temple.

Q: When, what happened, what did those people do, how did you react, and what happened in the end?”

A: They imitated our small and long eyes. I didn't respond much, and left without taking care of them. They acted this way for hoping to see my reaction. I didn't respond. It was the best reaction.” (Lan, Interview 3)

“Q: Do you feel uncomfortable and nervous when you are being talked about by others around you?”

A: It depends on what's going on. If it's a compliment, it doesn't matter. If it's derogatory, I'll shut them up; at least I 'm still here. ” (Jiang, Interview 5)

4.7.4 Culture

Of course, there will be cultural reasons for the estrangement. Cultural differences are the main reason for this obstacle. Because of different cultures, young immigrants rarely have more in-depth communication with Portuguese people, which eventually leads to their unwillingness to inter

Portuguese world.

“Q: Why don't you have many local friends?”

A: At first, it's because of the language problem, it was hard to communicate with them. However, even though I improved my language, it was still hard to make friends with them, mainly because we have different cultural background, and it was hard to reach a consensus. It was difficult for us to play together, since we have many different thoughts.

Q: Could you give an example about what kind of different thoughts did you have between each other?

A: Simply, we had different acknowledge about many things. For example, the girl I thought who was pretty and they didn't agree; the food I thought was delicious and they didn't agree; the dealing way of a matter I thought which was correct and they didn't agree.” (Huang, Interview 9)

In addition, they rely more on the immigration network, which indicates that they will have a higher acceptance of Chinese culture. Therefore, the positive attitude towards Chinese culture is also the reason for this estrangement to a certain extent.

“Q: What is your favorite Chinese culture?”

A: I think it's the family culture, because parents are willing to take care of their children more unconditionally. Portugal may be more open. When Portuguese children are 18 years old, they will leave their family, and the children seem to have broken relationship with their parents in Portugal. Parents here pay for their own old-age pension, and their children don't care any about their parents. I don't like this. In China, children must support their parents when they are old.” (Ma, Interview 7)

In addition to cultural differences, the integration of culture also is discussed. For life, the integration of the two cultures can be summarized as partial Chinese culture, partial Portuguese culture and the combination type. However, most of the young immigrants are combination type.

“Q: Why don't you say which culture is more important to you?”

A: Because I feel that both cultures have been mixed. For example, we celebrate both Christmas and Chinese Spring Festival in Portugal.” (Guo, Interview 8)

4.7.5 Personal opinion

In personal opinion, the attitude towards life in Portugal is very important. Although there are all kinds of attitudes in the interview, there is no doubt that negative attitudes can make young immigrants

reluctant to stay in the Portuguese labor market.

“Q: Do you like what you are doing now?”

A: Totally not. I want to leave here and want to have a new life, but I never know what I am going to do and where I am going to be.

Q: Why?”

A: My work is too boring and it has no diversity. I have to do the same things every day,” (Zhou, Interview 10)

At the same time, the reason why they are negative about Portuguese life is that they find it difficult to integrate into the local community. The reasons why it is difficult to integrate into the local community are different interests, personality, nationality identification (not accepted by Portugal), different customs, discrimination and unwillingness to integrate.

“Q: Why did you say it’s hard for you to be involved in the community here?”

A: I consider myself as a foreigner in Portugal, and nobody will consider me as a Portuguese because of my appearance. When I am outside, even now I speak Portuguese, others still think that I’m a Chinese.” (Huang, Interview 9)

Then, they tend to compare the Chinese labor market with the local one, which leads to some negative views to the local labor market. And this also makes young immigrants reluctant to contact the local labor market.

“A: Portuguese are very lazy, and Chinese are more hard-working. Portuguese people are cold when they are serving others, and they like to escape the responsibility.

Q: Why do you say that?”

A: I noticed that Chinese waiters always did more work than Portuguese, because they always finished things quickly after their managers asked them to do. However, Portuguese always say a lot of useless things and do nothing.” (Zhao, Interview 11)

Finally, it is their attitude towards passive immigrants. For 1.5 generation immigrants, one of the biggest characteristics is that they are not active immigrants and they are brought to Portugal by their parents. Therefore, their attitude towards passive immigrants also determines whether they can accept the Portuguese Society, even the local labor market.

“Q: Do you remember how you felt when you first arrived in Portugal?”

A: I feel angry

Q: Why?

A: I don't know why I lived well in China. My parents had to bring me here. I was in the second grade in junior high school in China at that time, but after I came here, my parents asked me to start studying in the sixth grade in primary school. I didn't think I wanted to study, and in the end I did not continue to study.

Q: You have been living here for so long now, do you still feel angry?

A: I know a lot now and I can understand my parents, so I won't be angry anymore and accept the life in Portugal.” (Jiang, Interview 5)

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter discusses the immigration network and the labor market integration of young Chinese immigrants in Portugal. Based on the narratives of 23 young immigrants who meet the requirements, six themes are defined: reasons for using the immigration network, the process of job choices influenced by immigration network, ways to apply for a job and career status, the influence factors of young immigrants' career choice, the influence factors of labor market retention and obstacles to entering the local labor market.

Among the findings, it is certain that the immigration network does have an impact on the integration of young immigrants into the labor market, which can be behavioral or ideological. In the next chapter, we will discuss the findings with the literature review.

5. Discussion

5.1 What role does the migration network play in the process of labor market integration for young Chinese immigrants?

5.1.1 Young immigrants are more likely to get jobs in the immigration networks

In terms of the positive impact of immigration network, according to the literature review, within studies of international migration, social network can reduce immigrants' the short-term costs of settlement and facilitate job acquisition (Rosales, 2014). In the study of young Chinese immigrants in Portugal, the same conclusion has been confirmed.

Almost the respondents think it is very easy to find a job in Portugal, even if they cannot speak Portuguese well. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. First, in the migration network, most of the job opportunities come from Chinese companies and the clients of these Chinese companies are basically Chinese. Therefore, young immigrants have great advantages in seeking jobs in migration network. Second, the migration network can provide powerful social resources for young immigrants. From the codebook, the ways that young immigrants get jobs mainly include inheriting family businesses, being introduced by their families and friends and searching for recruitment information on the Internet. In addition, their parents sometimes provide initial funds for their own businesses and create conditions for them to enter the labor market.

