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# The Social and Economic Integration of Chinese Immigrants in Portugal: Generation 2.0

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## **RESUMO**

Com o aumento das ondas de imigração da China para Portugal desde a década de 1980, mais desenvolvida a comunidade chinesa se tornou, apelando à investigação sobre as novas gerações nascidas em Portugal. A segunda geração é, normalmente, mais integrada no país anfitrião em comparação com a primeira geração. A segunda geração chinesa tem cidadania, conhece o idioma, tem acesso a educação, emprego, cuidados de saúde e raramente continua inserida em negócios da comunidade. No entanto, sendo um produto da migração, estes indivíduos podem experienciar uma divisão em relação à sua identidade cultural. Esta pesquisa analisa a integração socioeconómica e cultural de chineses da geração 2.0 em Portugal, com idades compreendidas entre os 19 e os 30 anos. Para o desenvolvimento desta pesquisa foram realizadas entrevistas semiestruturadas a 15 indivíduos, abordando questões sobre família, formação académica e profissional, identidade cultural e discriminação. Além disso, o resultado obtido mais relevante mostra uma correlação entre altos níveis de escolaridade e estabilidade financeira e menores níveis de integração no futuro. Conclui-se que, para melhorar a integração, Portugal deve adotar uma sociedade multiculturalista, enquanto que os Chineses de segunda geração poderiam beneficiar ao superar barreiras culturais e de relacionamento com os indivíduos de origem portuguesa. No entanto, a falta de oportunidades em Portugal, os baixos salários e as ocorrências de discriminação são os fatores que mais contribuem para as baixas taxas de integração.

**Palavras-chave:** Imigração Chinesa; Integração da Segunda Geração; Integração Socioeconómica de Migrantes; Identidade Cultural.







## **ABSTRACT**

With an increase of immigration waves from China to Portugal since the 1980's, the more developed the Chinese community got, calling for research on the newer generations born in Portugal. The second-generation is typically more integrated in the host country in comparison to the first-generation. Chinese second-generation have citizenship, know the language, have access to education, employment and health care, and rarely partake in ethnic work. However, being a product of migration, these individuals can still experience a divided sense of identity. This research analyses the socio-economic and cultural integration of generation 2.0 Chinese individuals in Portugal, between the ages of 19 and 30 years old. To develop this research, semi-structured interviews to 15 individuals were conducted, addressing issues on family, educational and professional background, cultural identity and discrimination. Additionally, the most relevant obtained result shows a correlation between high levels of academic attainment and financial stability, and lower levels of integration in the future. It concludes that, to work towards integration, Portugal must adopt a multiculturalist society, while second-generation Chinese individuals could benefit from overcoming cultural barriers and improve their relationships with Portuguese natives. Nevertheless, Portugal's lack of opportunities, low wages and discrimination occurrences, are the highest contributing factors for low rates of integration.

**Keywords:** Chinese Immigration; Second-generation Integration; Socio-economic Migrant Integration; Cultural Identity.









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# 1. INTRODUCTION

Even though Chinese immigration to Portugal has been occurring since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is a rather understudied topic, with only a handful of authors focusing on the economic aspects of integration and migration trends. In truth, focusing on those topics is understandable when looking at the countries' colonial ties and how deep-rooted Chinese immigration to Portugal for economic reasons is. Moreover, there have been several immigration waves throughout the years. The largest wave was in the 1980's when immigrants would come to work in businesses set up by members of the Chinese community, including their family, or open their own businesses. These businesses consist mostly of restaurants, retail shops and warehouses, which are supported by family and community networks. Also, this wave of immigration corresponds to the parents of the individuals who were interviewed for this research. Many of them shared that their parents came to Portugal under the application for the Family Reunification visa. A large part of participants disclosed that, in fact, some members of their family live in Portugal, such as grandparents and uncles, who then sent for the interviewees' parents in the 1980's and 1990's. Since then, immigration has been increasing, with the most recent wave being in the 2000's decade due to "economic immigration" from the Zhejiang province and the introduction of *Golden Visas*, which attracted investors rather than immigrants whose sole purpose was to find a better lifestyle. (Gaspar, 2018)

Chinese immigrants have successfully developed an extensive and complex social and economic network amongst themselves. Their purpose is not only to preserve the Chinese culture and identity, but also to create a sense of mutual help in the economic, educational and social areas. As of 2012, Ning (2012:3) states that there are 16 Chinese associations and organisations in Portugal, of which three are considered the main ones by the author: Luso-Chinese Association in Portugal, the Luso-Chinese Association of Traders and Industrialists and, lastly, Chinese League in Portugal. Interviewees also mentioned being members of the Portugal-China Young Entrepreneurs Association (AJEPC) and the existence of the Chinese Newspaper in Portugal.

Regarding social integration of Chinese immigrants and their family context, only two similar studies to this one have been carried out. One by Lan Li (2012), on the social integration of second-generation individuals living in Lisbon, and one by Sofia Gaspar (2018), with generation 1.5 individuals, who also living in Lisbon, as the analysis focus. The aim of this study is to analyse the social, cultural and economic integration levels of the generation 2.0

individuals from around Portugal, meaning individuals born in the country and whose parents were born in China. In addition, the objective is to interview young people and explore, in detail, their journey from the academic to the professional world. Besides, their relationship with their family will be investigated by introducing the topic during interviews, in order to understand to what extent parents have influence over the interviewees' life choices, which in turn, can affect their integration in Portugal. Additionally, through literature, the differences between generations of Chinese immigrants in Portugal will be identified, as well as comparing the differences between the second generation in Lan Li's 2012 study and the second generation in 2020. Lastly, one other objective is to understand how evolved the Portuguese society is nowadays in terms of racial and ethnic discrimination by taking into consideration the interviewees' social, academic and professional experiences and how it might affect their integration.

Furthermore, the purpose of this dissertation is to, not only to fill the gap of the research on the integration of Chinese immigrants, but also to update the research done in the past years and to show how other generations of Chinese immigrants and descendants of Chinese immigrants integrate differently in Portugal. For instance, how has the Chinese community evolved over the years? Coming from a business-oriented position, what is the parents' perception of higher education nowadays? How does this generation interact with the Portuguese society? In what ways does the family and social environment affect their cultural identity? On one hand, according to Lan Li's study from 2012, the second-generation individuals, both local and foreign born, were still very much tied to their Chinese cultural side to an extent that it could work as an obstacle for integration. Their parents' economic situation was also the determinant factor for the sample's low expectations on education. On the other hand, what is interesting about researching second-generation Chinese individuals born in Portugal is that the likelihood of assimilation is lower (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003), although this is not necessarily a negative pattern in terms of integration.

As Favell (2003) argues, when putting into practice the concept of integration, it should have as its aim the "construction of a successful, well-functioning multicultural or multi-racial society." (2003: 14). As such, hosting countries should expect immigrants to assimilate to a certain extent but should also provide some of the tools to do so. Favell (2003) lists some key measures for integration host countries should take into account: formal naturalization and citizenship rights, anti-discrimination laws, the redistribution of targeted socio-economic funds for minorities in deprived areas, multicultural education policy, policies and laws on tolerating

cultural practices, cultural funding for ethnic associations or religious organizations and language and cultural courses in the host society's culture. As one interviewee said: "I have the advantage of being able to jump and be whatever I want at any time." Meaning that this generation has the advantage of developing bicultural identities and the flexibility of changing and adapting their identity to the environment and situation they might find themselves in. The aim of this dissertation is also to understand how interviewees' cultural identity is shaped throughout their lives, by identifying the changes in their cultural habits and relationships.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

Firstly, while several studies explore the topic of Chinese immigration by taking the country into account as a whole, in the Portuguese context, for instance, it is important to form an analysis based on the individuals' place of origin. Particularly in the most recent years, the pattern is that immigrants will have a different background and reason to immigrate depending on their province of origin, or even whether they come from areas with a Portuguese colonial past. Apart from analysing the migratory paths, it will also be taken into consideration the evolution of incoming Chinese immigrants, where they tend to settle and what their professional paths are. Additionally, apart from time and place, external occurrences such as the 2008 economic crisis should also be acknowledged. The crisis worked as a catalyst for higher influxes of Chinese immigrants in Portugal, through investment and a need for better quality of life by the agency of *Golden Visas*.

Secondly, the topics of social, cultural and economic integration will be discussed. Although the dissertation topic contains only the subjects of social and economic integration, it is impossible to analyse both without discussing its cultural aspect. As it will be concluded, cultural identity plays a key role in the evaluation of integration of Chinese immigrants, depending on their generation. The structure of each topic will be to analyse the concept theoretically, followed by an analysis of the social and economic integration of Chinese immigrants worldwide and, at last, in the Portuguese context for comparison. Unfortunately, because some sub-topics are understudied, studies of the same nature based in other European countries instead of Portugal will be taken into consideration, which should be somewhat similar.

## 2.1 Key Concepts

### 2.1.1 Second Generation and generation 2.0

Research on second generation immigrants began in the mid-1990s in the United States. (Curl and Vermeulen, 2003) With studies on the cultural and social differences from the first generation emerging, it was quickly understood the need to classify the generations in between and after.

According to Min Zhou (1997), within the “first generation” group are the generation 1.0 individuals and the generation 1.5 group, which can be divided into two: On one hand, there are the people who arrived between the ages of 6 and 13 years old, who are still on an early psychological development stage, and on the other hand, adolescents from 13 to 17 years old, who are slightly more related to generation 1.0. As for those who fall into the “second generation” category, they are the ones who are born in the migrated community and have, at least, one foreign-born parent. However, the “second generation” category can be divided into the generation 2.0 and the generation 2.5. The 2.0 generation encompasses the individuals whose parents are foreign-born, while the generation 2.5 individuals only one of the parents is. (Ramakrishnan, 2004). Studies from Perlmann and Wldinger (1997) (cited in Ramakrishnan, 2004) show how different the social, cultural and economic experience is to second generation individuals from their parents’ experience. Second generation people are generally more successful in life, with higher integration levels in the social and economic spectrum. Nevertheless, Ramakrishnan highlights the importance of making a distinction between the generation 2.0 and the generation 2.5. One of the main arguments is that individuals who fall into the generation 2.5 category have higher levels of education, thus a more favourable economic outcome. One of the reasons for this is that the native-born parent, besides speaking the country’s language with proficiency, usually also has higher academic levels, therefore creating better social and economic conditions to being able to afford the same for their children.

The sample of this dissertation are second generation individuals, but more specifically generation 2.0 individuals. Although, when taking into consideration the different upbringing the interviewees had, the aim is to find whether other factors besides their and their parents’ place of birth have any influence on their integration. In this dissertation’s sample there will be several interviewees whose parents belong to the generation 1.5, or parents who emigrated to



another European country first before arriving in Portugal. Furthermore, some participants have also spent some years in China during their childhood, despite having been born in Portugal, factors which could very much influence their social, cultural and economic outcome.

### 2.1.2 Immigrant Integration

This is a concept worthy of contextualisation due to its complexity. There are several factors that should be considered when measuring immigrant integration, therefore, according to OECD's 2015 publication on Indicators of Immigrant Integration, it should be considered a multidimensional process. This is also to say that, if an immigrant were to fail in their attempt of integration in one of the areas, the likelihood of failing in the rest is higher.

Literature finds that there are eight main areas regarding fields of integration policy, which are: citizenship, labour, education, residence, family, political participation, culture and religion and antidiscrimination. (Pasetti, 2019) Meanwhile, the OECD publication gathers more indicators apart from the mentioned ones. Their socio-demographic characteristics are taken into account, such as the size of the immigrant population, their gender and age and, lastly, their birth rates and endogamous union rates. Additionally, immigrant populations in the same country are put in different groups depending on their migratory flows, duration of stay, origin and language. Moreover, apart from their integration in the labour market and job conditions, OECD also measures their household income distribution, poverty rates and financial exclusion. Finally, an extremely important factor that was overlooked by literature is health care. There are several determinants of health amongst immigrants: their participation in risky behaviour, living and working conditions, if they have refugee status, nutritional habits and stress due to the migratory experience.

“To fully interpret immigrants’ integration outcomes, the composition of the immigrant population must be considered as well. Context-related facts and figures are crucial to the proper interpretation of immigrants’ actual outcomes and observed differences with native-born populations.” (OECD/European Union, 2015) Meaning that migrant populations should not be interpreted as a homogeneous group, their composition will vary depending on “geographical, linguistic, and policy factors”.

### 2.1.3 Identity

The concept of identity is a rather complex one, therefore, scholars have found a need to study and define sub concepts, of which a few will be considered in this study, such as personal identity, social identity, cultural identity and national identity. The identity concept by itself is an extremely broad subject, therefore, one of the definitions of the identification process could be that “the self is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classification.” (Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J., 2000: 224). A simpler definition could be a way to “classify things or persons” or “to associate oneself with, or attach oneself to, something or someone else” This encompasses anything that can, universally, be categorised. For instance, a person’s or a group’s beliefs and values, personality, likes and dislikes, biological characteristics, geographical origin, language, etc. (Jenkins, 2014)

Brewer (1991) and Hogg and Abrams (1988) (cited in Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J., 2000), believe that the personal identity is the lowest level of categorisation. “It is the categorization of the self as a unique entity, distinct from other individuals. The individual acts in terms of his or her own goals and desires rather than as a member of a group or category”. However, some scholars trust that someone’s personal identity is linked to their social identity, that one cannot exist without the other and that one’s personal identity is influenced by their social identity. An individual’s decisions very often are influenced by social factors and situations “such as social comparison or normative fit, which make a group identity operative and override the personal identity.” (Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J., 2000) Another way of putting it is that, according to Hogg and Abrams (1988), an individual is “a member of a unique combination of social categories; therefore the set of social identities making up that person's self-concept is unique”. (Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J., 2000) In addition, a person’s social identity is the sense of belonging in a social group. The process involves an act of comparison between the individual and the others, where those who are similar to the individual are considered as part of the same group. Hogg and Abrams (1988) (cited in Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J., 2000), for instance, believe that the social groups “are parts of a structured society and exist only in relation to other contrasting categories (for example, black vs. white); each has more or less power, prestige, status, and so on. Further, these authors point out that the social categories precede individuals; individuals are born into an already structured society.” This is to say that a person’s social identity is formed first, as opposed to their personal identity.

