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Gender Dynamics in the Integration of Migrant *Communities*:

The Case of the Chinese *Community* in the Porto Metropolitan Area

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Master in Sociology

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Para os meus pais, pelo seu inabalável apoio.

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RESUMO

A presente dissertação pretende estudar as dimensões de género na integração da *comunidade* Chinesa na Área Metropolitana do Porto. Numa primeira fase, foi elaborada uma compilação de conceitos e autores relevantes para o estudo deste tema. Posteriormente, através da consulta de dados secundários, foi realizada uma breve caracterização da população Chinesa em Portugal e, mais especificamente, na Área Metropolitana do Porto.

O método escolhido para recolher dados primários foi a realização de entrevistas que, devido ao cenário pandémico em que ocorreram, foram feitas pessoalmente, via *Zoom Meeting* ou via e-mail. As principais limitações da investigação foram o baixo número de indivíduos que concordaram em ser entrevistados e a percentagem de entrevistados do sexo masculino.

Os dados primários recolhidos foram, depois, confrontados com algumas das contribuições dos autores acima mencionados, a fim de obter um melhor entendimento sobre o fenómeno a ser estudado. Embora o número de entrevistas não fosse suficientemente significativo para fazer generalizações sobre uma *comunidade* tão heterogénea, algumas dimensões da integração destes indivíduos na AMP foram encontradas através da comparação das experiências e opiniões dos entrevistados, e da revisão da literatura – como, por exemplo, afigurar-se não existirem diferenças significativas de integração entre os géneros, ainda que o sexo masculino pareça ter um pouco mais de dificuldade em aprender português, o que, em geral, não beneficia a sua integração.

Por fim, é importante mencionar que esta dissertação utiliza a palavra "género" como uma forma de se referir à dicotomia homem/mulher.

Palavras-chave: Área Metropolitana do Porto; *Comunidade* Chinesa, Género, Integração, Migração, Portugal.

ABSTRACT

The present dissertation intends on studying the gender dimensions in the integration of the Chinese *community* in the Porto Metropolitan Area. In an initial phase, a compilation of concepts and authors relevant to the study of the subject in question was put together. Later, a brief characterization of the Chinese population in Portugal and, more specifically, in the PMA, was done by consulting secondary data.

The chosen method to collect primary data was the conduction of interviews that, due to the pandemic scenario in which they occurred, were done in person, via *Zoom Meeting* or via e-mail. The major limitations of the investigation were the low number of individuals who agreed on being interviewed and the percentage of male interviewees.

Later, the collected primary data was paralleled with some of the authors' contributions, in order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Although the number of interviews not being significant enough to make generalizations about such a heterogeneous *community*, some dimensions of the integration of these individuals in the PMA were found by comparing the interviewees' experiences and opinions to the literature review – such as there not being major differences in the integration between genders, albeit men seeming to have somewhat more difficulty in learning Portuguese, which does not benefit their integration.

Lastly, it is important to mention that this dissertation uses the word “gender” as a way of referring to the dichotomies male/ female and man/woman.

Keywords: Chinese *Community*, Gender, Integration, Migration, Porto Metropolitan Area; Portugal.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

ACM - Alto Comissariado para a Migração (High Commission for Migration)

ARI – Autorização de Residência para Atividade de Investimento (Residence Permit For Investors)

DGEstE – Direção-Geral dos Estabelecimentos Escolares (Directorate-General of Schools)

GEE – Gabinete de Estratégia e Estudos (Strategy and Research Office)

IEFP – Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional (Institute of Employment and Professional Training)

IOM – International Organization for Migration

PLA - Português Língua de Acolhimento (Portuguese Host Language)

PMA – Porto Metropolitan Area

PRC - People's Republic of China

USA – United States of America

INTRODUCTION

In 2019, the Chinese *community* was the sixth largest foreign population in Portugal (Oliveira, 2020). Nevertheless, this group of individuals still maintains endogamic relationships with their ethnic equals – a dynamic that is facilitated by the spatial concentration allowed by the *Chinatowns* (although these are not as widely present in Portugal as they are in largest countries) and all of the ethnic services and cultural assets they offer. Furthermore, immigration strengthens the sense of ethnicity, not only perceived by the group(s) in question, but also by the other individuals (Rambaut, 2015). The aforementioned concentration of the *community* seems to be the case of the Porto Metropolitan Area, where Varziela is place to an important aggregation similar to a traditional *Chinatown*.