5.1.2 Immigration networks can extend their retention in the labor market

For 2 generations immigrants, the study shows that their labor retention is long-term and stable. Because, first of all, their life in Portugal is stable and the living conditions are superior, so that their family has enough financial support for their education, which leads to their high education. Therefore, it lays the foundation for them to have high professional knowledge. Furthermore, they grew up in a

Portuguese speaking environment and their parents also require them to learn Chinese, so the bilingual advantage makes them popular in the labor market. Finally, they are not restricted by the immigration network. As they grew up in Portuguese Society, they will be very familiar with Portugal, so they can freely shuttle around the immigration network and choose jobs in a wider range. Thus, all these reasons lead to their long-term retention in the labor market. But, the role of network migration is not obvious in the aspect of market retention to the 2 generation migrants.

On the contrary, for 1.5 generation immigrants, the migration network has a greater impact on their market retention. First of all, as mentioned above, the immigration network can make them to find jobs more easily. Secondly, they grew up in the Chinese environment, and their time of learning Portuguese is not long, which has a negative impact on their entry into Portuguese enterprises. As a result, they are more dependent on immigration networks for job hunting. Third, affected by passive immigration and language barriers, their attitude towards learning is generally negative, which leads to their low educational background. Coincidentally, the jobs offered by Chinese companies are almost low-end jobs, and the professional requirements of these jobs are low. Thus, their conditions and job requirements are matched. On the contrary, if there is no immigration network, first, it will be more difficult for them to find a job. Second, there will be an increased risk that they will be forced into Portuguese companies. In this case, their Portuguese language skills are not strong and the risk of unemployment will also increase. Third, when they lose their jobs, it is also difficult for them to find a job again, which increases their time outside the labor market. To sum up, they are more dependent on the migration network, which can prolong their retention in the labor market.

5.1.3 Immigration network is a source for gaining work experience and getting a job

In terms of employment, immigration network is an important resource. There are two main reasons for young immigrants to choose the immigration network: first, as mentioned above, it is easier for them to find jobs in the immigration network, which is the consensus of almost respondents. Second, they can gain valuable experience from these jobs. Because all respondents believe that they have gained valuable work experience from these jobs, including improving their resume and acquiring professional knowledge. Therefore, the migration network is a very important resource for young immigrants. At the same time, young immigrants prefer to solve the employment problem with the help of immigration network.

5.1.4 In Portugal's immigration network, there are no gender differences in access to job

In the literature review, Hagan's (1998) 3-year ethnographic study reveals the gendered nature of social networks. This gendering led to different occupational outcomes for men and women (Bankston, 2014). At the same time, women also rely more on interpersonal relationships and social networks to find jobs (Eckstein & Peri, 2018). However, in the actual study of Chinese immigrant network in Portugal, there is no such phenomenon.

In this research, the number of effective interviewees was 23, including 14 males and 9 females. In all their statements, no young immigrants expressed any content about gender differences. On the contrary, women are very free in career choice, education choice and professional choice. Moreover, their parents are very supportive for their education and work decisions. It can be seen that there is no gender difference in Chinese immigrant network in Portugal and it is a very positive phenomenon that women have equal access to recruitment information and freely choose their jobs as the same as men.

5.2 Does the immigration network have a negative impact on young Chinese immigrants' entry into the Portuguese labor market?

5.2.1 Most of the jobs obtained through the immigration network are low-end jobs

The jobs obtained through the immigration network are relatively low-end jobs, which are low entry threshold, low technical requirements and low wages. In the study, the top two jobs of young immigrants are shop waiters and restaurant waiters and their types are full-time, part-time and self-employed business.

There are two reasons for this phenomenon. First, the 1 generation immigrants came to Portugal for the purpose of making a living (Li, 2012). And they generally have a low level of education and little professional skills. Therefore, most of their businesses are Chinese grocery stores, Chinese supermarkets and Chinese restaurants, which are industries with low entry barriers, high social needs and quick money making. Thus, it also creates more low-end jobs for the next generation of young people. Secondly, as mentioned in the literature, there are many Chinese companies in other industries in Portugal, such as Chinese schools, Chinese law firms, Chinese medicine clinics, etc. (Li, 2012).

However, operating these industries requires certain professional knowledge and the Chinese immigrants are a minority group in Portuguese Society. Therefore, these reasons lead to the characteristics of high entry threshold and relatively small social demand in these industries. As a result, there are fewer high-end jobs to young immigrants through the immigration network.

In this study, this phenomenon also led to some results. The first is that these low-end jobs are more popular within young immigrants during studying, because young immigrants can gain some work experience after school and they can also earn some pocket money. Second, for the 1.5-generation immigrants with low education level, these low-end jobs provide them more employment opportunities.

5.2.2 Chinese immigrants isolate themselves from the Portuguese local labor market

In the literature review, a research on the current situation of Chinese young immigrants in Portugal shows that their occupations mainly include Chinese grocery stores, Chinese wholesale stores and Chinese restaurants, and their employers are basically Chinese (Li, 2012). Thus, it can be seen that the migration network makes the Chinese community more closed, because more young Chinese tend to look for Chinese employers. Similarly, in this study, although the respondents do not make it clear that they would not consider working in Portuguese companies, but from their work experience and job expectations, most of them still prefer to Chinese enterprises. From the interviews, there are four reasons for this phenomenon.

The first is the language. On the one hand, Portuguese is not their mother tongue. Especially for 1.5 generations immigrants, they have not been exposed to Portuguese for a long time, which makes them difficult to use Portuguese to work with local people in Portuguese companies. On the other hand, when the 1.5 generation immigrants first came to Portugal, they were very difficult to study in school because of language barriers, which led to early drop out and low education. Because of this, it is very hard for them to find a job matching their conditions in the Portuguese local labor market. On the contrary, Chinese companies can provide them more low-end job opportunities.

The second is the personality. Some respondents show that they did not like socializing, and some even express they don't like to socialize with other ethnic groups (except for Chinese). The reason why some young immigrants don't like socializing is that they are introverted, and some of them don't like to communicate with other ethnic groups (except for Chinese) because they believe they don't

have the same topics and interests with each other. Therefore, these reasons will eventually lead to their extremely low probability of going into Portuguese local labor market.