As for the concept of cultural identity, scholars also use it as an umbrella term for the concept of ethnic identity. (Fong, M. Chuang, R. 2003) However, the concept of culture encompasses far more characteristics and cultural identifiers. Researchers have been developing more complex definitions with the passage of time, seeing that the concept itself has been changing with the influence of other factors. According to Woodward (1997) (cited in Ennaji, M. 2005), cultural identity can be defined as the shared characteristics of nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, geographical location and religion.; additionally, Fisherman (1999) (cited in Ennaji, M. 2005: 23) believes it is the “dynamic relationship between ancestral heritage, with all its components (oral tradition, literature, beliefs, etc.) and the language(s) which give birth to a specific cultural identity.”.

However, recently, authors have been highlighting a shift in the concept. Krstic introduced the concept of “cultural supermarket”. It is a concept created by the process of globalisation, where, with an increase in the access to mobility and communication, it means that “People are no longer forced to build their identities on the ground on which they reside; rather, they can choose from a wide palette of myriad identities.” (Krstic, 2017:137) This is a highly important remark regarding this study’s purposes, in the sense that it validates the argument that, because a person is born within a certain nation, it is not definite that they will identify themselves with or get involved in cultural practices which are common to most individuals in that said nation. A study by Adrian Holliday, from 2010, was presented on the topic of the complexity in cultural identity. Interviews to second-generation immigrants were carried out, where two interviewees living in the UK referred to nation “almost as a place where they find themselves through the accident of birth; and the way in which they see it and it treats them is largely to do with what they personally bring to it.” (Holliday, 2010:169) and that the interviewee “talks about nation as the place which he has grown to associate with certain aspects of his life, but which does not prevent him from affinities elsewhere and which is very much in the background of who he is.” (Holliday, 2010:169) It can be concluded that there are certain aspects in a person’s cultural background that can influence their cultural identity, making them stand out from others of the same nation.

## **2.2 Migratory Context**

Studies have uncovered the existence of Chinese immigrants in Portugal from as early as the 1920’s. These individuals were natives of the Zhejiang province in mainland China and were

characterized as street vendors (Pestana, 2018) and unskilled individuals who immigrated for economic reasons (Gaspar, 2017). Ning (2012) states that there were so few individuals that Chinese immigrants only became noticeable in the 1970's, which explains why some authors such as Gaspar (2017) and Li (2012) consider the first wave of Chinese immigration to Portugal to be after the end of Portuguese colonialization in Africa. The Chinese settlement in Mozambique was likely related to the Great Leap Forward, where Ning (2012) states that these individuals were forced to look for stability and comfort in other countries. By the time Mozambique achieved its independence and Chinese immigrants were, once more, felling forced to immigrate, Portugal was already the first choice of many as they were already integrated in Mozambique by knowing he language and culture, which would not differ much from Portugal's culture. Additionally, with Macao's sovereignty transfer to the PRC in the late 1990's, a similar situation occurred: "Both groups were recruited from layers of the urban, educated class in those countries, and enjoyed the advantages of a well consolidated network of inter-knowledge and social relations in Portuguese society." (Gaspar, 2017:55)

However, the biggest influx of Chinese immigrants in Portugal was, once again, from the Zhejiang province during the 2000's. As stated in Gaspar's 2017 article, the individuals from Zhejiang came from the same background as the ones who arrived in Portugal in the 1920's: unskilled and uneducated immigrants who work in the textile and restaurant business. One of the main reasons for the influx growth, according to Pestana (2018), is how Xiaoping's reforms in the 80's exposed the Chinese population to information and knowledge of the outside of the country, therefore revealing different cultures and economic systems which Chinese individuals felt they could better benefit from. Immigrants from this province are the most socially visible and numerous group amongst Chinese immigrants in Portugal. After the first group of Zhejiang immigrants had settled in Portugal, several factors contributed for the community growth: Gaspar (2019) argues that these individuals arrival and integration process were supported by family and acquaintances who were already settled in Portugal, while Pestana (2018) claims that they went through a re-immigration process, having come to Portugal from other European countries and not directly from China.

Furthermore, it has been proven that the number of Chinese immigrants in Portugal has steadily been increasing. According to Lin's (2012) research on SEF's official data, it was concluded that in 2011 the number of Chinese immigrants in Portugal was ten times higher than in 1995, which was of 2202 inhabitants. Looking into SEF's most recent statistical records, by 2018 the Chinese immigrant population in Portugal had reached a total number of 25,357

inhabitants, with its highest concentration in the city of Lisbon, where it reached a total of 12,493 inhabitants. The biggest focus of the Chinese community in Lisbon is within the Martim Moniz area, a multi-ethnic cluster of immigrants from different backgrounds, mostly of Asian origin. This pattern shows how Chinese immigrants have a tendency to live in communities within their own ethnicity. Nevertheless, Chinese immigrants in Portugal also tend to move with the local economy. When business opportunities arise in Southern Portugal during the summer due to a high influx of people, Chinese entrepreneurs are likely to move from their original settlements (Li, 2012).

Finally, the most recent wave of Chinese immigration to Portugal has been of University students and Golden Visas entrepreneurs. Pestana (2018) attributes the increase of University students to a growing interest in studying the Portuguese language due to the Portugal-China relationship. Gaspar (2017), on the other hand, attributes it to a boost in the institutional connections between Portuguese and Chinese Universities, resulting in an increase of Chinese and Macanese students in Portuguese Universities. Furthermore, Oliveira (2014) cited in Gaspar (2017), highlights how, between the years of 2005 and 2011, the number of Chinese students enrolled in Portuguese Universities increased by 251.7 percent. Additionally, Gaspar (2017) claims that Western educational agencies with offices in China have been attracting students with opportunities of studying abroad, as well as claiming that entrance exams for Chinese universities are so hard that students have been looking for better opportunities overseas.

With the 2008 Recession, Portugal, as well as other world countries, suffered from an economic crisis which also led to the emigration of a large number of Portuguese people and so, the program combined an increase in investment with immigration flow: The aim of Golden Visas was to attract investors who were also interested in immigrating to Portugal. While Golden Visas were not necessarily created for Chinese individuals, Chinese immigrants were the group of people who took advantage of them the most. As stated in Gaspar's 2017 article, as of 2017, 59.5 percent of the total of licences issued were granted to Chinese nationals. By exchanging investment in the country for residence permits, citizenship, family reunification or entering Portugal without a visa, the number of Chinese immigrants in Portugal, both from mainland China and former colonies, has been growing. To qualify, the individual would have to create at least ten jobs, transfer 1 million euros in capital or acquire real estate for a minimum amount of 500,000 euros. Up to 2018, 94.5 percent of the investment had gone into real estate (Gaspar, 2019: 96).

## 2.3 Social Integration

For years, theoretical work on the social integration of immigrants has considered integration the equivalent of immigrants shedding their cultural identity and values. Due to having their culture regarded as inferior, as a consequence of ethnocentrism (Hammond et al. 2006), immigrants have been forced to adopt the customs of the receiving country. However, as the process of globalisation evolved, migration became one of the most relevant topics in academic studies, thus, modifying concepts and definitions up to this day. Social integration is a complex concept. Hamberger (2009) discusses how some scholars adopt the concept as an “umbrella term” for other concepts such as assimilation and multiculturalism, as well as discussing how others look at social integration as a form of adaptation.

Commonly, concepts such as assimilation and segregation go hand in hand with the concept of integration. Assimilation is considered a lack of ethnic distinction, meaning that immigrants are considered socially integrated when groups from the receiving country cannot find a cultural distinction between them. (Russo, Galli; 2018) This means that assimilation is the unilateral adaptation of the receiving country’s system by immigrants. On the other hand, integration involves mutual adaptation, while segregation is the failure of adaptation. (Winfried, 2003). Pasetti (2019: 7) considers that there are 3 different types of integration classification and gives examples for each one: the assimilationist model, a unilateral form of integration, which can be found in a country like France, where immigrants should assimilate the French culture and its values. The multicultural model, present in, for instance, the Netherlands, UK and Sweden, where there is not the expectation that immigrants should shed their culture, but rather celebrate diversity, while supporting a shared national identity between immigrants and natives. Lastly, the exclusionist model is represented in Germany, where immigrants are integrated in certain areas, like the labour market, but kept out from others.

The concepts of assimilation and integration are particularly relevant in the case of Chinese immigrants, due to the fact that the racial origin might work as an impediment to the assimilation process, considering that there will, inevitably, always be a visual and physical difference. While on one hand a mutual adaptation might not be strictly necessary for the social integration of immigrants, studies show that it might help. Johnson (2019) discussed how universities in the United States have worked as a propeller for social and cultural integration by stretching their educational program to accommodate non-US citizens to the American

culture. From learning the Constitution to discussing interpersonal behaviour, to having students enjoy typical American activities with immigrants, it is the perfect example of how integration works. International students also get an opportunity to share their culture with natives, as well as voicing their concerns, thus creating a “more welcoming community”.

In the Portuguese context, it is relevant to, not only analyse Chinese immigrants homogeneously, but also by taking their place of origin into account, considering that, for instance, Macau and Mozambique have historical and political ties to Portugal. According to Gaspar’s (2017) research on the trends in Chinese migration to Portugal, Macanese immigrants are ones of the most socially and culturally integrated in the Portuguese society. Due to a colonial past in Macau, certain aspects of the multicultural model are present, meaning that both Portuguese and Chinese cultures co-exist, resulting in several people becoming naturalised Portuguese citizens or having married exogenously when immigrating to Portugal. Similarly, during the period of Mozambique’s colonisation by the Portuguese, several groups of Chinese immigrants settled in the African country. Interestingly, what contributed to their acculturation was how dispersed their settlements were, consequently assimilating with the local population. Therefore, after decolonisation, by the time Chinese immigrants decided to move to Portugal, they already possessed the main characteristics necessary for social integration, which are, according to Gaspar (2017): learning Portuguese, the insertion in non-ethnic work, adopting the local culture, religion, and marrying outside their ethnicity. Besides, political integration could also fall under this category. Determining whether immigrants participate in the political sphere, engaging in activities such as voting, being Party or labour union members could also determine their commitment in being socially integrated in the Portuguese society (Li, 2012). Finally, informal aspects like watching Portuguese TV, listening to music, or even having a football club which is a part of the traditional cultural identity in Portugal, are all external factors that could very well be taken into account when defining social integration.

Nevertheless, the insertion in non-ethnic work of first-generation Chinese immigrants, and even 2.0 generation individuals, might be one of the biggest obstacles as stated in existing literature. According to Pestana (2018), due to economic reasons, immigrants mainly from the Zhejiang province opened the first Chinese restaurants and shops, as an ingenious way to preserve their culture and traditions and still thrive economically. What could be considered an obstacle to integration is the fact that, as Gaspar (2017) suggests, there is a specific economic ethic surrounding Chinese families, which is “autonomy and the creation of private property”.

### 2.3.1 Guanxi – The Chinese Relationship Method

The method called *Guanxi*, according to Gaspar's article (2019: 94), "can be characterized by personal networks based on affinities related to national origins, region of birth, mother tongue, ethnic group or kinship, which include family and friends' recommendations, and which have an important role on facilitating and promoting business negotiations and trades." (cited in Guercini et al. 2017; Ngoma 2016). Moreover, other authors (Romero and Yu, 2015: 882) more formally define *Guanxi* as a casual, psychological, non-written contract between individuals with strong personal connections who have a commitment of loyalty amongst themselves and the agreement they settle on. (cited in Chen and Chen, 2004) Additionally, in the Chinese context, this method is also considered a form of social capital with high transferability, where, as a mechanism, it expands into a large network, given the fact that everyone is somewhat connected through bonds of trust with third parties. This is highly convenient when concerning Chinese immigrants, acting as a way to create social bonds with individuals "endorsed" by friends and family, even if they are personally not acquainted (Romero and Yu, 2015: 884).

In the Chinese migratory context, immigrants have been emulating this business model within their community and at a larger scale, in the host country through self-employment by opening businesses such as restaurants, markets, shops, etc. The business usually must remain within the family, whether in terms of management or having family members as employees, including children. Consequently, this means less interaction with the host country's population, which is mostly reduced to contact in terms of costumers asking for help, ordering or paying, thus not contributing for social integration. Additionally, Chinese immigrants in this context have stated that they feel welcomed by the host's country, a feeling related to a lack of interaction with natives, given that there seldom is space to engage in conversations deeper than the ones related to business transactions. This business method might constitute a problem, particularly for second generation individuals, who tend to be more socially integrated than their older, first generation, family members.

## 2.4 Cultural Integration

Different theoretical studies have slightly different definitions for what could be considered cultural integration. In Algan, Bisin, Manning & Verdier's 2013 book there are distinct levels to it. The first one would be cultural assimilation, which similarly to the concept of social



assimilation, the immigrant would have to be stripped of their culture and traditional values to acquire the receiving country's one. This would include factors which have been previously mentioned, for instance: intermarriage, educational and job achievements, speaking the language and exposure to the culture. The second level would be multiculturalism, considered as "multicultural societies as composed of a heterogeneous collection of ethnic and racial minority groups, as well as of a dominant majority group" (Algan et al., 2013: 5), making for a more inclusive society. In contrast, Boswell's book from 2003 (cited in Hamberger 2009) simply defines cultural integration as having knowledge of the language, understanding of the society and respect for their norms.