Since the substantial migration of Chinese individuals to Portugal is historically relatively new - having started around the time of the decolonization after the 1974 revolution - studies still seem to not be very abundant, and even more so when they concern only the *community* in the PMA. In that framework, the present dissertation sought out to explore the gender dynamics present in the integration processes of these *culturally-so-different* individuals in the PMA, forasmuch gender intersects with other social variables – such as class, nationality, ethnicity, age and economic situation - and, as such, it is an important issue to take into consideration when studying the integration of any given social group.

The literature review carried out in the first chapter is an attempt to put into perspective a myriad of different authors and concepts relevant to the study of the subject in question. In this sense, some of these authors' contributes will be paralleled with the primary data resultant from the study.

The last two chapters of the dissertation concern the construction of the investigation, and the analysis of the data collected and discussion of the results, respectively. The method of primary data collection mobilized was the conduction of semi-structured interviews, which, due to the period of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic in which they were conducted, happened through *Zoom Meetings*, in person and via e-mail.

The word “gender”, albeit subject to several discussions and a multidimensional concept that is contemporarily used to refer to different dimensions of human identity,

will, for research purposes, be used to indicate the strictly biological dichotomy between man/woman and male/female, in order to have a clearer grasp on the subject being studied.

Lastly, an important issue to be mentioned is that as the interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the responsibility of the translations made of interviewees' citations is completely assumed - the same situation happens to some of the bibliography cited, as it was originally written in Portuguese.

CHAPTER 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. COMMUNITY: A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE CONCEPT

The concept of *community* has been object of several discussions in the history of Sociology – from Ferdinand Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft* (community) / *Gesellschaft* (society) and Émile Durkheim’s *Mechanical Solidarity* and *Organic Solidarity* dichotomic propositions, to Max Weber’s ideal-types of *Communal* and *Associative* social relations, which are “present, in varying degrees, in the vast majority of concrete social relations” (Costa, 2008, p.85).

Clark (1973) refers that many sociologists, such as Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, W.M. Williams and Robert Park consider that the concept of *community* cannot be independent from spatiality, as the local influences - and often makes - the *community* itself. Similarly, Simmel views the Metropolis as a space where a *community* cannot be found, as it is a place of individuality and impersonality due to the large masses of people who inhabit there (Mocellim, 2011). Nonetheless, “to argue that place *influences community* is a very different matter from assuming that certain geographical units or areas are *synonymous* with it” (Clark, 1973, p.398). Furthermore, Norbert Elias suggested that “social relationships constitute a 'whole groundwork of interdependencies which bind people to each other'” (Elias, 1974, Cit. in Crow and Laidlaw, 2019, p.574), and that *communities* often present a “we” image that can overshadow the individual character of a person, by associating emotional symbols to the identity of the group. Nonetheless, the author later stated that individuals can have varying levels of agency and can self-distance from the *community* (Crow and Laidlaw, 2019).

Zygmunt Bauman states that the boundaries of *community* can no longer be maintained as they previously existed, as globalization and advances in communication and transportation almost fully ceased the *community* life. Moreover, the author affirms that the *ethical community* – a community where there are “long-term commitments (...), inalienable rights and unshakeable obligations” (Bauman, 2001, p.72) - was replaced by the *aesthetic community* (or *cloakroom community*) – a place marked by its ability to be invoked only when its members needs to do so, while still allowing individuals to remain free. Bauman refers the examples of festivals, football matches, and occasions when individuals need help from others, as places of *aesthetic community*. Furthermore, the

author mentions that the *ethnic communities* seem to be an exception to the disintegration of *communities*: “these seem to retain in full the ascriptive character of communal membership, the condition of the community's continuous reproduction” (Bauman, 2001, p.89).

In this framework, the group of ethnic Chinese individuals in the Porto Metropolitan Area will be referred to as a *community*, not because of the spatiality of their existence, but rather because they can invoke their identity whenever it is of use - such as during the celebration of Chinese holidays, family gatherings or events promoted by Chinese associations -, while still living individually their daily life in the Portuguese society.