The third is the discrimination. All of the interviewees have experienced linguistic or behavioral discrimination, which may occur in their life, study and work. As a result of these discriminatory acts, young immigrants will increase their negative views on the Portuguese. For some young immigrants who have a negative response to discrimination, they will eventually deepen their negative views on the Portuguese, so they are not willing to work with the Portuguese.

The Fourth is the cultural differences. First of all, due to the huge cultural differences between China and the west countries, not all immigrants can adapt to the life in Portugal. Especially for the 1.5 generation immigrants, because they grew up in China when they were children. Secondly, for 2 generations immigrants, although they were born in Portugal, their parents usually sent them to Chinese schools or send them back to China to study in order to let them inherit Chinese culture. Therefore, even if they are 2 generation immigrants, they still have a deep sense of belonging to Chinese culture. Finally, young immigrants feel that they are Chinese in terms of cultural and nationality identity, whether they have Portuguese nationality or not. Moreover, due to the Chinese appearance and living habits, some local Portuguese also treat them as Chinese, regardless of whether they have Portuguese nationality or not. These undoubtedly exclude young immigrants from the Portuguese community and hinder their integration into Portuguese Society and even the local labor market.

5.2.3 Young immigrants rely on the immigration network

As mentioned above, under the influence of the immigration network, Chinese immigrants isolate themselves from the Portuguese local labor market. With this phenomenon as the premise, it is not surprising that young immigrants will rely on the migration network. However, the proper use of the immigration network can improve their quality of life, but excessive relying on the immigration network will make them disconnected from the Portuguese society, which is a very negative phenomenon. And there are four reasons for this phenomenon.

First of all, young immigrants are closely related to the migration network. Because, on the one hand, the Chinese immigrants in Portugal mainly come from Zhejiang Province of China (Li, 2012), and there is an immigration tradition in many areas of Zhejiang Province. Therefore, the immigrants

from these areas can get access to all kinds of information in the immigration network since their childhood, and the influence of the immigration network on them has gone deep into their life. In the 23 respondents, 17 were from Zhejiang Province. These young immigrants from Zhejiang, whether born in Portugal or not, are inevitably exposed to the Immigration Network in their growth. On the other hand, the migration network is the sum of a series of forms between their original country of residence and their current country of residence, and a series of inter personal and social relations related to blood, relations, emotions, relationship (Liu, 2016). In the study, almost the respondents have relatives in Portugal, while many respondents said that their friends were mainly Chinese. Therefore, the impact of migration network on young immigrants is very large and stable, and they have a very close relationship with the migration network.

Second, parents have a great influence on young immigrants and kinship plays a very important role in the immigration network. First of all, parents' thoughts and behaviors will deeply affect them, such as their children's work expectations and education planning. When young immigrants make their choice of work and education, they will refer to their parents' opinions, and in some cases, their parents will give them financial support. Therefore, young immigrants like to rely on their parents when making important and critical life decisions. Secondly, parents are the main inheritors of Chinese traditional culture. They spread a lot of Chinese traditional ideas to young immigrants, so that young immigrants have a sense of belonging to Chinese culture. Finally, the parents retained the Chinese lifestyle, which also led to young immigrants living a Chinese life even though they were born in Portugal. All these lead young immigrants to build the ethnic identity, and then form the dependence on the immigration network.

Third, language barriers prevent young immigrants from communicating with Portuguese Society. Language, as a communication tool, plays a very vital role in both work and learning. However, for the 1.5 generation immigrants, due to their poor ability in Portuguese, they cannot work in the local labor market, so they can only choose to rely on the immigration network.

Fourth, the discrimination has a negative impact on young people's entry into the Portuguese local market. As mentioned before, almost all respondents said that they had encountered language and behavior discrimination in their life, study and work. For some young immigrants who have negative reaction to discrimination, they may choose to rely on the immigration network to solve practical problems rather than seek the help of Portuguese Society.

5.3 Are the young Chinese immigrants able to change the status quo regarding their position in the labor market, in Portugal?

5.3.1 Career choices among young immigrants

In terms of career choice, there are significant differences between the 1.5 generation immigrants and the 2-generation immigrants. In the study, the reasons for these differences are their educational background and language capital.

For 1.5 generation immigrants, they are mostly engaged in low-end jobs. This is because, first of all, their Portuguese language ability is generally worse than that of 2 generations immigrants. They were not born in Portugal, and they immigrated to Portugal with their parents when they were minors, so they did not learn Portuguese for a long time. This has led to their narrow range of the employment, which excludes most jobs that require the use of Portuguese. Secondly, during their study in Portugal, Portuguese became a huge obstacle for them to study, and then they could not finish their studies, which eventually led to their low academic qualifications and low competitiveness in job hunting. Consequently, they can only do some low-end jobs, such as restaurant attendants, shop clerk and so on.

On the contrary, for two generations of immigrants, they are mostly engaged in high-end jobs. This is because, first of all, they do not have a Portuguese language barrier. They were born in Portugal, and they had a Portuguese language environment since they were young. Some of them even think that the Portuguese is their mother tongue, and their level of Portuguese is even comparable to that of local Portuguese people. Therefore, their career choice cannot be limited to Chinese enterprises. Secondly, because of their excellent language ability and good living conditions, many of them can enter higher education smoothly, so their educational background is relatively high. Besides, they often have their own specific professional knowledge and have a clear understanding of their career planning. Thus, they can choose high-end jobs, such as doctors, designers, programmers, etc.

However, their career choice is not static, but a dynamic process. Some of them, especially the 1.5 generation immigrants, will have a higher pursuit of work and life. The findings suggest that in their daily work, they are constantly understanding themselves and evaluating their work, so that they will

have higher expectations for their work, such as higher salaries, more challenging jobs, more interesting industries, etc. Therefore, they choose to go back to school or self-taught some skills to improve their ability, and then to change a better job. Among them, some 1.5 generation immigrants have completed the transformation from low-end jobs to high-end ones. Therefore, young immigrants can improve their conditions for seeking better job opportunities, so as to match their ideal life in the future.

5.4 Other phenomenon worth exploring

5.4.1 The pursuit of money in terms of success view

In this research, most of the 1.5 generation immigrants defined the standard of success as earning enough money, which has aroused the interest of this article.