Even so, still regarding Algan, Bisin, Manning & Verdier's 2013 book, the last level of cultural integration is probably the level that also considers important external factors to each immigrant individual. It takes on a structuralist approach, emphasizing "the inherent conflicts that exist in the social hierarchy between dominant and minority groups and therefore questions even the possibility of cultural and socio-economic integration of immigrants." (2013: 5) Meaning that it takes into account how immigrants might find it difficult to integrate in the receiving country's society due to the unequal access to education, labour market, health services, accommodation and privilege. This last definition could possibly apply to, not only cultural integration, but also social and economic. Consequently, it would be safe to assume that cultural integration might be considered the basis for immigrant integration.

Several studies regarding this type of integration often have been conducted to relate the cultural assimilation to life satisfaction or comparing the success of assimilation to the age of arrival. In terms of life satisfaction, Angelini, Casi and Corazzini's study (2015) regarding immigrants in Germany, found that non-economic factors play a larger role in determining an immigrant individual's well-being and that their "self-reported level of life satisfaction is positively and significantly associated with the extent to which immigrants identify with the German culture and can communicate in German language". (Angelini et al., 2015: 820) Furthermore, it was found that the groups who related the most were established immigrants and second-generation immigrants, which is understandable, seeing that, as argued in the section above, second-generation immigrants tend to feel more pressured in belonging to the host's culture.

### 2.4.1 Cultural identity

While first-generation immigrants tend to behave according to their own culture's morals, values and traditions (Li, 2012: 11), Yau's study from 2007, (cited in Lu & Wu, 2017: 11) points to the fact that second generations are a product of migration and, therefore, have a divided identity, especially Chinese immigrants. A conflict between the identities emerge and, in the case of Yau's study, a comparison between Chinese immigrants and the Irish identity is made, where socially they feel Irish, but to strangers they were considered Chinese, nonetheless. Additionally, because they were brought up in a culturally Chinese environment at home, they are expected to follow the family's tradition, such as running the family business, whereas socially they feel compelled to follow their school peers in terms of education and profession. This, later in life, leading to both internal and family-related conflict depending on the parents' perspective. Li (2012: 11) goes even further, saying that, due to challenges between family and society, second-generation immigrants might end up feeling marginalized, without a sense of belonging.

Following the divided identity train of thought in Yau's 2007 study, Li (2012: 11) goes as far as to say that it is the culture identity which decides the work choice, particularly in second-generation immigrants. In Lin's (2012) study, an analysis of the integration of second-generation Chinese immigrants in Portugal is made, where the author reaches the conclusion that, while they are attached to their Chinese culture, they also feel the need to search for better opportunities for their future, due to the exposure to the Portuguese educational system and culture. Moreover, while they might individually benefit from this divided identity, it might work as a contributing factor in generating conflicts both in the family and in the Portuguese society.

Additionally, a study from 2019 by David Tian takes on the Chinese immigrants' experience in France depending on their age of arrival. The author found that the older the age of arrival was, the less integrated individuals were, listing possible explanations such as the ethnic clustering in their workplace, as well as trouble in adjusting culturally and learning the language in the case of older people, due to the increase in difficulty of learning new languages as one ages. However, these individuals were the ones who felt more welcome, despite their isolation. Moreover, although French-born citizens consider themselves French, some reported feeling like they were considered as "second-class" citizens because, due to their ethnicity, there was a feeling of having to constantly prove strangers that they were, indeed, French and not

only Chinese. Consequently, one of the conclusions was that the better the French skills, the higher the likelihood of witnessing racism. On the other hand, the author proved that it goes both ways: while French-born, second-generation immigrants felt uneasy to be considered only Chinese, it was found that French-born members of the Chinese diaspora would not call themselves French. This could be due to their attachment to Chinese culture, but also due to how they are treated by society, therefore pressing on the divided-identity matter.

Furthermore, a study from 2018 by Miconi, Moscardino, Altoè and Salcuni regarding emotional-behavioural problems amongst Chinese immigrants in Italy showed how difficult it might be for young individuals to integrate in the host's country society. Because the values and traditions at home are different from the outside environment, and because parents and other family members might fail at integrating them or, at least, teach them how to, these individuals could develop "emotional and behavioural problems at high levels of cognitive flexibility" (2018: 21). It was found that successfully integrated young Chinese immigrants end up developing that cognitive flexibility, facilitated by their need in switching between Chinese and Italian values, depending on the environment and situation. This is to say that, not only aspects such as learning the language or even external factors like racism or discrimination might affect how successfully Chinese immigrants integrate culturally in a certain society, but also the importance of the family role in it. This is a highly relevant study as it compares Chinese and Italian cultures, which differ immensely, meaning that, at arrival, immigrants have a lot more to learn than if they were moving to another country of similar traditions and values, as well as how relevant it is for this study, seeing that Italian and Portuguese culture are somewhat similar.

## **2.5 Economic Integration**

Economic integration, or in this study's case labour market integration, can go from being able to get a full-time employment position in line with their academic background (Schmitt, 2012: 256), to tax, benefits and social welfare systems, cost and possibility of child and elder care services, working regulations and human resource management practices (Anxo et. al, 2007: 12) For immigrants, economic integration means success in engaging in desirable employment and being able to benefit from the same economic system natives do.

Teixeira and Dias' 2016 study on labour market integration of immigrants living in Portugal shows how migration, in general, can be a contributing factor for the loss of immigrants' economic status upon arrival at the host country. Both educational and professional qualifications as well as work experience decline in value, forcing immigrants to engage in professional work that might not have anything in common with their experience, such as low-wage and low-skilled jobs. As a consequence, because immigrants will be a step behind in comparison to natives with the same age, educational or professional background, the transitioning period of economic integration might be extended, or never even occur. However, not every immigrant, individually, goes through the same experience. In fact, a study by Cabral and Duarte from 2016 claims that, between the period of 2002 and 2008, workers from the EU15 earned almost double the wages of the average immigrant and earned an even higher wage than Portuguese natives' average income. On the other hand, Chinese immigrants' wages were the lowest ones among immigrants in Portugal, where 60 percent earned the minimum wage. This could be due to high educational attainment from the EU15 immigrants and a low one from Chinese immigrants, as well as "the fact that work experience acquired in China has no significant wage value in the Portuguese labour market is the main element behind the wage structure effect." (2016: 39)

Furthermore, education acquired in EU15 countries is "more easily transferable" to Portugal, which validates the theory on Teixeira and Dias' article. Additionally, Cabral's article suggests that there is no convergence of wages and, in some cases for Chinese immigrants, the wage penalty actually increases. On one hand, low educational attainment and no transferability of professional experience could be the reason, while on the other hand, as mentioned in existing literature, it could also be due to family businesses. As discussed, most of the Chinese immigrants in Portugal are from the Zhejiang province, coming mainly for economic reasons, setting up shops and restaurants, therefore, by wanting to keep the business in the family, their children would inevitably participate and not put in effort to pursuit higher education or professional experience. Furthermore, in Gaspar's 2019 study, interviews to Chinese immigrants in Portugal from generation 1.5 have been conducted and have declared themselves that descendants do tend to follow the parents' professional path. Firstly, one reason is that, by partaking in their parents' business, these immigrants avoid the instability that is entering the labour market, avoiding low-paid employment. Secondly, it is seen as an opportunity to "explore new business strategies to adapt and grow enterprises" (Gaspar, 2019: 99). Finally, ethnic discrimination is also a key factor in the increasing school drop-out numbers in the

Chinese immigrant community, leaving these individuals with no other option than to work with their family, as well as excluding them from participating and integrating in the host country's society.

Nevertheless, second generation individuals in Portugal, at least, have been taking up activities where they can strategically combine their Portuguese language or Portugal's culture knowledge with their Chinese cultural knowledge. Gaspar indicates roles such as translators, interpreters or mediators between the Chinese community and Portugal. Additionally, some parents have been inciting their children to follow a different professional path and getting higher education degrees, a pattern that can also be observed amongst Chinese individuals with Golden Visa businesses. According to Gaspar's study, the higher the social integration is in one family, the more immersed in local structures immigrants are and the higher the chance of their children having university degrees. Besides, there has been a rise in Chinese university students in Portugal and, with the Golden Visas 2011 policies, more investment.

#### 2.5.1 Golden Visas – A New Business Model

While at first glance Golden Visas do not contribute to the social or cultural integration of Chinese immigrants, it inevitably fortifies China-Portugal relationships and drives Chinese investors to become more knowledgeable of Portuguese's infrastructures and socio-economic system. As for Chinese investors' motivations, according to Gaspar's study from 2019, the reasons for immigrating through Golden Visas was also due to the pursuit of a better lifestyle. Some apply for Golden Visas, not for business opportunities, but to enrol their children into better Portuguese schools, for better environmental conditions and security.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

The aim of the research is to understand how integrated second-generation Chinese immigrants are and feel in Portugal. While it is an understudied topic, the idea came from Lan Li's dissertation, except it only addresses social integration and the group is of younger immigrants, mostly of generation 1.5. By choosing a group with ages between 19 and 30 years old, the economic integration can also be analysed, since these people are at an age when they are

entering the labour market. The objective is to validate, or not, the literature review, as well as to compare the differences between the results in the generation 1.5 study.

### **3.1 Methodological Approach**

Firstly, the research is based on interviews, a method included in what are considered qualitative methods. It is a common method used in the social sciences field, in fact, “(...) interviewing should be adopted as a tool for social research as it facilitates obtaining ‘direct’ explanations for human actions through a comprehensive speech interaction.” (Alshenqeeti, 2014). More specifically, the type of interview used is the one-on-one, semi-structured interview which “is a more flexible version of the structured interview as “(...) it allows depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewee's responses”” (Rubin & Rubin, as cited in Alshenqeeti, 2014: 40). Meaning there was a script with closed-ended and open-ended questions shared between all participants, but with the flexibility and liberty to either go in different directions depending on the participant’s answers or ask for further details about the topic in question. Because not every participant goes through the same experiences, the script only serves a superficial purpose. The intention is to ask almost vague-like questions in order to let the interviewees themselves carry out an in-depth conversation, where their feelings, thoughts and opinions are taken into consideration. Interviews are also an excellent method in getting a better understanding of and interpreting the meaning and intention behind said thoughts through content analysis or, more precisely, discourse analysis. Secondly, while primary data was collected, the interview questions were adapted from Lan Li’s 2012 study, tailored to better fit the purpose of this research, as well as adding questions on economic integration. In order to get a solid analysis, based on the number of participants used in studies from literature review, 15 individuals were interviewed over the course of one month.

Interviews are one of the best qualitative methods in analysing integration given the fact that it is such a subjective topic and experience for each individual. It offers a bigger insight into people’s lives, thus, beforehand, all interviewees were asked for consent on recording the interviews and liberty to use all information provided during the session.

### 3.1.1 Interview Structure

Furthermore, the interview is divided into 6 sections. The first section encompasses the individual's basic information, like their name, age, gender and address. The next section includes questions about their selves and the family's origin and past, as well as their social integration over the years in Portugal. This is a particular important subject as the family usually works as the first organism second generation individuals come in contact with, meaning that "The parents dominate the family relations, their integration level influences their children's achievements." (Li, 2012: 60). In addition, the third section refers to the family's background, where questions about the interviewee's relation with their family and their family's habits are made. This section is mainly to get a better understanding of how different, or similar, the individual is to their family: their academic level, career, interpersonal relationships, family's academic expectations towards the participant, the language spoken and media consumption habits. This section's purpose is to authenticate the literature review's findings that the later the age of arrival, or in this case, even being born in Portugal, will inevitably mean a greater immersion in the country's society and culture. Moreover, the next section refers to the participant's academic background. It is relevant to ask what schools they were enrolled in, seeing that it is extremely common for second generation Chinese-Portuguese individuals to go to private or international schools rather than public schools. This is a factor that can easily influence their integration in terms of the friends they make and their own personal experience with discrimination and learning difficulties.

Additionally, it is also important to compare their own personal academic expectations to their parents'. Next comes the professional background section. In the fifth section it is gathered information on their previous and present professional situation, including their own personal experience and their career plans for the future. Besides, the interviewees are asked whether they struggle to distance themselves from the family business, in order to analyse how the *Guanxi* model has evolved from first to second generations. Finally, the sixth section concerns cultural integration. In its most shallow layer, questions about religion, sports, politics, media and food are asked. On a deeper level, other topics such as the level of life satisfaction, discrimination on a daily basis, community the interviewee is inserted in are measured, as well as their own cultural identity being discussed.

### **3.2 Participant and Data Collection Method**

Two methods were tried before finding one that worked: Firstly, e-mails to ISCTE-IUL students of the Chinese diaspora were sent, but never replied to. Secondly, an e-mail was sent to the Consular and Chinese Community Section, a contact found on the website of the Chinese embassy in Portugal, asking for participants or contacts, where the answer was negative. Finally, the informal approach on social media was taken into consideration. Through an acquaintance who was part of the Chinese community, both approaches were successful: the snowball sampling technique and going through the acquaintance's followers on the Instagram social media platform with the purpose of sending private messages to potential participants.

As a result, over 66 people were contacted, of which 25 replied and 15 agreed to participate. Of the 15 interviewees, 7 were directly approached and 8 were referrals, as a result of the snowball sampling technique. It was found that this technique worked best, given the fact that participants were somewhat reluctant in taking part of the interview due to being approached unexpectedly by a stranger. Even so, some resistance was also felt in referring someone else other than their closest friends. Nevertheless, overall, it was fairly easy to find people who fit the standards of the interviews, whether they agreed to participate or not. It later became known, despite being from different areas of Portugal, what the Portuguese people from the Chinese community had in common. They were all acquaintances with one another, as a result of getting together in an annual holiday camp organised by the local Buddhist temple. In fact, out of the 15 participants, 10 had been on the holiday camp at some point in their lives.