1.1.1.CHINESE COMMUNITY OR CHINESE COMMUNITIES?:THE (DIS)UNITY OF CHINESE ETHNICITY IN GLOBAL CONTEXTS

China's great effort into establishing national unity dates prior to 1949. Moreover, following the deterioration of ethnic relations in Tibet and Xinjiang in the late 2000s, more specifically in 2008/2009, state authorities sought out to guarantee the unity and stability of China's multiethnic landscape. These efforts to assure unity are now focused not only on a domestic level, but also on a transnational level.

China is home to 56 different ethnic groups, which causes the country to be culturally very heterogeneous (Wang, 2016). Nonetheless, Taiwanese anthropologist Li Yiyuan (Cit. in Barabantseva, 2012) believed that emigrated Non-Han ethnic minorities should also be referred to as “overseas Chinese”, as they are part of China and are, to some degree, influenced by Han culture. Therefore, the ethnic differences existent in the country of origin are not of as much importance in the societies of settlement, as they are mitigated by the aspects in common Chinese individuals have between themselves. Furthermore, the country of China itself has had a prominent role in the unity of its emigrants, forasmuch as the terms used to refer to Chinese people abroad – although somewhat ambiguous - emphasize the attempt to making bridges of national identity between domestic and overseas Chinese: 华侨 (*Huaqiao*) is generally used to refer to people of Chinese descent who were born in China but emigrated to other countries, while still maintaining the Chinese citizenship and 华人 (*Huaren*) refers to ethnic Chinese, i.e., people of Chinese descent who were born and raised overseas (Suryadinata, 2017).

Zhou *et al* (2019) affirmed that although individuals can no longer be confined to the idea of an homogeneous *ethnic community* category, *ethnic communities* – such as “ethnic enclaves (e.g., *Chinatown*), “ethnoburbs” (e.g., ethnic concentrations in middle-class or wealthy suburban areas), civic organizations, and ethno-cultural social and health services” - remain an important factor in the settlement and integration of Chinese immigrants in Western countries (p. 539). In that sense, the social dimension of *community* remains an important factor in the discourse about this group of individuals. Furthermore, in 2002, Costa stated that a significant part of the Chinese *community* in Portugal had perceptible difficulties regarding the learning of the Portuguese language. In the author’s opinion, those difficulties could work in two ways: they could be a constraint to the individuals, but they could also be a factor of unity of the Chinese *community*.

To summarize, the overseas Chinese, although far from being a homogeneous group, still maintain some of the traits and experiences that allow there to be a connection typical of *communities* – the culture(s), background(s) and dialect(s) in common, the holidays celebrated, the spaces that its members frequent (such as the *Chinatowns*, Chinese churches, ethnic supermarkets, etc.), and, very often, their own feelings of belonging to the *community*.

1.2.GENDER AND MIGRATION

Culture influences the behaviours of men and women around the world, having a central responsibility in determining individuals’ roles throughout their lives, in aspects such as “reproduction, household duties, childcare, employment, participation in the community, and leadership” (Satyen, Dort, & Yin, 2020, p.50). Thus, the variable of gender should be present in migration studies, forasmuch as it provides an insight into the changes and continuities of cultural practices and values in settlement societies.

Qin (2009) referred that research about the adaptation of migrants in the past focused mainly in the experiences of adult men. Women, and gender dynamics, became a concern of these studies in the 1970’s and early 1980s. Furthermore, this approach to the gender variable addressed mainly the dichotomous fixed category of male vs female, and had little concern about the implications and symbology that revolved around it. Nonetheless, in the mid and late 1980s, the feminist migration field expanded into studying “gender as a system of relations which was influenced by migration” (Nawyn,

2010, p.750). More recently, the intersection of gender and migration, drawing on a multidisciplinary approach, is being studied with the focus on its micro- and macro-level implications.

In her study of Chinese families in the United States of America, Qin (2009) stated that “either in positive or negative ways, gender roles do shift after migration, both in the labor market and at home.” (p.469). In this regard, Lebra and Paulson (1980, Cit. in Ryan, 2002) found that due to the work ethic and efforts to achieve greater material gain, migrant Chinese *communities* were prone to women having greater labour market participation than in China – this being of great importance to the improvement of gender equality. Nevertheless, in 2015, the International Organization for Migration stated that female migrants, including skilled and highly skilled labourers, are often restricted to low-skilled jobs in the countries of settlement. Additionally, women may find themselves struggling to conciliate their job and the household chores that are traditionally assigned to them.