Q: Do you consider yourself as a successful person?

A: No, I have to have a longer plan and to earn more money.

Q: Why is money so important to you?

A: Just because it's a traditional cultural thinking of people from my place, people there always want to earn as much as possible, though they don't have special needs now. (Zhou, Interview 10)

As for the reasons for this phenomenon, one is that the academic qualifications of the 1.5 generation young immigrants are generally low. Because of language barriers, they have completed their studies very early due to the feeling of study weariness, which has limited their worldview and values view. Thus, when 2 generations immigrants with higher education can put forward the view that supporting their parents and pursuing ideals growth space are some kinds of success, 1.5 generations often compare money to a symbol of success. The second is that the 1.5 generation immigrants immigrated to Portugal with their parents, which is different from the stable growth environment for the 2-generation immigrants. The 1.5 generation immigrants often experienced a problem of unstable family life and work when they just arrived in Portugal. So, the new immigrant families will not be too financially rich, which is also why most of them choose to work early due to family reasons or for their own reasons. In contrast, in the families of 2 generation immigrants, many of their parents have

completed the accumulation of funds, and many have their own restaurants or shops, thus their families have a stable source of income and their parents are not in a hurry to let them work and make money as soon as possible. In addition, their parents also have higher requirements for their studies, which further give them the opportunity to establish a different concept of success. Third, some 1.5 generation immigrants believe that more money means a higher class. This is influenced by traditional Chinese concepts. They believe that money can divide classes, and the way to upgrade classes is to make more money. At the same time, having money and better education for their children can also make them more face-saving. And Mianzi (face) is an equally important concept in Chinese culture. It is defined as the recognition by others of an individual's social standing and position. In Chinese culture, it is not only important to maintain good relationships but also vital to protect a person's mianzi or dignity and prestige (Buckley et al., 2010). Thus, face-saving means high social status and social reputation. In addition, when they have economic resource, they will also become objects of Renqing. As one of the core deep relationships of interpersonal communication in Chinese society, Renqing plays a very important role in contractual relationship. People restrict and regulate their behavior through Renqing relationships to expand business capital, not through signing contracts (Zhang, 2019). But this is a deeper reason, and interviewees often seldom mention this point of view.

The above are some factors that this article can find from the existing interview content and the research in this area needs more in-depth discussion by more scholars.

5.4.2 2-generation immigrants often get a more elite education

According to the data of the "2017 China Education Finance family survey" released by the China Institute of education finance science of Peking University, in the 2016-2017 academic year alone, the total amount of family education expenditure invested by Chinese families in compulsory education and senior high school settlement centers exceeded 1.9 trillion, which is equivalent to the total amount of financial education funds in the same period 60%, which doesn't include household educational spending outside of school (Chen, 2019). Overseas Chinese families pay more attention to their children's education than domestic families. They are regarded as one of the most "education oriented" ethnic groups in the world (Zhou & Wang, 2019). And in the interviews, 2 generation immigrants' families also obviously attach great importance to education. Most of 2 generation immigrants were sent back to China by their parents in primary school, and then studied in Portuguese international

school in secondary school, and then went to the UK for undergraduate study. Such a learning trajectory may not fully match the educational background of all 2 generation immigrants, but it is basically similar to this. In addition, among the 23 interviewees, 2 of the only 3 postgraduates are 2 generation immigrants, and even many of them intend to develop their degree in the direction of master's degree.

This is also a very interesting phenomenon, because higher education means that they can engage in jobs that require high-tech knowledge. As for the reasons for this phenomenon, first of all, because the families of the 2 generation immigrants are relatively rich and have relatively stable financial resources, their parents have more funds and energy to support their children to complete university education. Second, the 2 generation immigrants have no language barrier, so they can successfully complete higher education. Thirdly, from the perspective of immigration network, parents' expectation to their children's education is a key reason. Parents of the 2 generation immigrants generally have a positive attitude towards education, which is influenced by the traditional thinking of Chinese culture. In China, one of the core values of Chinese culture is education. The Confucian tradition of filial piety, studious, assiduous and self-discipline is usually the code of conduct for overseas Chinese to educate their children. The reasons why Chinese parents attach importance to education are as follows: first, education is a fairer, more predictable and more effective way for members of vulnerable immigrant groups and their children to realize social upward mobility. Secondly, the education level of children is not only one of the criteria to measure the social status of parents, but also one of the criteria to measure the success of parenting (Zhou & Wang, 2019). Finally, the deeper reason may also be to enable children to rise to a higher level in the future, because education is one of the necessary conditions.

The discussion shows that immigration networks have both positive and negative effects on the labor market integration of young immigrants. As some benign suggestions, first of all, we should maintain and highlight the positive influence of the immigration network, because this is the guarantee of the employment for Chinese immigrants. Secondly, it can be seen that the immigration network is quite weak in the education connection when facing 1.5 generation immigrants when they first arrived in Portugal. Therefore, immigrant parents, especially those of 1.5 generations, must listen to their children's feelings in education. Moreover, they also need to concern the children's learning situation when the children encounter difficulties in learning or have negative emotions in learning, and then

conduct timely counseling. Finally, Chinese organizations in Chinese communities should organize more cultural activities for youth exchanges between China and Portugal to enhance mutual understanding so that young immigrants can smoothly integrate into the Portuguese community and the Portuguese labor market.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Summarize the findings/ argument

The main issue discussed in this study is the integration of the immigration network and the labor market of young immigrants in Portugal. Through a literature review, it introduces the history and current situation of Chinese immigration, the concept of immigration network, some existing research theories, and the role of immigration network in labor market integration. Combined with these viewpoints, some propositions worthy of further discussion are put forward. On the positive side, the positive impact of the immigration network on labor market integration includes that the immigration network helps young immigrants find jobs more easily, prolongs their retention in the labor market, and provides works that match their abilities and expectations. On the negative side, first, the immigration network has led to a more closed life for immigrants, resulting in barriers to local labor market companies. Second, the information obtained in the immigration network has gender differences. Third, the low efficiency of information dissemination occurs in immigration network. And fourth, the young immigrants over-rely on immigration networks.