Furthermore, all 15 interviews were managed long distance. 13 of the 15 interviews were conducted and recorded through the Zoom teleconferencing platform and the remaining 2 were by phone call and recorded externally with consent. No defined period of interview time was established, however, interviews took from 25 minutes, to 2 hours, depending on how much participants were willing to talk or develop their answers. Moreover, participants were given the option to have the interview conducted in either Portuguese or English, where only one interviewee opted for the English and another one mixed Portuguese with English.

Finally, one other data collection method was through existing data gathered from case studies and scientific articles. The selection of literature was based on proximity of topic to this study, meaning that finding studies the closest to the geographical area, age of participants and their origin in this study were favoured. For instance, studies on European immigration were preferred as opposed to American or Asian ones, and studies on Spain were elected over United



Kingdom ones. Seeing that it is an understudied matter, literature only serves its purpose as a means to validate this study's findings.

## **4. RESULTS**

### **4.1 General Data and Participants' Demography**

While the qualitative method is prevalent, a certain degree of quantitative analysis can be carried out in regard to factual data which is not driven from an empirical point of view. This section can include the sample's demography, such as the participants' age, gender, educational background, as well as their own parents' age, place of origin, educational background and year of arrival in Portugal. This section will be aided by tables and graphs, in order to get a better and synthesized outlook on the data collected. Nevertheless, it is data that can still be empirically interpreted through the method of content analysis.

According to the table below, the rounded mean age of interviewees is of 22 years old, where 40% are females and 60% males. The vast majority of participants come from Lisbon, followed by the area of Vila do Conde in the Oporto district. The reason for the concentration of interviewees in this area is due to the presence of a large Chinese community in the industrial area of Varziela. The first settlements started in the late 80's through the opening of retail and wholesale stores and warehouses as a result of the strategic location, which was close to seaports, airport and Portuguese cities like Oporto and Braga. (Fernandes, 2009: 200-201) Nowadays, it is estimated that over 200 stores and warehouses are established.

<b>Interviewee Nr.</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Location</b>
1	19	Female	Braga – Vila Nova de Famalicão
2	19	Female	Oporto - Matosinhos
3	19	Female	Oporto - Vila do Conde
4	30	Male	Lisbon – Parque das Nações
5	25	Male	Lisbon – Parque das Nações
6	19	Male	Lisbon - Ameixoeira
7	20	Male	Lisbon
8	21	Female	Lisbon
9	19	Female	Lisbon
10	20	Male	Lisbon
11	25	Male	Lisbon
12	21	Male	Lisbon
13	20	Male	The Azores – Terceira
14	20	Female	Oporto – Vila do Conde
15	28	Male	Oporto – Vila do Conde

Table 4.1: Interviewees' Age, Gender and Living Location

## 4.2 Chinese Diaspora in Portugal

While only 3 of the participants directly come from Vila do Conde, the participants from Matosinhos and Vila Nova de Famalicão also have close ties to the industrial area. The reason for this is that the industrial area of Varziela is not solely for business purposes, but for the Chinese community's own improvement as well. Fernandes (2009: 199) describes the community's dynamics as the encouragement of "co-ethnic mutual help". This differentiates Chinese immigrants from other immigrants in the sense that the community organises itself in a way that promotes mutual social ascension. A vast network of Chinese people in Portugal, China or even in other European countries was created to mobilise resources, meaning there is privileged access to information on markets, jobs, suppliers and investments. Nevertheless, according to interviewees' experiences, the social element is equally important.

Interviewee 1 mentioned how they used to attend a Chinese school in the industrial area of Varziela on Sundays. The school had different language classes depending on the students' level. The purpose was to teach immigrants' children mandarin so they could practice the language and better communicate with their parents. Besides, interviewee 7 revealed that there is also a Chinese school in Lisbon they used to attend. Additionally, interviewees revealed their

communication method with their families. The results were that 10 out of 15 participants spoke either Mandarin or the province dialect with their parents, 4 speak a mixture of Portuguese, Mandarin and/or dialect. Only one participant expressed that they speak to their parents in Portuguese, although they reply in Mandarin. Besides, when it comes to family members who were born in Portugal such as siblings and cousins, the participants tend to vary between Mandarin, dialect, Portuguese and English. Of the 12 interviewees who have Portuguese-born family members, 5 indicated that they mix Mandarin and/or dialect and Portuguese in between speech, while 3 mentioned that they speak only in Portuguese with their siblings. Moreover, the explanation for having participants who also include English in their speech, apart from the ones mentioned above, is due to attending international schools or having siblings who have. This results in having 3 interviewees who exchange between English, Portuguese and Mandarin/dialect while they communicate. Finally, only one participant speaks to their siblings exclusively in Mandarin, however, this is because they live in China. In sum, not only does this reveal high adaptation skills in participants, but also shows how they know the Portuguese language better than their parents, thus demonstrating higher integration levels.

In addition to language schools, another participant also revealed that it was common practice for a parent to take all the of the business owners' children in the Varziela area to school in Oporto. These examples show how the Varziela Chinese community takes advantage of their own network and makes it work in everyone's favour. It is also important to understand how, not only having a shared immigrant status, but also a shared socioeconomic background, can contribute to the improvement of the system created by the community all over the country. There are several factors to be taken into account: family sponsorship and reunification, cultural roots and entrepreneurship.

#### 4.2.1 Parents' demographics

Taking the figure 2 below into consideration, it can be concluded that the vast majority first came from the Zhejiang province, as literature suggested. However, 6 out of the 15 interviewed revealed that their parents first came to other EU countries before arriving in Portugal: 5 participants mentioned their parents first living in France and 1 in Germany.

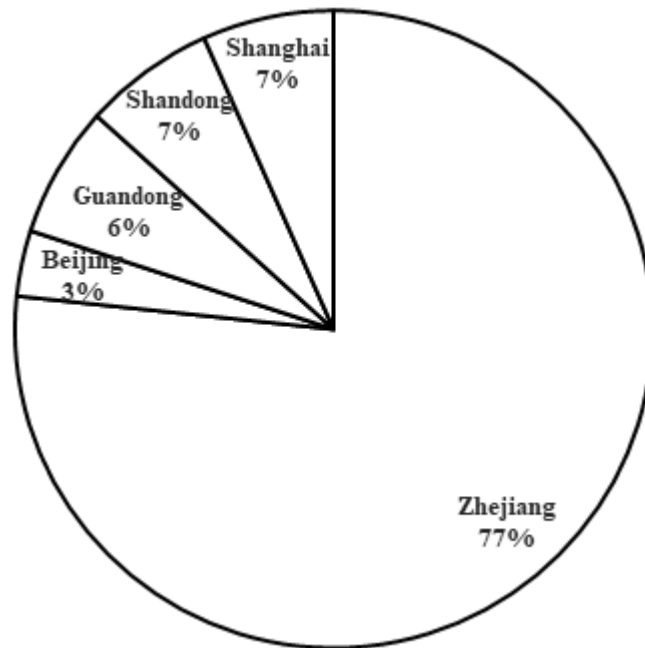


Figure 4.1: Interviewees' Family's Province or Municipality of Origin (%)

What happens is that, firstly, their own parents or brothers immigrated to these countries and were later re-joined by the participants' parents in the search of better life quality and economic stability. The pattern that was found throughout the interviews is that these individuals started working in factories, shops and warehouses, of either family members or external employers, with the aim of opening their own business. Of the large portion of those who came directly to Portugal, few were those who were able to open their business upon arrival. It was very common for them to work in jobs within the Portuguese Chinese community through the application of the *guanxi* method, meaning that they would work in restaurants or shops from Chinese owners even if they were not acquainted with the people at first. Besides, it was a lengthy process before some families could be reunited. Interviewee 6 recalls:

“Firstly, my grandfather came with an opportunity that came up, with friends or family. He came here looking for better living conditions. My grandfather worked in the kitchen of a restaurant and started saving money. He, then, lived in a rented house with the restaurant workers, which is what happens in most cases, and still happens today. He saved up and managed to bring my grandmother, two of my uncles on my father's side, and then, when my uncles arrived, they started reselling first necessity products on the street. In the meantime, they brought my aunt and my father and continued to do this type of activity until they managed to save enough to open a restaurant in Avenida de Roma.”

As a result, it is important to understand how the factors on table 4.2 below are linked. Almost all parents arrived from Zhejiang, a province famous for their entrepreneurial spirit, between the 80's and the 90's, a time of economic growth in Portugal. Additionally, the majority completed secondary education, or less, immigrated to Portugal quickly after, which means that, when comparing their age today to the age of the arrival date, they arrived quite young, which is something important to keep in consideration. It is of general consensus that interviewees' parents came with the aim of opening their business and, the reason for this, is that, this way, one can earn much more money and be more successful than if they were working for someone else. Besides, they have the flexibility of changing businesses if the outcome is not what they expected. Throughout the years, interviewees mentioned how their parents changed businesses from restaurants, to shops, to warehouses. Interviewee 5 even mentions how their family opened a sushi restaurant simply because it started becoming fashionable. This gives the insight that what matters is not the type of business, but how successful and profitable it is.

<b>Interviewee Nr.</b>	<b>Age (Father/Mother)</b>	<b>Educational Attainment (Father/Mother)</b>	<b>Year of Arrival (Father/Mother)</b>
1	47/46	9 <sup>th</sup> year	Late 90's
2	43/40	First year of University/4 <sup>th</sup> year	N.A./1992
3	44/39	N.A./Secondary education	Late 90's
4	55/N.A.	University degree/N.A.	1990/1981
5	50/50	N.A.	1988/1984
6	46/39	4 <sup>th</sup> year/Secondary education	
7	48/48	Secondary education	Late 90's
8	51/50	Secondary education/University degree	Late 90's
9	47/47	9 <sup>th</sup> year/Secondary education	N.A.
10	48/47	9 <sup>th</sup> year/Secondary education	1992
11	53/53	Secondary education	90's/80's
12	54/54	7 <sup>th</sup> year	1998
13	45/43	Secondary education	1999
14	55/47	6 <sup>th</sup> year/11 <sup>th</sup> year	Late 80's
15	55/47	6 <sup>th</sup> year/11 <sup>th</sup> year	Late 80's

Table 4.2: Participants' Parents Age, Origin, Education and Year of Arrival in Portugal

#### 4.2.2 Parents' academic expectations

However, money does not equal life satisfaction. In fact, the academic and professional pressure put on interviewees by their parents reflects a slight degree of life dissatisfaction, that they do not wish that life path for their children. Therefore, this is a topic that goes against what literature suggests. Parents are against participants inheriting the family business, unless it is inevitable. Interviewee 2 explains best the general opinion felt from all 15 participants:

“There was no pressure [in inheriting the family's business] because my parents' work is very tiring, and it takes a lot of work to earn some money. They have always wanted that my brothers and I had a normal job, with fewer hours, more relaxed, where we also earn well. In the beginning, when you open a store, you work every day, you don't have a single day of rest, you work Sundays and holidays. We didn't use to spend much time with them, we wouldn't travel or do anything. It's getting better now; I spend a lot more time with them and have a better relationship. They don't want that for us, they want us to get out of this cycle.”

While on one hand this translates to higher levels of integration within the Portuguese society, given the fact that the tendency nowadays, for Portuguese people, is to pursue a University degree, on the other hand, most of the participants' academic experience do not match that of the average Portuguese student.

### **4.3 Family's Role in Integration**

Family integration is closely related to one's cultural integration. The reason for this is that family is the main channel in which interviewees are first in contact with their Chinese cultural heritage. On the other hand, it is also the family's responsibility to expose them to the Portuguese culture and help them integrate initially. Firstly, this subchapter aims to interpret in what way family is related to interviewees' integration within society, as well as understand how participants' relation with their family works, whether there are cultural or generational divergencies. Secondly, it will be clarified how often participants go to China and if they maintain contact with their family overseas. Additionally, the participants' family religious habits will be analysed.

In fact, zero participants mentioned that their parents helped them integrate in the Portuguese society. This is not a surprise, seeing that interviewees were born and have lived

their entire lives in Portugal, therefore have always been exposed to the environment. Furthermore, this is not to say that their parents failed in integrating them, the truth is that they believed, and participants agree, there was no need for it. In turn, what happens is that they are persistent in ensuring their children do not forget Chinese culture and its values.

#### 4.3.1 Divergences Between First and Second Generation

First generation immigrants tend to have more difficulty in adjusting to the hosting country's culture, therefore, it is inevitable that interactions between the two generations might result in conflict. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that parents do not have a healthy relationship with the participants, in fact, interviewees describe a mutual sense of compromise, tolerance and understanding. Because the parents arrived in Portugal very young, participants use it as an argument to validate how open-minded they are. As a matter of fact, 7 out of the 15 interviewed individuals have described their parents as "open-minded", "westernised", "less traditional" and having "less Chinese mentality". However, it is curious how the Chinese community in Portugal is described and how it serves as an obstacle for interviewees to act more westernised in terms of relationships, going out, changing their look and the clothes they want to wear, which, in the long run might affect their integration. A few number of participants have justified their parents' more traditional behaviour by saying it is out of fear of what the community might think of them. In interviewee 3's experience, for instance, there is quite a lot to unpack. Firstly, the "people" is referring to the people who are part of the Chinese community in Portugal and this is relevant in the sense that everyone is acquainted with each other. Secondly comes the gender bias:

"My brother has always been able to sleep at friends' houses and I haven't... it's just because people talk. Your parents trust you, but the other people's parents will talk and say that you slept out, that you went to boys' houses. My mom just doesn't let me put on makeup and dye my hair for that reason too. People say girls do it for boys to like them. It is not because of our parents, but because the people speak."