In order to better put these problems on the young immigrants in Portugal for further exploration, and based on the lack of related theories, it is necessary to obtain data as much as possible without the support of theoretical frameworks. Because of this, we chose a qualitative analysis method through randomization sampling method with specific conditions and collected the data with open-ended questions for 26 interviewees by a combination of online and offline interview methods. After removing the three non-compliant interview data, the huge database was generated by the remaining 23 qualified interviewees and was analyzed by using thematic analysis method and the inductive method. After coding, summarizing the sub-themes and themes, explaining the themes and making the codebook, the results of the research include six themes and several sub-themes. The six themes are theme 1: Reasons for using the immigration network, theme 2: The process of job choices influenced by immigration network, theme 3: Ways to apply for a job and career status, theme 4: The influence

factors of young immigrants' career choice, theme 5: The influence factors of labor market retention, theme 6: Obstacles to entering the local labor market

Finally, the research results and the propositions in the literature review were further discussed, and some new results were obtained. The positive results include that in the immigration network, young immigrants can get jobs more easily, the immigration network can extend their retention in the labor market, the jobs they find in the labor market match their expectations and abilities, and the information obtained in the immigration network shows no difference in gender. The negative results include that most of the jobs obtained through the immigration network are low-end jobs, the immigration network will be separated from the local labor market to a certain extent, and young immigrants have a dependence relationship with the immigration network. In addition, the research also found other phenomena worthy of discussion, including that some immigrants have shown the most demand for money in terms of success view and the second-generation immigrants are more biased on elite education.

6.2 Implications of the findings

As for the practical significance of the research results, first of all, in the English literature, there are few articles focusing on Chinese immigrants in Portugal, which hinders many people who want to know more about Chinese immigrants in the English speaking world. Therefore, this paper is a channel to understand the Chinese immigrants in Portugal, so that more scholars can participate in academic exchanges. Secondly, employment is a serious problem faced by young immigrants. Helping to solve their employment problem can not only improve the government's management of immigration, but also have a positive impact on the development of Chinese immigrants in Portugal. In addition, young immigrants can better serve the Portuguese labor market. Finally, the findings are of universal significance. Due to the use of online and offline interviews to collect data, the study is not limited to Lisbon, the largest city in Portugal. Geographically, it breaks through the limits of a specific range.

6.3 Limitations of the research

All the investigation and research are not perfect, and this article also has limitations. Firstly, due to

the limitation of language, the references in this paper are both Chinese and English. Therefore, Portuguese literature was not included, which is a language limitation in the study. Secondly, due to the limitation of human resources, material resources and time, the collection of interview data is a time-consuming and laborious process. At the same time, there are many conditions for the setting of interviewees, which bring us great difficulties in finding suitable interviewees. Therefore, in general, the sample size is still relatively small. Third, the sample is not balanced in the control of demographic variables. Among the 23 respondents, 14 were male and 9 were female, 7 were second generation immigrants and 16 were 1.5 generation immigrants. These imbalances are likely to amplify the characteristics of a certain group in the conclusion and make the conclusion biased. Fourth, in the process of data collection, although online interview improves the efficiency and flexibility of interview, the face-to-face advantage in traditional interview is also lost. Because the online interview cannot control and understand the other party's emotions and cannot better put forward in-depth questions. At the same time, data collection is done by three members. And then, every member's questioning style and interview style are slightly different. In the subsequent translation work, everyone's ability and style are also uneven. These factors will make the conclusion deviate. Fifth, all interviews were conducted with the consent of the interviewees. After the first interview, some questions need to be further expanded, so we need to conduct a second or even a third interview with the same interviewee. However, respondents will express their reluctance to be interviewed again, which also leads to limited data on some problems. Finally, some claims in the literature review are lack of data support in this study, so there is no way for further discussion and judgment. This also leads to the conclusion of this paper may not be the most perfect.

6.4 Recommendations for future research

Based on the shortcomings of this article, here are some expectations for future exploration. First, it is hoped that capable scholars can further discuss the findings of this article with the existing Portuguese literature. Second, capable scholars can find more qualified objects for further exploration on the basis of controlling the demographic characteristic variables, so that they have a consistent universal meaning. Thirdly, in the discussion, the most demanding value of money and the 2 generation immigrants' pursuit for elite education need to be further investigated explore. Fourth, in the literature review, there are still several issues worthy of discussion, including the inefficiency of information

transfer in the immigration network, which makes it difficult to find a job, and the relatively stagnant immigration network cannot update the job information, etc., which need more scholars to do more exploration in Portugal. The above are some issues worthy of improvement and further exploration. We hope that further exploration and development of this research issue can further recognize the regular patterns of the existence and development of immigrants, a special social group in society, and continue to enrich theories based on the immigration policy, education policy, and employment policy, which will provide more positive practical significance, and ultimately benefit the Chinese immigrant group and local society.

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Annex A

Codebook

To explore Chinese Immigration Network and Labor Market Integration of Young Chinese Immigrants in Portugal, we need to explore the following themes:

Theme/Subtheme	Description
Theme 1: Reasons for using the immigration network	
1.1 Closeness to immigration network	
Immigration tradition and culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chinese ancestral region ● Attitudes towards Chinese culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Like Chinese culture very much (i.e. Food, Chinese characters, Chinese festivals and the origin of myths) - Be positively influenced by Chinese culture
Contact with Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Contact with other Chinese people (except relatives) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A lot of Chinese friends (Frequent contact) - Not to many Chinese friends (Infrequent contact) ● Composition of friends <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most of them are Chinese friends - Half and half of friends in China and other countries - Few Chinese friends ● Have relatives in Portugal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have - Have not

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Contact with China - Have lived and studied in China during the immigration period - Return to China frequently until now ● Connection with immigration network - Often participate in Chinese community activities - Not interested in the activities of the Chinese community
National identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have Portuguese nationality, but feel that I am still a Chinese - Don't have Portuguese nationality and feel like I'm a Chinese
Strong immigrant social resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Obtain social capital from the immigration network - Get help from Chinese relatives, friends or professionals in Portugal (i.e. work, residence, trivial matters of life) ● The relationship between immigration network and work - The immigration network provides continuous support and assistance for work
Personal reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dislike social - Don't like talking to people other than Chinese
1.2 Influenced by parents	
Influenced by parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Including thoughts, behaviors, culture,

	lifestyle, job choices, education, etc.
1.3 Language	
Language capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A language- Chinese - Two languages –Chinese/Portuguese - Three languages- Chinese/Portuguese /English - Multilingual – Chinese/Portuguese/English/Other
Language barrier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encountered Portuguese language barriers in my study and life when first came to Portugal
1.4 Discrimination	
Discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encounter language or behavioral discrimination in study and life
Attitude towards discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not responding, not affected - Feel angry and fight back
Difficult to integrate into the local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reasons <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ National identity ➤ character ➤ Discrimination ➤ Different interests
1.5 Views on work	
Views on whether work experience is useful	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - i.e. Improve resumes, handle interpersonal relationships, acquire professional knowledge, and handle customer issues

Ease of getting a job	- It is easy to get a job, even if you don't know Portuguese
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Theme/Subtheme	Description
Theme 2: The process of job choices influenced by immigration network	
2.1 Influenced by parents	
Influenced by parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Influenced by parents - Job expectations ● Parents' attitudes towards children's education - Indifferent - End studies as soon as possible, and then participate in the work - Have specific educational goals - Hope the higher the degree, the better ● Parents' attitudes towards future children's work - Indifferent - Want to enter a specific work - Inherit the family business
Attitudes towards inheriting the family business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Will inherit - Will not inherit - Inherit first, then develop other businesses
2.2 Social capital	
Affected by social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social capital conversion to cultural

	<p>capital</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Get more training, learning, or better education through the help of friends, relatives, parents, etc. - Downgrading learning in school ● Obtain social capital from the immigration network - Get a job in the immigration network through recommendations from friends and relatives ● Social capital and access to the labor market - Immigration network creates conditions for entering the labor market <p>(i.e.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Parents provide entrepreneurial funds ➤ Supported by parents for their studies and enter a certain field of work)
<p>2.3 Culture and expectations</p>	
<p>Culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influenced by Class concept, Mianzi, Renqing
<p>Job expectations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expectations for specific jobs - Expectations of job requirements - Expectations of doing business in the future - Expectations of inherit the family business - Expectation of returning to work in

	China
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Theme/Subtheme	Description
Theme 3: Ways to apply for a job and Career status	
3.1 Ways to get a job	
Channel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ways to get a job <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inherit the family business - Family and friends introduction - Web search - School Recommendation - Recruitment advertisement - Go to the store and ask
Social capital support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social capital and access to the labor market <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Immigration network creates conditions for entering the labor market (i.e. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Parents provide entrepreneurial funds ➤ Supported by information shared by friends) ● Ways to contact the immigration network <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Face to face <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Chinese grocery store ➤ Chinese friends ➤ Chinese community - Cell phone <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ WeChat

3.2 Work status	
Work status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Work area <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - grocery store - restaurant - education - tourism - other ● Job type <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Full time - Part time - Do business - Helping the family business - Internship
Retention in the labor market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Leaving the Portuguese labor market and returning to work in China - After working for a period of time, choose to continue to study at school - Family reasons, giving up work
Immigration Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 generation immigrants - 1.5 generation immigrants

Theme/Subtheme	Description
Theme 4: The influence factors of young immigrants' career choice	
4.1 Objective characteristics	
Personal situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Immigration Type <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 generation immigrants

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1.5 generation immigrants
<p>Education and training</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural capital - Language - Different majors ● Current education - Junior high school education - High school diploma - bachelor degree - master's degree - Other learning experiences (i.e. Portuguese language class, technical school study)
<p>4.2 Subjective thoughts</p>	
<p>Work-oriented</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Attitude towards work; - Like - Neutral - Dislike reasons(i.e. ➤ Working atmosphere ➤ Feeling lost at work ➤ Work is boring ➤ Salary is not high enough ➤ Work too hard ● Views on whether work experience is useful; - i.e. Improve resumes, handle interpersonal relationships, acquire professional knowledge, and handle customer issues

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Company brand <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High salary - Suitable position - Room for growth and promotion - company culture - learn professional knowledge - Flexible working place and time - Company benefits - Great boss - Good working environment - Harmonious relationship with colleagues ● Future career ideals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boss - Manager - Researcher - Other ● Job expectations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expectations for specific jobs - Expectations of job requirements - Expectations of doing business in the future - Expectations of inherit the family business <p>Expectation of returning to work in China</p>
<p>Education-oriented</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Learning view <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good academic performance, and at the same time good at communication and practice. ● Attitude towards learning

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Desire and love to learn - Not interested in learning ● Reasons for choosing this major - Better employment - Make more money in the future - Interest trend - Admission application policy - Same as undergraduate major - Parental opinion - Try a new major
<p>Other-oriented</p>	<p>Success view</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good career - Earn more money - Have enough savings - Have free time - Highly educated <p>Life view</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Independent - Raise a family - Have relatives and friends - Stable job - Happy marriage - Enterprising - Enjoy life - Rich
<p>4.3 Immigration Network Impact</p>	
<p>Parents</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Influenced by parents - Job expectations

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inherit the parents' business ● Attitudes towards inheriting the family business - Will inherit - Will not inherit - Inherit first, then develop other businesses
Immigration tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chinese ancestral region
4.4 Cultural influence	
Class concept	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Judge class by wealth - The promotion of class requires making more money - The promotion of class requires a good education
Mianzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have rights and prestige - High-end work (i.e. being a professor, a public servant, top manager...) - Highly educated, great family background - Their children can receive a better education - Do business and become the boss

Theme/Subtheme	Description
Theme 5: The influence factors of labor market retention	
5.1 Personal reason	

Character	(I.e. outgoing, shy, open-minded, sociable)
Employment advantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language capital - Nationality status (Chinese) - Good emotional management - Professional knowledge - Permanent Residence - Highly educated - Other
5.2 Requirements to Job	
Personal view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Attitude towards work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Like - Neutral - Dislike reasons(i.e. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Working atmosphere ➤ Feeling lost at work ➤ Work is boring ➤ Salary is not high enough ➤ Work too hard ● Views on whether work experience is useful <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - i.e. Improve resumes, handle interpersonal relationships, acquire professional knowledge, and handle customer issues ● Future career ideals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boss - Manager - Researcher