Chinese parents are still rather traditional when it comes to gender. Male children tend to have more freedom in expressing themselves, even though female interviewees recognise it does not affect them to the point they feel a disparity in integration. The sentiment towards women is one of fear and preoccupation. Additionally, parents have reported feeling more at

ease if participants choose to go out with other second-generation Chinese people rather than with Portuguese natives because they know the parents of the Chinese friends. This, in turn, is also reflected in romantic relationships. 7 out of a total of 15 participants expressed that their parents would prefer if they had relationships or married someone of Chinese origin. The general consensus for this is communication: it is extremely important for Chinese parents to be able to communicate with their children's partners and, because their Portuguese is not great, or some might even not speak it at all, they would prefer someone who could speak Mandarin. In fact, some would even prefer a partner from the same province, as interviewee 11 explains:

“They prefer, of course, someone from the same area. Because China is very big, and there are many differences. They prefer someone from the same area because, in general, they have the same habits. But if I found someone different, they wouldn't say no.”

Lastly, one interviewee has already reported that their parents would not accept someone who was not a Buddhist. In addition, in general, participants will still choose to be in relationships with people of their preference, however, at least 3 participants have mentioned that their parents' influence made them change their minds. As is the case of interviewee 2:

“I tell my friends [I want to marry a Chinese person] and they think it's because my parents put this in my head. And I don't disagree either because it's something they have been telling me since I was a child, but now I see their point of view. Cultural things, being together as a family, and I want that too now.”

Therefore, the apprehension some parents feel towards Portuguese natives might create an obstacle for the assimilation of generation 2.0 Chinese individuals into the Portuguese society. This is also assuming that intermarriage is an indicator of assimilation and that assimilation equals integration. Nevertheless, the majority do tend to choose for themselves and parents usually find a way to adapt and compromise.

#### 4.3.2 Relationship with Non-Immediate Relatives and China

Contrary to first-generation immigrants, interviewees are much more disconnected from their family living in China. A large majority only maintains contact with their grandparents and uncles, and even then, some only speak to them if their parents order them to or in the case of



celebrations such as the Chinese New Year or if it is a relative's birthday. In addition to that, interviewee 15 shared their experience regarding a barrier in communication:

“Because they are family I didn't grow up with, we have very superficial contact. Then there is a language barrier. I don't speak Mandarin, I speak the dialect of my parents' city, but it is very limited. I speak with them in situations of celebrations, ceremonies...”

On one hand, this shows higher levels of integration in Portugal due to being more comfortable with the people around them and better expressing themselves in Portuguese. On the other hand, there is the downside of language barriers, resulting in a loss of contact with family.

As to participants' relationship with China, 6 of them decided to share their point of view and several topics were brought up. The most common one, discussed by half of participants, is the fact that they physically fit in in China, therefore they no longer feel stared at or discriminated against as they do in Portugal. Interviewee 2 mentions how Portuguese natives never perceive them as Portuguese at first sight, while interviewee 14 explains how they do not experience racism in China, thus contributing to a stronger sense of belonging. Nonetheless, according to interviewees' statements, there is still a strong sense of “otherness” felt, apart from physical features. For instance, interviewee 6 recalls attending a summer camp in China and noticing the behavioural differences between them and Chinese natives. In addition, interviewee 9 notices differences in fashion trends, giving the example of how westerns are comfortable with showing more skin, whereas Chinese natives are not. Moreover, interviewee 12 simply does not feel at home in China and does not like to stay in the country for long periods of time. Interviewee 14 also remembers acknowledging differences regarding body types that would make them stand out from Chinese natives:

“And I also think that some people immediately notice that I am different, I'm curvier... because there [in China] they are thinner, it's the culture. My mom is a typical Chinese and she always wants to be at certain weight... the trend here [in Portugal] is to be curvier.”

Lastly, once again, there is the issue of language barriers. Interviewee 15 mentions that, despite not being regarded as a tourist, they do not feel at home as a result of not speaking Mandarin. Interviewee 9, on the other hand, although they speak Mandarin, they noticed cultural differences such as not understanding Chinese natives' “private jokes”, which reinforces the contrast between Chinese and Portuguese humour. In short, when weighing the

participants' integration levels between Portugal and China, it is clear that there are far more cultural nuances felt in China that can, however, contribute to a divided sense of identity.

#### 4.3.3 Divergences in Religion

From interview analysis, it can quickly be concluded that Buddhism is a major bonding component for the Chinese community in Portugal. 80% of participants have direct family members who consider themselves Buddhists and regularly visit the local Buddhist temple. Regarding the participants' religion, for those whose family do not have a religion, they do not have one either. However, from those whose family is Buddhist, only 3 claim they do not have a religion. Nevertheless, 9 interviewees consider themselves Buddhist, of which 5 are lapsed Buddhists, and 4 are practicing Buddhists.

The reason so many participants are tied to the religion is not due to their family's influence over practicing it, but rather because of activities organised by the temple for young people. After conducting 3 interviews, it was understood that the summer holiday camp for young people in the Buddhist temple was a surprisingly important bridge in terms of forming new connections and friendships for participants. So, the question of whether participants had taken part in the activity was added to the interview script. Consequently, it was concluded that 11 out of the 15 interviewees had participated in the holiday camp several times. Furthermore, a large percentage agreed their experience was more related to making new friends and reconnecting with friends who live in other areas of Portugal, than it was religious. In fact, many enjoyed the holiday camp because it was an opportunity to meet people who could relate to them more: people with the same background, same age, second generation Chinese individuals.

In this particular case, family's influence over motivating participants into meeting other second-generation Chinese people is a positive one. Firstly, because it strengthens the ties within the Chinese community, ensuring that this generation does not forget their Chinese cultural ties. Secondly, it is also important in terms of interpersonal relationships, which is something that will be addressed in the chapter of social integration.

Regarding integration religion-wise, the impression interviewees gave was that family was not too concerned with the participants' religion. Parents do not impose their religion on their children and, those who consider themselves Buddhist because of their parents, did not do

so out of pressure. However, participants did not show any interest in becoming Christian, which is the most predominant religion in Portugal. Nevertheless, Christianity has suffered a major decline amongst younger generations, so it could be deduced that the participants' religious stance corresponds to the trend observed in younger generations of Portuguese natives.

#### **4.4 Educational Attainment**

This section refers to the analysis of the interviewees' academic background and how it influenced their integration in Portugal. Firstly, for context purposes, the education demographics will show what each participants' highest academic level is and how their academic journey progressed. Secondly, content analysis will be made as a means to understand the reasons for attending a public, private or international school, how their family's pressure influenced the participants' outcome and their expectations for the future in an academic and professional sense.

##### 4.4.1 Education demographics

In terms of education, only 4 out of 15 participants completed their mandatory education in public schools from primary to secondary education. Other 6 interviewees, at some point, attended public school but changed to, or from, private or international schools. The remaining 5 completed their education through private or international schools. Additionally, there are 2 participants who first started their education in China and later came back to Portugal. It can be concluded that the participants' academic path is rather different from the Portuguese natives students', seeing that the vast majority studies in public schools from the 1<sup>st</sup> year until the 12<sup>th</sup> year.

Regarding undergraduate and graduate studies, only 3 participants have secondary education as their highest academic level, of which, 2 have intentions of getting into a University degree this year. This means that 80% of interviewees have a degree or are currently pursuing one. From those 80%, which equals a total of 12 participants, 7 are studying or have studied in England and 5 are studying or have studied in a Portuguese university. While only one participant holds a Master's degree, it is important to highlight that the sample's interviewees are within an age group that only allows them to only hold or be attending a

bachelor's degree. Nevertheless, 5 people have expressed their wishes of getting enrolled in a Master's degree in the future.

Additionally, it is important to highlight how, out of the 12 people studying or who hold a University degree, 7 have a background related to management, marketing or finance. Lastly, 2 have a medical background, 1 in computer science, 1 in international relations and 1 in design and fine arts.

#### 4.4.2 Parents' influence over academic outcome: cultural roots and social class

It is not a coincidence that so many participants chose to follow a business-related academic path. In fact, it stems from their parents' influence, which in turn has cultural undertones. As mentioned above, individuals from their provinces have a very business-oriented mindset, which can directly, or indirectly, influence even those who are from generation 2.0. The general sentiment amongst interviewees is that their parents do not force them to choose that path, but rather give subtle hints and try to direction them that way. Everyone seems to share the opinion that their parents give them the freedom of choice, however, they would prefer that the interviewees' chose a career path that gave them financial security. Interviewee 3 explains the situation best, given the fact that what they want goes against their parents' expectations:

“I wanted fashion design, but my parents wanted me to go to accounting or something related to business, to earn more money. I went into marketing, but I didn't like it and left. This year I will apply to the fashion design course. Nowadays they don't care so much, but my mom sends me a message every day saying, "You have to have more choice, think if that's what you want, business makes more [money], it has more future." She puts a lot of pressure on me, especially me being the first child.”

Besides, not only being the first child, but being the first generation in the family that can have the opportunity of going to university can put quite some pressure on these individuals. Interviewees often report how their parents associate better opportunities with private and international schools, which is one of the main reasons that 73% of the participants attended them. While on one hand there seems to be a general bias that universities in the United Kingdom are better than in Portugal, on the other hand individuals quickly become fluent in English just by attending an international school, thus, indeed, preparing them better for opportunities in the future. Parents invest in their education early on as a strategy. Furthermore,

there seems to be a very strong conflict between projecting their desires onto their children and supporting their own children's desires. What this means is that parents only have so much flexibility within their own ideals, thus creating friction by the time their children must pursue a higher academic degree. By taking interviewee 9's experience into consideration, it can be deduced how flexible Chinese parents are when it comes to academic paths.

“They think what matters is that I like what I do... they are not those parents who want me to be a doctor. They just worry about whether I have a future or not ... if I wanted to be a dancer, they would not accept it because it is a profession with little professional opportunities. I wanted to follow fashion design and they eventually accepted it because they know I like it.”

Another extremely important aspect that was mentioned during interviews regarding education is the concept of social class. Studies have shown that immigrants have higher academic and professional aspirations than natives do, and that “(...) both striving for upward mobility and anticipated discrimination in the labour market can account for this (Heath and Brinbaum 2007, as cited in Seghers, M., Boone, S., & Van Avermaet, P., 2019: 3).” However, due to one's social class, not all of them can achieve it. Social, cultural and economic capital still play a huge part. Class is no longer solely related to one's economic assets, it is also associated with social networks and access to cultural goods. As a result, today, a higher educational background equals exposure to these three aspects. What the parents seem to be lacking is cultural capital in the form of an academic degree, which then they try to project onto their children. Nevertheless, not in a selfish way, rather the contrary. They want them to have what they were never able to get, to not having to sacrifice, compromise or work non-stop.

“At some point in her life she realised that money does not equal status. She said “Of course, we're doing business, we're always going to have a bigger chance to have more money than in a regular job... but your status is different from ours. At least, in Portugal, we're always going to be in the bottom. No matter how hard we try we're always going to be just “Chinese immigrants””. If you study and become a doctor or teacher it's different, they look at you differently, this is why she invested in our education.” - Interviewee 14

The concept of private and international schools is immediately associated with prestige and upper class due to how expensive they are. Interviewee 13 explains how being in an international school influences them to be more ambitious, that there are several factors: firstly, people are more open minded because everyone comes from different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds; secondly, because classes are taught in English, they develop an “international

mentality”. When broadening their horizons, Portuguese universities are no longer in the equation.; Thirdly, the interviewee speaks of an environment that motivates them to study harder, that everyone is trying their best and therefore they feel compelled to do so as well.

In sum, in terms of integration, the impression is that parents do not necessarily work towards the interviewees’ integration in Portugal by having them go through the same experience as Portuguese natives’ school wise. Rather, they are looking to integrate them in an international context. The sentiment is that there is a deep, genuine concern in ensuring interviewees have access to every opportunity available, so they have a wider range of choice in the future, be it in Portugal or not.

## **4.5 Academic Integration**

Despite interviewing individuals who have already been born in Portugal, there are several conditions to be taken into consideration concerning school integration. In this segment, it will be interpreted how academic institutions and their environment might affect generation 2.0’s educational achievements. It will also be evaluated whether schools have any integration programs specifically for immigrant descendants or Portuguese lessons, if discrimination occurs and in what conditions and, finally, how the “Other” is seen and in what way it is reflected on the Portuguese society.

### **4.5.1 - Discrimination in the Academic Environment**

As gathered from table 4.3 below, public school is where most participants felt discrimination or racism. Out of the 10 individuals who have attended public schools, 7 directly describe it as racism, while 2 other individuals say they have never felt discriminated but do mention being the target of harmless jokes between friends. In private schools, only 1 of the 8 people who have attended one disclosed feeling offended towards jokes and comments made about their ethnicity. However, they do not consider it discrimination. Additionally, out of the 7 participants who attended international schools, 1 felt discriminated against, as well as a victim of bullying. Moreover, regarding universities, only participants who study, or have studied in Portuguese universities mentioned being victims of racism. This accounts for 2 out of 5 participants.

	Public School	Private School	International School	Portuguese University	Foreign University
1	x				
2				x	
3	x				
4				x	
5					
6	x				
7					
8					
9	x				
10	x				
11					
12					
13					
14	x		x		
15	x				

Table 4.3: Discrimination Occurrences in Academic Institutions by Number of Interviewee

Firstly, it is important to highlight that what determines the occurrence of discrimination is not a matter of a school being public or private, but rather a matter of the environment participants find themselves in and how well schools educate their students towards tolerance and multiculturalism.