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other ● Ease of getting a job - It is easy to get a job, even if you don't know Portuguese
Retention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Retention in the labor market - Leaving the Portuguese labor market and returning to work in China - After working for a period of time, choose to continue to study at school - Family reasons, giving up work ● Retention of work - Change job ● Reason for resignation - Further studies - Does not match the major - low wage
5.3 Requirements to Life	
Attitudes towards life in Portugal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Like - Neutral - Dislike
Stable residence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change of residence for work - Change of residence for study
Describe whether life is fulfilling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Yes (i.e. because of work, study takes up too much time) - No (i.e. during the low period of the career, more can be done)
5.4 Immigration Network Impact	

Influenced by parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Job expectations (i.e.) - Was asked to help in my store - Inherit the parents' business
Parents' attitudes towards children's education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indifferent - End studies as soon as possible, and then participate in the work - Have specific educational goals - Hope the higher the degree, the better

Theme/Subtheme	Description
Theme 6: Obstacles to entering the local labor market	
6.1 Language	
Language capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A language- Chinese - Two languages –Chinese/Portuguese - Three languages- Chinese/Portuguese /English - Multilingual – Chinese/Portuguese/English/Other
Language barrier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When they first came to Portugal, they encountered language barriers in study and work
6.2 Character	
Dislike social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very introverted, not sociable
Don't like talking to people other than Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No common interest and common language and cultural difference

6.3 Discrimination	
Discrimination	- Encounter language or behavioral discrimination in study and life
Attitude towards discrimination	- Not responding, not affected - Feel angry and fight back
6.4 Culture	
Cultural difference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural difference ● Attitudes towards Chinese culture - Like Chinese culture very much (i.e. Food, Chinese characters, Chinese festivals and the origin of myths) - Be positively influenced by Chinese culture
The degree of integration of the two cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More Chinese - More Portuguese - Combination
6.5 Personal opinion	
Attitudes towards life in Portugal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Attitudes towards life in Portugal - Like - Neutral - Dislike ● Difficult to integrate into the local community - Different interests - Personality - Nationality identification (not accepted)

	<p>by Portuguese)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Different customs - Discrimination - Unwilling to integrate
Awareness of the local labor market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chinese employees are more diligent and work harder than local employees
Attitudes towards passive immigration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive (i.e. very happy, life is very good now) - Negative (i.e. very angry, think it would be better in China) - Neutral (i.e. don't feel it, can or like it all)

Annex B

Interview guideline

I. Introduction

Reasoning to conduct the interview:

- (Young) people who are in the labour market: to understand how the children of Chinese immigrants at their adult age enter and navigate in the labour market in Portugal.
- (Young) people who are not in the labour market yet: to understand what are the professional aspirations of the children of Chinese immigrants at their adult age and how they think to get in touch with the labour market in Portugal.

Interview structure: To have full knowledge of the life experiences of the children of Chinese immigrants and their parents (which should include the earlier steps before arriving in Portugal), with emphasis on:

- the school trajectory and integration in the school,
- professional trajectory and integration in the labour market,
- integration into Portugal, in general, and
- the promotion and strength of ties with the Chinese/Portuguese community/culture.

Note: It is important to ask people to recall examples of their personal life – i.e., examples with details –, which include information about when, how, who was involved, what happened, antecedents and possible consequences of the event.

II. “Break the ice” (Actual situation)

1. Please speak a little bit about what you do now
2. Do you like to do what you are doing? (e.g., study/work)
 - If the answer is ‘yes’:
 - What do you most like to do (in your work/study)? Why?

- Is there anything that you don't like so much? Why?
 - If the answer is 'no':
 - What do you dislike to do (in your work/study)? Why?
 - Is there anything that you like to do? Why?
- 3. And, in Portugal? Do you like to live in Portugal? Why?**

III. Personal life experience

A. Arriving in Portugal:

I would like to invite you to recall the earlier days in Portugal.

1. When did you arrive in Portugal?

- How old were you?
- With whom did you travel to Portugal?
- Where did you live at that time? (region, its proximity to relatives or Chinese community)

2. Why did your family come to Portugal?

- Before arriving in Portugal, where did your family live?
- What did your parents do in China? Or, in the place where they were before coming to Portugal?
- When your parents arrived in Portugal, did they have some trouble to find work? Why?

3. When you arrived in Portugal, how did you feel? Do you remember those earlier days?

How was it?

4. And, then, as time went on, were you still feeling similar emotions, having similar thoughts?

- Could you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?
 - E.g., clashes, frustrations, misunderstanding, support from the school, host community, Chinese community, ...

5. Which school did you attend at that time? Which academic year were you attending at that time?

- Were there other Chinese students at the school? And, immigrants from other nationalities?
- How did you communicate with students? And, with teachers?
- In the playground, what did you do? Did you play with the classmates?
- Was easy to have friends? How did you get the first friends? Who were your friends?

6. Was the Portuguese school similar to the school in China?

- Can you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?

7. At that time, did your family have relatives or elements of the Chinese community that help you – e.g., setting up residence in Portugal?

- If the answer is ‘yes’:
To what extent was such help important to your family – e.g., to set up in Portugal?
- If the answer is ‘no’:
To what extent did the absence of relatives or elements of the Chinese community make the situation difficult at that time – e.g., to set up in Portugal?

Can you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?

B. Growing up in Portugal:

8. Did you live always in the same city/region?

- If the answer is ‘yes’:
Was there any reason for your family to be in the same city/region?
- If the answer is ‘no’:
Was there any reason for your family not to be in the same city/region?

9. How was your life in the school?

10. At the school, did you feel difficulties, challenges, opportunities, regarding for example:

- Communication with colleagues, teachers, other school staff?
- Understanding the academic subjects taught in class?
- Social interactions in the playground?

- How were you able to overcome the difficulties?

Can you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?

11. Do you think that the school (teachers/school staff) was aware of your difficulties and helped you to overcome them?

- If the answer is 'yes':
What kind of help did you receive?

- If the answer is 'no':
What kind of help could be useful to overcome the difficulties? Why?

Can you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?

12. After the school, at the end of the day (free time), what did you do? And, in holidays?

13. Outside the school, did your family and you have some help from, for example, Portuguese/Chinese institutions, neighbours, other Portuguese/Chinese citizens, or people from other nationalities?

- What kind of help did you receive? When? In what circumstances did you receive such help?
- With such help, were the difficulties overcome? Or, did they persist – even nowadays?

C. Preservation of the culture and values of the Chinese community / acquiring the values, tastes and habits of the Portuguese community

Throughout your childhood / teenage years, I believe that you had kept in touch with the Chinese heritage (e.g., values, traditions and culture).

14. Am I saying something that makes sense to you?

- What features of the Chinese culture / Portuguese culture do you highlight as being important for your development as a human being?
- What cultural experiences did your parents provide/offer to you?

Can you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?

15. Today, are you still in touch with the Chinese community? What type of events or situations do you participate in?

- Can you remember a situation that happened to you and would help me to understand what you are trying to tell me?

16. Do you have the Portuguese nationality? Do you wish to get the Portuguese nationality?

- If the answer is 'yes':
Why?
- If the answer is 'no':
Why?

17. Which community do you belong to? (Chinese community/Portuguese community)?

- For example, if someone approaches you and asks, 'who are you?' or 'which community do you belong to?', what would be your answer?
 - If that person is Portuguese, what would be your answer? Why?
 - And, if that person is Chinese? Why?
- If the above answers are different from each other:
 - In what situations do you feel yourself to be a Chinese citizen? And, a Portuguese citizen? Why?
- If the participant says that he/she feels only to be a Chinese citizen:
 - Do you feel a stranger in Portugal? Why?

18. Is it hard for you to feel as you have been describing yourself? Do you feel some tension?

19. And, others, how do they describe you?

20. What do you most like in the Chinese culture?

21. And, in the Portuguese culture?

22. To what extent do the two cultures complement each other? Or, crash into one another?

23. Who are your friends?

24. What do you like to do with your friends? And, in Portugal?

IV. Life experience of parents / brothers/sisters

If the participant has one or more brothers/sisters, the interviewer should get information about each brother/sister and can ask the following questions:

- 1. How old is your brother/sister?**
- 2. What is the age difference between your brother/sister and you?**
- 3. What does your brother/sister do?**
 - If he/she is in the school:
 - What is the school year that he/she attends?
 - What is he/she studying (main subjects)?
 - What does he/she want to do in the future – e.g., bachelors' degree, open a business, get a job?
 - If he/she is working:
 - What does he/she do?
 - What education level had he/she finished in Portugal?
 - Do you think that he/she likes the work he/she does? Why?
- 4. Can you speak a little bit about the trajectory of your parents in Portugal?**
 - What do they do nowadays?
 - Have your parents had other jobs/businesses since they arrived in Portugal?
- 5. Can your parents speak fluently Portuguese?**
- 6. Do your parents have Portuguese friends?**
- 7. When do your parents have a problem, who can help them?**
- 8. And, who help you when do you have a problem?**
 - Can you give an example of a situation that was sorted out with the help of others?

V. Professional experience

These questions can be asked after the above two questions in section II (Break the ice).

1. How did you get the opportunity to work in the company / to have your own business / to run the family business?

- Is there an event/situation that influenced your choice (the choice of working in the company / having your own business / running the family business)?
- For the interviewee who is still studying:
 - What factors (external factors / personal factors / family factors) have influenced your choice for the course / school? Why?

2. To what extent this working experience is useful / good for you?

- Gain money for, e.g., life and support the family, pay the study expenses, ...
- Improve the CV / career advancement / personal achievement

If the interviewee doesn't work in the traditional Chinese business in Portugal – i.e., stores and restaurants):

3. How easy was to get the actual job? And the previous jobs?

- Please speak about your job-hunting experiences.

4. What does the employer value in your job application? And, in yourself?

5. And, what do you have that is different from other candidates? I.e., what are your strengths?

6. What factors have influenced your choice for the course (e.g., medicine, engineering, law, ...)?

7. Have your parents ever encouraged you to get a specific degree?

- What would your parents like you to be?

8. Are you happy with the choices made, regarding:

- Bachelor's degree? Master's degree?
- Professional career?

If the interviewee works in a traditional Chinese business – e.g., store, restaurant – or works/manages the family business:

9. Have you attended the Portuguese education system?

10. What is the highest education level you have finished?

11. If the interviewee has not concluded the high school or have not gone to the university:

- Why have you had not concluded the mandatory school? Why have you not gone to university?

12. Have your parents ever encouraged you to get a certain type of job/work?

- What would your parents like you to do?
- And, you?

If the interviewee is still a student:

13. What kind of job do you like to have?

14. Have your parents ever encouraged you to get a certain type of job/work?

- What would your parents like you to do?
- And, you?

VI. Dreams, ambitions, expectations and disappointments

1. Would you like to have another type of job?

- Do you want to continue to work in this organization? In Portugal? Why?
- If the interviewee is not a worker:
 - What kind of job would you like to do? In Portugal? Why?

2. What are your job expectations in Portugal in comparison with the scenario of growing up in China?

3. Have you ever thought of having your own business (i.e., to be the owner/partner of a business)? Why?

4. Are you a successful person? Why?

- If the answer is 'yes':
 - How did you reach such success (e.g., school achievements, strengths in job-hunting, ...)?
 - What kind of challenges have you met?
 - Have you ever received help to overcome obstacles/challenges?
- If the answer is 'no'

- Is there any challenge/problem that you have to meet to feel yourself as a successful person?
5. **For you, what does a ‘successful student’ mean? How do you characterise/describe a successful student?**
 - Can you give an example of a successful student?
 6. **And, what does a ‘successful worker/successful career’ mean?**
 - Can you give an example of a successful worker/career success?
 7. **And, what does ‘being successful in life’ mean?**
 - Can you give an example of a person who is successful in life? (Note: ‘successful life’ refers to the success beyond the professional life)
 8. **Which factors can influence/enhance the success of a young immigrant in the Portuguese school? And, in the professional career in Portugal?**
 9. **What would be the best job/work position that you could achieve one day?**
 10. **Do you feel yourself a fulfilled person?**
 11. **Who does build your destiny? Do you believe in luck?**