When asked about racism or discrimination, the interviewees' tendency was to justify it as the lack of diversity and ethnic representation in the academic environment. Participants shared that they were either the only, or one of the two, children at school whose parents are of Chinese origin. Another reason that justifies the environment being the biggest factor, rather than institutions' ownership is the experience of one interviewee. Interviewee 4 mentions how they were never the subject of racism because the public schools they attended were located in the municipality of Sintra, which is where a large number of immigrants tend to settle. They recall how, although they never had Asian friends, they did have a large number of colleagues from Portuguese-speaking African countries. Additionally, they mention how they felt integrated at school because there were many minorities in their class, and nobody would focus on their "otherness". Furthermore, coincidentally, the 2 participants who did not recall having ever felt discriminated against at school, came from public schools in smaller areas, one from the small city of Cartaxo and another from Terceira Island, in the Azores. The interviewee who attended school in Cartaxo explicitly declares that, despite being the only Chinese student, they were treated very well because everyone knew each other in the area and knew them from their

parents' restaurant. On the contrary, the interviewee from the Azores simply mentions how friendlier people from the island are in comparison to people from Lisbon.

A similar situation happens in Portuguese universities, the second highest place participants declared having been victims of discrimination. Before all else, it is relevant to highlight how Portuguese universities predominantly consist of Caucasian students and professors. The first contributing factor is the direct link to the lack of integration immigrants and children of immigrants suffer from at school. The second contributing factor are the divergences in the socioeconomic background between immigrants from different ethnic groups and Portuguese natives. As concluded by Ribeiro, N. et al. (2016: 3-4): "Despite this identification of cultural and ethnic specificity as a main cause for the academic underperformance of young immigrants, several studies have emphasized that the families' social condition has a significant impact on the results of immigrant pupils (e.g., Darmody, Smyth, Byrne, & McGinnity, 2012; Seabra, 2012), namely the socioeconomic status (Nicolas et al., 2009)." This results in the presence of very few minorities in higher education institutional spaces, therefore, the environment is extremely homogenous, consisting of people from the same ethnicity and socioeconomic background. In conclusion, the pattern seems to be that the lesser the diversity in academic spaces, the bigger the likelihood of second-generation Chinese individuals suffering discrimination.

Moreover, when asking interviewees about what schools could do to improve the integration of second-generation Chinese individuals like them, racism was the topic which was overwhelmingly discussed. The majority felt like they did not need outside help in terms of learning and grades, instead, what stood out were the relationships with teachers and colleagues. Interviewee 14 breaks it down:

"Maybe anti-racist discourse, the way teachers speak about it. If a kid comes to you and he says, "he called me Chinese" and the teacher says, "but you are Chinese." ... I've heard about these things and I think if your parents are racist or look at Chinese people differently, you have that problem at home already. But then you come to school and your teacher's the same, or if you grow up like that, it's systemic racism. You have to break it down and make education more flexible. If you notice that Chinese kids are suffering from racism, the education system should be changed to incorporate Chinese people in it. We used to have classes on culture, but they were mostly used as an excuse to make fun of other cultures... I remember there was African music and people would make fun of it."



#### 4.5.2 - Language Barriers at School

According to statements, it seems to be a common practice for Chinese parents to send their children off to China for a few years to learn the dialect or mandarin. 2 of the 15 participants directly experienced that and, while they are a minority within the sample, it is noteworthy to mention, if only to point out the lack of strategies for integration implemented by schools.

A study (Hortas, 2008) regarding the integration of children of immigrants in Lisbon schools highlights the difficulties in developing integration projects. It states that schools should create means to stimulate respect towards multiculturalism, educate students in a tolerant and open-minded way and learn to deal with diversity. However, in terms of teaching Portuguese as a second language, the Ministry of Education has not implemented a program in the national program. Each school has their own strategy, which is directly correlated to the lack of resources available. Schools have been improvising, trying out different informal methods such as integrating newly arrived children with children of the same origin in the same class for support. Even so, Chinese students, particularly, might not benefit much from this, seeing that all participants that went to public schools mentioned being the only Chinese there. Nevertheless, it is agreed that schools lack in teachers specialised in Portuguese as a second language.

Interviewee 14 recalls that, after having stayed in China from age 5 to 7 to learn Mandarin, they eventually forgot Portuguese. When the time came to attend classes in Portugal, they could understand the language but could not speak it. While in one hand they were able to quickly overcome that issue, surely, on the other hand, they would have benefited from Portuguese classes to avoid being at a disadvantage in comparison to their classmates. Interviewee 3's experience was a rather difficult one and it clearly represents how students are often left to find their own strategies in order to communicate with others:

“From kindergarten to 5<sup>th</sup> grade I was in China, but it was very difficult, I didn't understand anything. (...) In Portugal, I went to a Portuguese school, in the 5<sup>th</sup> year. I didn't even talk to my schoolmates, I hung out with the Chinese and stayed with them. When they left school, I started to hang out with Portuguese people more and started learning the language. The language was a barrier to getting to know more Portuguese people. We used body language or “google translate” to communicate. The experience was always difficult because when I

started to get along better with the Portuguese, my mother decided to move me to an international school, and I did not know how to speak English.”

#### 4.5.3 - Discrimination Occurrences

Interviewees have faced all sorts of discrimination at school, from racism to xenophobia, from microaggressions to physical attacks. Verbal abuse is, by far, the prevailing practice of racial harassment and discrimination, accounting for the experience of all participants except one, which had escalated to physical violence. The most common insult reported was being called “chinoca”, which in Portugal is a derogatory term for Chinese individual, where 5 participants specifically mentioned being victims of. Other insults include being called “arroz xau xau”, which roughly translates to “egg fried rice”, a very common dish in Chinese restaurants in Portugal, or even being victims of jokes, such as asking if they were having dog for dinner. Recently, participants have mentioned being the target of COVID-19 related jokes because of their race. Furthermore, 2 participants have reported feeling left out by their colleagues.

While a portion of interviewees looks at discrimination at school as jokes and pranks, some have been victims of more serious types of discrimination which clearly show how deeply rooted systemic and internalised racism is in the Portuguese society. Besides, rooted to the point that interviewee 15 experienced two situations where they had been a target of harmful stereotypes but only realised how harmful it was years later:

“In a 6<sup>th</sup> year history class, during carnival, the whole class dressed me in a typical Chinese dress and painted my whole face with make-up because it was part of the history class, kind of a strange celebration...”

“I was a good student and I was always considered a role model in math class and drawing... because I am exotic and because there is that stereotype that the Chinese are very good at mathematics and arts, I was always used as an example of a good student, of a well-behaved person. Also, because we had people from the gypsy community or with special needs that were badly behaved or difficult, and me being the “other” within minorities, I was the best-behaved person. (...) These are experiences that are not negative because they are supposed to be compliments, but looking back, this is total discrimination and, were I not a good student, this would have been added pressure, to complement a person's projection of a what an Asian person is.”

Moreover, there are two occurrences where being Chinese is portrayed in a negative light. The first one, associating Chinese features with ugliness, and the second one, where being Chinese has a negative connotation, by being a representation of the lower-class.

“The photography project [I participated in] was presented to the whole school as a thesis project and in the presentation, when explaining the photos, he says he chose me because I was ugly, and this was said publicly in the presentation..., but the way he said it was not an insult, it was innocent, a finding. I am ugly because I am not white. I am ugly and, therefore, I am fit to represent that project.” - Interviewee 15

“There was this student that came from a private school, who even used to be a customer at my restaurant. He had problems accepting that, because his parents had divorced and were already unable to support the private school, he was going to a public school and was my classmate. I knew the kid ... I know he was embarrassed. Firstly, for going to a public school, secondly for having me as a classmate, that is, being at my level.” - Interviewee 6

Lastly, one episode of physical attacks was reported. Whereas this situation is not representative of the interviewees' experience, it is important seeing as it is the direct consequence of interviewee 9's shame in being Chinese back in public school. The participant also mentioned how they would avoid showing their face in order to not show their facial features.

“People messed with me because they saw me alone and I was never the type of person to respond. I ignored it and kept walking, but sometimes they pushed me against the wall. They started to say “chinoca” and to go back to my country. People have also stolen my school card and used the money on the card to buy food.”

## **4.6 Professional and Economic Integration**

This chapter focuses on interpreting the ways in which second-generation Chinese individuals integrate the labour market. In addition, the aim of analysing economic integration in this context was to get a better understanding of how this generation of interviewees navigate through entering the labour market in this day and age. Moreover, considering that they have higher academic qualifications and higher professional standards than those of literature review's studies, there will, inevitably, be differences between them. Consequently, analysis on

several aspects will be made, such as: how the *guanxi* method is applied; personal and the family's career prospects towards participants; whether they have worked and in which areas; how their personal and social experience in a professional setting in Portugal affected them.

#### 4.6.1 - Career Prospects

Firstly, because most interviewees opted and had the opportunity to pursue academic degrees, it is natural that some of their professional experience might be limited. For this reason, experience such as internships, temporary work and part-time work will be taken into consideration apart from career-related employment.

In terms of professional experience, attending to figure 4.2 below, only the 3 participants who have finished their studies are currently working full-time. Although participants do not consider it as part of a professional experience, 14 out of 15 interviewees have helped on the family business. Only one has not because the family's business is based in China. Apart from that, only two interviewees have not had any professional experience so far. Those who are still studying have either worked part-time or completed internships: 4 have worked in Portugal, while 3 have worked in England, where they are studying; 2 have completed internships in Portugal and 1 in England.

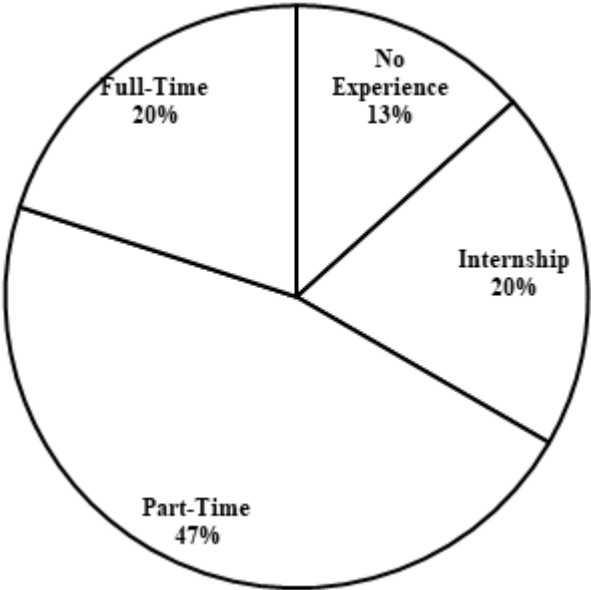


Figure 4.2: Interviewees' Professional Experience (%)

Additionally, it should be highlighted that only one interviewee is involved in ethnic work, working in the family business, while all remaining participants are not. Despite still being students, interviewees make an effort to partake in jobs unrelated to their careers, thus increasing their levels of economic and professional integration. Nevertheless, many have shared their plans for the future and, unsurprisingly, have either expressed wishes of opening their own business, or look at it as a possibility. It could be interpreted that this wish stems from their family's influence, considering that interviewee 7 mentions:

“My parents would also like that I had my own business. They do not ask me to drop everything and do this, they also prefer that I have a secondary income, not that I only earn the business' salary. I think it comes of the culture of the province where we came from.”

Additionally, interviewee 14 says that, despite wanting to become a doctor, they also acknowledge that they have a business mindset, therefore, would not mind starting their own business on the side. As a result, out of the 15 participants, 6 have intentions of starting their own business, 3 already do have their own business, 1 works in their family's business and another one considers expanding the family's business. Consequently, it is safe to say that only a minority of the sample chooses to follow a career path with an employer other than themselves. Besides, it is interesting to look at the evolution of the *guanxi* method. In the case of second-generation individuals, it becomes unrecognisable. It is a concept that no longer applies to this generation at first sight, professionally wise, as they have no interest in pursuing a career related to ethnic work or within the Chinese community.

Furthermore, some have expressed that they do not wish to pursue a career in Portugal. The intention is not because of lower integration levels, but rather due to the country's lack of opportunities and low wages. Nevertheless, many do feel comfortable and consider Portugal a safe place to live. It is important to highlight that, from an empirical point of view, this is a situation that concerns Portuguese natives as well, as many feel forced to emigrate for similar reasons. While it is a situation which impacts the results of economic integration, it is relevant to draw attention to the fact that this is a trend which is not exclusive to immigrants or second-generation Chinese individuals, therefore cannot be accounted for as a factor of integration.

However, when addressing the literature review topic on education transferability and wage convergence, all participants completed their education in Portugal or in the United Kingdom, which is a EU15 country. Thus, it would be expected that, were interviewees in

search of employment in Portugal, they would have access to the same opportunities and wages as Portuguese natives do, or even better ones. As for the participants who work in Portugal, disparities in this area were reported as non-existent.

#### 4.6.2 - Experience in Professional Settings

The professional environment is where interviewees reported feeling less discriminated against. In general, all professional experiences in Portugal were positive ones and every single person felt integrated. In fact, interviewee 10 recalls how their employer made the effort of accommodating them to their preferred language of communication, seeing that the interviewee was more comfortable with speaking in English rather than in Portuguese.

However, when asked about feeling integrated, two interviewees associated a multicultural workplace with integration. What impacts interviewees the most seems to be their social relation with work colleagues and superiors. Interviewee 2 hints at the fact that because her work colleagues were from different countries, including China, and because most of the clients were foreigners, that that would contribute to higher levels of integration in their professional setting. Interviewee 8 also mentions the detail that, in their last internship, Portuguese natives were mixed with Chinese individuals, that there were no separate groups. Additionally, interviewee 4 recalls a similar case. Immediately after being asked whether they felt integrated at their workplace, their reaction was the following:

“My workplace at the moment is quite mixed. There are people from different origins, I never had any kind of problem. (...) When I was working in market research it [the experience] was never negative. Most of the co-workers were Caucasian and Portuguese and I never felt any kind of discrimination, it was a harmonious environment.”

As a result, it is interesting to analyse how, to interviewees, working in a predominantly Portuguese-native professional environment is associated with facing discrimination. The first thing interviewee 4 mentioned was how there had never been an issue due to working in a multicultural environment but, upon further reflection, there never was in a Portuguese setting either. From previous analysis, attending to participants' background, there is higher tendency of higher rates of discrimination and a sense of “otherness” when placed in a homogenous environment such as, in this case, an environment with Caucasian Portuguese-natives. In sum,

either for those who work or have worked in Portugal or in foreign countries, there has not been reported low levels of integration, whether socially or in terms of work conditions.

Nevertheless, it should be considered that, in some cases, ethnicity is still somewhat relevant in the professional field and very much tied to the concept of orientalism and “otherness”, as interviewee 15 explains:

“Nowadays, being a visual artist, my profession requires a level of selling myself as an Asian person, because people appreciate something exotic in the market. I am now much more valuable than a Caucasian artist, I am much more interesting. And I am very aware of that and I have been making a lot of money at the expense of it. It is strange, but it is what it is. I look at it like someone who goes to a Brazilian restaurant to eat Brazilian food. You want to have the experience; it turns out to be the same.”

## **4.7 Social Integration**

The experience surrounding social integration was, by far, the most discussed topic during interviews. Personal relationships and interactions with strangers are part of one’s daily life, therefore, one of the most impactful regarding integration in Portugal and how the interviewees’ identity is defined. Key factors will be analysed in this section, such as: Social relationships, relationships with strangers and, lastly, sexual and romantic relationships with Portuguese natives.

As it will be concluded, racism still plays a large role in the Portuguese society. A reason for so many testimonies mentioning racism could be that negative experiences are often the ones an individual remembers most vividly, although, this might not be the case. When so many similar experiences are reported in different relationship contexts and in such a systemic way, one must acknowledge that, unfortunately, it is a characteristic that is still widespread in the Portuguese society, whether unconsciously or not.

### **4.7.1 - Comparing Social Relationships**

From interviewees’ experience, there is a clear distinction between social interactions amongst Portuguese natives and second-generation Chinese individuals in Portugal. 9 interviewees

reported feeling more at ease and comfortable with second-generation Chinese people, while 3 interviewees mentioned having more Portuguese natives and international friends. Lastly, only interviewee 6 expressed feeling more comfortable with Portuguese natives. Nevertheless, all participants have close bonds with Portuguese friends.

There are several contributing factors as to why some interviewees have fewer Portuguese native friends. Interviewee 3 feels as though their biggest obstacle is a language barrier, they are afraid of not being understood and of making mistakes while they communicate. Additionally, interviewees 8 and 11 have mentioned feeling differences in humour and in the use of irony, that Portuguese natives frequently use irony to an extent that interviewees might not understand. On the other hand, participants feel as if there are certain parts of themselves Portuguese natives do not comprehend either. There have been reported slight divergences in the train of thought, values, morals and mentality, consequently leading to interviewees having higher levels of intimacy with those who can relate to them the most, that being other people from the Chinese community, preferably those who are also part of the second-generation. Moreover, interviewee 4 gives an example of how Portuguese natives tend to draw attention to differences, thus reinforcing the “Us vs. Them” dynamic and contributing to feelings of “otherness”:

“They don't see me as Portuguese very often. I have many friends who like to say to me “Wow, you are already one of us, you already speak Portuguese, you were born here.”, but there are certain attitudes and thoughts that suggest that I am not. From time to time I feel more integrated and more welcome among the Chinese than the Portuguese. For example, the Portuguese are always saying “It's as funny that you do this, and that.” I have a bottle of water by the bed because I like to drink water when I wake up, but the Portuguese say right away “Oh, the Chinese do such weird things.”. However, the Chinese would never point out a difference, I could really enjoy eating snails and drinking beer that they will never say to me “Oh, you are so Portuguese!”.”

Moreover, apart from pointing out cultural differences, interviewee 4 and participant 15 also highlight Portuguese natives' ignorance towards racism aimed at other ethnic minority groups, which can be damaging to relationships between Portuguese natives and members of the Chinese diaspora in Portugal:

“I think I can say that there are no differences, I do not feel any change in attitudes [in Portuguese friends] when I show up, or the way they talk to me. But regarding what has been



happening lately in the world, in conversations about anti-racism... I already knew they were like that, but that's when I started to see what racism was for them. For them, this is how most Western people think, that there is only white and black, and with the rest of the ethnic groups is not racism, it is discrimination, "Oh, because there are people so silly! It's not racism, it's because they are silly, don't mind them!" - Interviewee 15

"There are also many situations that I immediately identify as racism and my Portuguese friends do not. I don't think it's out of spite, they are simply not fully aware of their privilege to realize it. Fortunately, there are people who are willing to learn." - Interviewee 4

Nonetheless, many expressed that they would like to have more Portuguese friends, however, the issue remains. Because interviewees are at an age where friendship groups are already formed and solid, they find it difficult to meet new people and integrate the groups. The factor of attending international schools also comes into play. In an environment with fewer Portuguese natives, it becomes harder to find alternative methods to meet people. Although, in interviewee 11's point of view, they also feel some resistance from Portuguese natives:

"Another thing, sometimes, in the beginning, as they do not know us, it is difficult to try to join a group that is already well established. (...) I think the Portuguese have a harder time accepting outsiders in groups... because here we are not very used to seeing foreigners. But in the UK, as they are used to seeing foreigners, it seems they are already better at that. Here we have to work a little bit of that."

Yet, the relationships are usually harmonious. Interviewees simply describe them as different, that they are flexible and can easily adapt to the environment and situations depending on the people they are with at a given moment. There is not an extra effort made, it is something that comes to interviewees naturally, despite relating more to members of the Chinese community like themselves. On one hand, a certain sentiment of distrust towards Portuguese natives is present, on the other hand, participants have also described positive aspects found in Portuguese natives' relationships. Interviewee 14 explains how Portuguese natives are more individualistic, care about mental health and society, that there is a sentiment of brotherhood and sisterhood and feeling welcomed.

#### 4.7.2 - Portuguese Natives' Perception Towards Participants

A key factor on social integration is not only one's personal relationships, but also their relationship with society. How strangers perceive and interact with each other is directly linked to integration factors such as one's well-being, life satisfaction and the extent to which they identify themselves with the Portuguese culture.

When asked about interactions with strangers, only 3 participants refrained from going into detail regarding the subject. Although mentioning it happens occasionally, the main issue brought up by interviewees was verbal racism. Unpleasant comments, whistling, stretching their eyes, trying to imitate the language are all episodes reported by participants, with the most common one being to be called "chinoca" from people in passing cars and in the streets. Recently, with the virus pandemic, 5 interviewees revealed being victims of COVID-19-related discrimination. Hearing comments such as "You brought the virus! It is your fault!", having strangers coughing when walking past interviewees, people trying to keep their distance, or even running from participants, while staying closer to Portuguese natives. Interviewee 11 reinforces the idea that Chinese people and their struggles, as a minority group in Portugal, are often overlooked and not taken seriously and, as a result, they become an easy target of racism even though Portuguese natives take it ignorantly playfully:

"But now, with COVID-19, people look at you the wrong way... but there is less of that now. It seems that strangers are free to talk in that way to Chinese people, but if it were a black person it would be different, it would be racism. There is still a long way to go ... for example, in the years that I was in the United Kingdom this did not happen. These comments against Asian people did not happen. The problem here [in Portugal] is that racism is only considered against black people."

Whereas most interviewees try to ignore this type of situations, there are still situations where Portuguese natives genuinely believe participants do not understand them and are looked at as the "other", as strange. 4 people recall events such as these as bothersome, that they feel they are being denied part of their identity. Moreover, in the case of interviewee 14, this feeling developed into a lack of self-esteem:

"Whenever I walk in the street people look at me differently, even with a mask, because my slanted eyes give it away that I'm Chinese, especially with older people. It's just the look, the look makes a difference. We talk about violence, but the look is important. Ever since I was 7 years old, I've noticed people looking at me different. It's not like "she's cute" it's racist... the look is underrated. Maybe because I got so many looks ever since I remember, it made me

have no confidence and low self-esteem and feeling uncomfortable. It tears you apart daily, it's not once, it's every day, slowly biting you, it's annoying.”

Additionally, on a first impression basis, interviewees are perceived as Chinese in most cases, never as Portuguese. Interviewee 7 and 12 are not bothered by it, they feel that it is a normal reaction. Interviewee 15, however, feels more affected by it, especially given the fact that they identify themselves as more Portuguese than Chinese:

“10 years ago, when I was still in Portugal, when someone heard me speak Portuguese, the face that people made was completely... it was a face that looked like they were seeing a disgusting experience. But nowadays, because of gentrification, it is much easier for people to speak to me in English, there is a total denial that I am even Portuguese. I would rather have them make a strange face than just address me in English. It is much easier for people to imagine that I am a tourist than a person who grew up there.”

#### 4.7.3 - Romantic and Sexual Relationships

In general, participants who have or have had sexual and romantic relationships with Portuguese natives did not have depreciative thoughts to point out from their experience. In truth, few were those willing to discuss it, maybe because they have not had the experience.

Interviewee 15, however, mentions that in their experience, as a member of the LGBT community, it is extremely common for people to want a “mirror version” of themselves. Consequently, since LGBT second-generation Chinese people are an even smaller minority in Portugal, the interviewee often felt unwanted, which in turn developed into a lack of self-esteem at a young age. Additionally, they mention that there are two types of people, those who refuse to be involved with an East Asian looking person, and those who fetishize them:

“This is a general rule, not just in Portugal, even happens in England, my ethnicity is the first thing that stands out and I have to deal with a whole group of people who have a fetish, meaning I am never looked at as a person, I am looked at as a sexual object. And then there is always that to overcome, you have to try to understand if the person comes to talk to you is for fetish purposes or has a real interest.”

Furthermore, still on the LGBT topic, given that it can be a sensible topic for some, during interviews, when asked about relationships, the gender-neutral term of “partner” was

used. The aim was to not make assumptions regarding interviewees' sexuality, thus making them more comfortable to share their experiences. However, most of interviewees' reaction was to laugh, seeing that it is an uncommon term, therefore giving the impression that it could be a "taboo" subject. Additionally, interviewee 14 shared that it is something their parents might not accept. In sum, parents' views could cause second-generation Chinese individuals who are members of the LGBT community to repress this part of their identity, causing them to not feel as integrated in Portugal. Contrary to China, Portugal has recognised same-sex marriage in 2010 and adoption in 2016. Recently, transgender people have seen the transition process being simplified by laws approved over the years.

## **4.8 Cultural Integration and Identity**

The importance of analysing cultural integration is to get a better understanding of what contributes to a sense of belonging and identity towards a certain culture. Because generation 2.0 Chinese individuals are exposed to the Chinese culture at home but to the Portuguese outside of their homes, that can easily generate a certain degree of internal conflict. Therefore, looking at previous researches, the cultural elements analysed in previous studies will also be analysed in this study, as well as trying to recognise what are the most defining factors, for interviewees, that contribute to the development of their cultural identity.

Analysing outer layers of culture provides the insight on how acquainted and involved interviewees are with the most superficial aspects of the Portuguese culture. Elements such as media, sports, politics and food will be taken into account.

### **4.8.1 - Outer Layers of Culture**

Apart from language, nationality, religion and values, there is also a set of cultural characteristics that can be analysed, that is, popular culture. More specifically, categories such as entertainment, news, sports and politics, as well as eating habits.

Regarding the topic of entertainment, firstly, rather than asking whether interviewees watched Portuguese films and television or listened to Portuguese music, it is essential to understand what the habits of Portuguese natives in the same age gap are. From an empirical

perspective, few are the young Portuguese natives who have an interest in Portuguese music, television and films. The focus is on western popular culture in general, which is usually associated with the American culture. This includes Hollywood movies, American TV shows, watching them on streaming platforms like Netflix and listening to American music. In fact, many do not watch regular television anymore except for news channels. As for interviewees, 9 out of 15 recalled not watching television. From those who do, 3 watch more Portuguese television, 2 more Chinese television and 1 participant watches both. However, interviewees mentioned watching television either because their parents watch those channels or is used as background noise.

Excluding television, it can be concluded that western popular culture is what appeals to 100% of participants. 6 participants only enjoy western films, series and music, whereas the remaining 8 also enjoy Chinese and Korean series and dramas, Chinese music, Chinese programs and channels. Even the music streaming platforms chosen are Chinese. As for the type of western media, interviewees mentioned enjoying to watch programs on platforms like HBO, Netflix and YouTube, from Hollywood films to Spanish shows. However, interviewee 6 confessed not understanding typical Portuguese traditions, that even young Portuguese natives might not be as in touch with as older generations, and language that is not used on a daily basis:

“In terms of culture, I identify myself more as Portuguese, despite not knowing so much about Portuguese culture, that even my friends joke about it. For example, words of more unknown vocabulary.... Sometimes things like bullfights or going to Fátima, I don't understand that much ... or even some Portuguese recipes that I don't know well, fado... I don't have any of that at home.”

As for integration surrounding sports, in the case of Portugal, the biggest sport is football, thus, it is very common for Portuguese natives to have a football team as part of their identity. As a result, participants were asked whether they enjoyed watching football games and if they have a team. 6 interviewees mentioned that they are fans of football teams and 11 interviewees reported that they enjoy watching football games, whether on television or at the stadiums.

Additionally, on the topic of cuisine, participants shared their eating habits. For those who live with their family or when they are visiting them, Chinese food is the type of food mostly eaten. Nevertheless, only participant 3 shared that they never eat Portuguese food, who,

coincidentally, is also the same participant who lived in China for several years. Furthermore, interviewees who are students living by themselves reported that, despite enjoying western and Portuguese food, they do tend to make more Portuguese food simply because it is easier in comparison to Chinese food. There is also the case of families who sometimes cook Portuguese dishes, or even Chinese food with “Portuguese touches”, as interviewee 11 calls it:

“Sometimes they make an octopus salad, codfish... it's a little bit like that. Mostly they are Chinese dishes, only when my sister or I cook do we make more Western dishes because they are also easier to make, but also to change the taste a little. Sometimes I get tired of eating Chinese food.”

Lastly, attending to Portuguese politics, few are the participants who vote and are interested in it. Only 3 participants have voted, and none are currently affiliated to a political party. There are two main reasons for this turnout: lack of interest and lack of information available. 4 interviewees report being interested in it and that their biggest source of information is in conversations with friends. Also, participants mentioned that, although they have an interest in politics, they do not know where to start learning, in fact, interviewee 15 recognises that there is a gap in the educational system in regard to teaching students about political science:

“I am very disconnected from Portuguese politics, in fact, until last month I did not know what a legislature was. In a way I blame education, because it was never presented to me. Having spent 17 years of my life in Portugal, in the places I travelled, there was never a need for me to be politically conscious. On top of that, most of the people I had a relationship with were middle class, there was never a major economic conflict for people to start fighting and thinking about ideology. I think there was total apathy, at least from the people I hung out with. I can't blame people, personally I won't blame young people, I blame the environment in which they live. If it doesn't come from parents, it doesn't come from schools, what do you want?”

#### 4.8.2 - Role of Cultural Identity

Firstly, it is relevant to acknowledge that the complex concept of cultural identity is a fluid one, meaning that it can constantly change over the course of one's life depending on their personal experience and environment they find themselves in. As a consequence, the data presented in figure 5 refers to how interviewees culturally identified at the time of the interview, it is not

representative of their lifetime experience. So, at the time interviews took place, 5 participants felt more Portuguese and 6 more Chinese. Referring to the “Both/Neither” section, 1 participant felt neither Portuguese nor Chinese, 1 felt both Portuguese and Chinese, 1 identified as half-Portuguese and half-Chinese and, lastly, 1 interviewee identified themselves as a mix of Portuguese, Chinese and English.

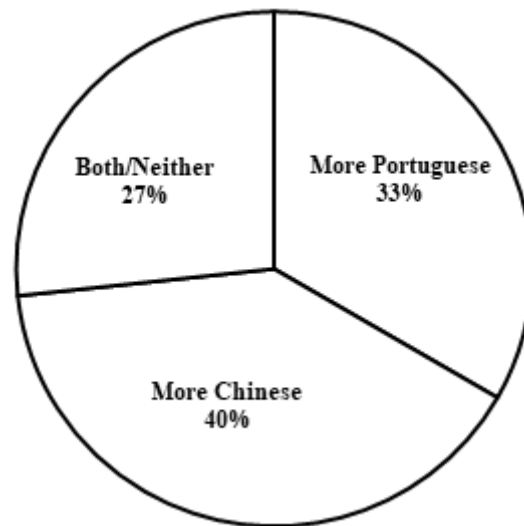


Figure 4.3: Interviewees' Cultural Identity (%)

One's cultural identity is a direct consequence of their cultural integration levels. Interviewees mention several topics regarding their cultural identity: language, friendships, way of thinking and acting, values and morals and Portuguese natives' perception towards them.

Firstly, language seems to be a large factor for interviewees who are currently studying in England. Interviewee 13 does not directly say it, but hints at the fact that their Portuguese identity side is weaker because they no longer speak Portuguese on a daily basis:

“My cultural identity ... in the last few years I don't speak so much Portuguese, I have some difficulty because I speak more English. Maybe... 50/50, is the first thing that comes to mind, but it is very vague.”

In the case of interviewee 14, during the interview, it was clear that there is a divided sense of identity as they opted to reply in a mixture of Portuguese and English, changing the language in-between speech:

“When I was little, I would say I felt more Portuguese, but right now... I don't know. My brother and I were talking about how we communicate, and I think we both would prefer it

if we were perfect at one language rather than knowing 3 more or less well. Our identity is as confusing as the way we speak... a mix between Portuguese, Chinese and English. I do have the Portuguese part, in the sense that I am not Chinese, or more having the Chinese mentality, but then I don't really have the Portuguese person mentality."

Secondly, friendship is the main factor that interviewees correlate to cultural identity. Interviewee 1 identifies more as Portuguese than Chinese because all their friends are Portuguese, seeing that their Chinese friends live far. On the other hand, interviewees 8, 9, 10 and 13 report feeling more culturally Chinese because, nowadays, they also have more Chinese friends. Interviewee 10 explains how their cultural identity changes based on their personal relationships at a given time:

"I think I'm more Chinese. Because when I was in the Portuguese school, at that time I would feel like I'm more Portuguese because most of my friends were also more Portuguese. But, as I grew up and started having more Chinese friends and especially more Chinese people like me, who were born here or in Europe, I could relate to them more."

In addition, values and ways of thinking were also taken into consideration. Interviewee 5 and 11 mentioned that they have a "more Portuguese attitude" and mentality, while interviewee 8 identifies as more Chinese due to differences in cultural values, attitudes and humour. Interviewee 10 and 12 share a similar point of view, that Portuguese people have a different mentality from Chinese people, and they relate more to the Chinese one.

Finally, when asked about cultural identity, participants also mentioned that perception plays a role in it. Interviewee 11 identifies as Portuguese, but it is inevitable that they also feel Chinese due to their appearance, that strangers look at them as Chinese. Lastly, interviewee 15 shares a similar thought of how perception affects their integration in Portugal:

"I personally feel more Portuguese, but, clearly, the Portuguese person doesn't want me to feel that way. (...) Even today I am ashamed of feeling this way, I am not proud to feel Portuguese. Being Portuguese is a social condition that I inherited from growing up in Portugal and growing up with Portuguese culture. I don't want to be Portuguese, mainly because Portugal itself doesn't make me feel wanted, so I have no interest in being Portuguese."



## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Overall, interviewing 15 people was ideal, seeing that experiences and opinions were not contradictory to the point where one was unable to find a pattern on the shared thoughts throughout the chapters.

Firstly, it is important to take Lan Li's 2012 study into account to understand the evolution of second-generation Chinese individuals over the past 8 years. Although Li's study objectives are somewhat different, it can easily be concluded that, in 2012, educational attainment and careers were less ambitious. However, many of the targeted were individuals who were born in China, so a comparison between the integration of those born in China and born in Portugal can be made. It can be deduced that generation 2.0 individuals are far more integrated in terms of academic attainment, not wanting to return to China, having a Portuguese cultural identity and partaking in non-ethnic work. However, the racism experiences of those born in Portugal in Li's study and this study seem to be on the same level, that it remains a challenge and an obstacle for integration.

On one hand, attending to the literature review, the research carried out by authors on first-generation immigrants was extremely accurate. Interviewees' parents overwhelmingly came from the Zhejiang province in search for a better quality of lifestyle, by setting up businesses in the retail and food sectors. It is also interesting to see how the Chinese community evolved besides business-related relationships, or perhaps previous authors decided to focus their research on economic relationships. From this research's results, it seems the community has developed an enormous sense of mutual help and companionship in personal relationships as well, which they try to pass onto interviewees. After family, it could be deduced that holiday camps organised by the Buddhist temple were the environment in which interviewees got more in touch with their Chinese cultural identity by meeting other young Chinese second-generation individuals. Moreover, it was where most participants reported having found friends from the same background.

On the other hand, there were more divergences surrounding studies regarding the integration of Chinese second-generation individuals in Portugal. This might be due to a combination of either lack of research, or due to the fact that the most recent research is not up to date. The biggest discrepancy was on the areas of education and career. Many authors declared that parents would pressure their children into running the family's business in the

future or continuing to be inserted in ethnic work, which is not the case in this research. In fact, parents are the ones that, from an early age, motivate their children to pursue higher education and would not want them to pursue a career in the family's business, unless as a last resort. Staying in Portugal is not a requirement, as both parents and interviewees look at education in the United Kingdom as better than in Portugal. Additionally, international and private schools are often prioritised in contrast to public schools; the perception is that, not only are they more prestigious, but as classes in international schools are taught in English, it can give interviewees a certain advantage.

In contrast, there is an evident lack of integration measures provided by the academic environment. It was observed that, the less the diversity found at schools and universities, the bigger the likelihood of interviewees experiencing racism and not feeling integrated. Furthermore, Portuguese public schools and universities do not offer solutions to combat language and cultural barriers. If on one hand attending Portuguese schools could expose generation 2.0 individuals to the Portuguese culture and force them to make Portuguese friends, thus adjusting them to the Portuguese society, on the other hand it could also have a negative impact on their academic performance and overall personal life. Therefore, given the fact that racism was such an impactful factor in the public schools' environment, it would be understandable if interviewees were to sacrifice the opportunity of integration for mental health and a more stable childhood and teenage years. It could also be assumed that it is far more important for interviewees, and for parents to provide high quality education, than it is to promote integration in the Portuguese society through the academic environment. In sum, the main goal is to ensure that interviewees are given the best opportunities possible. From this research's sample, the generation 2.0 Chinese individuals are highly educated and pursue ambitious, well thought-out professional careers.

However, some parents still try to influence interviewees into opening their own business, seeing as it is more profitable. Consequently, in a way, interviewees are influenced into thinking about studying and working abroad, due to bigger opportunities, which in turn causes them to lose attachment to Portugal. The desire to ensure a better lifestyle quality and financial security overpowers the appeal of staying in a country where wages are low and job opportunities are scarce, depending on the career. Nevertheless, economic and professional integration is the area in which interviewees seem to feel more integrated. Many of those working, or that have worked, in Portugal never felt a discrepancy in opportunities and

treatment when compared to Portuguese natives and overall felt that the professional environment was welcoming.

In terms of social integration, the pattern that was found was that, as interviewees got acquainted with more second-generation Chinese individuals, they would find them more relatable and trustworthy than their Portuguese native friends. In fact, 60% of interviewees reported having more Chinese friends for this reason. Nevertheless, all interviewees have Portuguese natives as friends and do enjoy their company. It is only natural to feel more comfortable with people from the same background and with similar experiences. The many reasons for having fewer Portuguese native friends were language barriers, differences in humour, lack of relatability and the fact that Portuguese natives tend to highlight the ethnic differences in interviewees, contributing to feelings of “otherness”. Additionally, the perception of strangers is that the interviewees are not Portuguese, thus eliminating their Portuguese cultural identity. Also, the large majority reported having been victims of racism by strangers, contributing to a sense of rejection, hence one of the reasons many might not feel socially integrated in Portugal.

Lastly, regarding cultural integration and taking literature into consideration, a divided sense of identity is a common phenomenon amongst second-generation individuals. This is the section where most divergences can be identified in terms of cultural identity. In terms of media, sports and food, interviewees are very much in touch with Portuguese and western culture. However, when it comes to identify their cultural identity, there was never an assertive answer. Through interviewees’ experience, it can be concluded that if they consistently engage with the local culture, for instance, if they are currently living in Portugal, have many Portuguese friends and speak in Portuguese, the probability of identifying as Portuguese is higher. However, due to academic experience, a combination of attending international schools and, later, studying abroad, it is inevitable that part of interviewees’ Portuguese cultural side is lost.

In order to improve this situation, one solution from the Portuguese society and government could be to implement multiculturalist practices, to work towards the acceptance of an ethnic pluralism rather than expecting immigrants to shed their cultural identities to adopt the host country’s identity. Racism is clearly a reflection of the lack of integration measures both socially and academically, where discrimination is most felt. It feels as if Portugal is in a desperate need to change their perception towards the Chinese diaspora, that racism does apply to other ethnic minorities as well. Additionally, while this is not a tangible solution, had

Portugal had the possibility to offer better wages and professional opportunities, it would surely attract more generation 2.0 Chinese individuals, thus contributing to a better socio-economic integration. In contrast, interviewees could also benefit from getting out of their comfort zone, particularly interviewees who consider themselves a part of the Chinese community. There is a tendency to stay within their “social bubble” and “cultural bubble” without trying to overcome the barriers mentioned, such as language, humour and differences in values, morals and attitudes.

Seeing that immigrant integration is such a complex subject, it is impossible to assertively answer whether generation 2.0 Chinese individuals are socially, culturally and economically integrated in Portugal. A large number of factors come into play, which in turn, are linked and intertwined with each other, resulting in a direct influence over remaining ones. The most important factors are academic and professional attainment. The tendency for the second-generation is to pursue higher education and obtain financial stability, which is something that is perceived to only be obtainable in other countries. This results in emigration, contributing to a loss of proximity with Portuguese natives and culture, which in turn translates to lower levels of integration. However, there are certain elemental aspects that determine, in theory, that interviewees are integrated: All interviewees speak Portuguese; Only one interviewee does not have Portuguese citizenship; All participants have access to education, labour and health care in Portugal; Only one interviewee is inserted in ethnic work; Many are open to the idea of dating Portuguese natives; All participants mentioned that their area of residence consists of Portuguese native neighbours.

Nevertheless, this research reached its purpose of raising awareness to such an understudied topic and has offered a different and more updated perspective on the current experience of second-generation Chinese immigrants in Portugal. Additionally, this study simultaneously validates data found in previous studies on Chinese first-generation immigrants, while filling the gap on the lack of research present on the socio-economic integration of Chinese second-generation individuals in Portugal.

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