Concerning the difficulties in adaptation after migration, in her study of Cuban and Hispanic immigrants in the United States of America, Sullivan (1984) referred that immigrant women tend to face more adversities than immigrant men do. Conversely, Qin (2009) stated that “after migration, men tended to experience more difficulty finding satisfactory jobs because of language barriers and lack of a professional network”, adding that “the downward mobility that characterized many immigrants’ transition experience affect men slightly more than women.” (p.474).

In sum, when analyzing the subject of the integration of Chinese migrants in settlement societies, it is of the essence to take into consideration that women face barriers not only because of their ethnicity, but also because of their gender (Ryan, 2002).

1.3.GENDER ROLES IN CHINESE CULTURE

Raewyn Connell (1987) stated that gender roles are the actions and behaviours that are assigned to a person depending on the position they occupy in a society. The author added “the sex role theory connects social structure to the formation of personality” (p.48).

Confucianism’s values have influenced Chinese attitudes, practices and ideals. In this sense, lineage, family, and social are pivotal components of Chinese individuals’ life (Satyen, Dort, & Yin, 2020). Moreover, the previously mentioned values display a vital influence in the way in which Chinese societies are organized. (Freedman, 1971, Cit. in Costa, 2002).

In traditional ideology, there is a perception of the gender division of paid work and family responsibilities, in which there is the common belief that men should be in charge of the former and women of the latter – an illustration of this is the old Chinese saying “男主外, 女主内” (*Nan Zhu Wai, Nü Zhu Nei*), which refers that “Men should be primarily responsible for extra-familial issues” (Pimentel 2006; Qian and Qian 2015, Cit. in Li *et al*, 2020).

Nevertheless, with the foundation of the PRC, the traditional gender ideology has suffered changes as “political, social, economic, and cultural reforms” have occurred in China. Concomitantly, the Chinese state promoted gender equity and “issued laws to protect women’s rights involving marriage freedom, property, education, and employment” (Li *et al*, 2020, p.625).

The previously mentioned changes brought women parity with men, with increasing participation in the paid workforce. In this context, women’s labour market participation also led to men’s increased contribution to the household responsibilities, thus further creating parity between genders (Qin,2009). Since the division of domestic responsibilities has suffered changes in contemporaneity, less young urban women find themselves in charge of the entirety of household chores (which was the reality for the older generations) (Pimentel, 2006, Cit. in Liu, Bell, & Zhang, 2019). Nevertheless, Chen (2005) believed that the patriarchal idea that wives should be submissive to husbands still persevered. (Cit. in Li *et al*, 2020). Likewise, Liu, Bell and Zhang’s (2019) study found that women still tended to be responsible for the majority of the domestic chores.

Therefore, there is a perceivable conflict between traditional gender ideology and permanent social changes in China.

1.3.1.GENDER ROLES IN MIGRANT CHINESE COMMUNITIES

In Western societies, gender roles have been shifting to be more equal. The major factor that contributed to the former were legislative changes that allowed women to achieve higher education and better positions in the labour market. In this scenario, Chinese immigrants find that they need to redefine their cultural values, social norms and behaviours due to the tension between their ethnic culture and the society of settlement's culture, thus, immigration leads to the modification of the "family structure, gender roles and gender relations" as they are in traditional Chinese value set (Satyen, Dort, & Yin, 2020, p.52). Women are perceivably the main beneficiary of this change, as they can achieve greater financial independence, and they feel less social pressure (Pinto, 2013).

Kim, Laroche and Tomiuk (2004) found that in Canada, immigration and acculturation was an important factor in women's perception of gender roles, as with being a part of a more equalitarian society, these women now expected their husbands to be more participative in the traditionally female roles. Nonetheless, men were not as affected by the surrounding society and identified more strongly with their culture of origin, which in turn made them less prone to changing their views on "domestic task-role expectation". The authors speculated that this happened due to the traditional gender roles being more favorable to men.

Similarly, Satyen, Dort and Yin (2020) found that in Australia, even after migration, Chinese values influenced the gender roles of Chinese *communities* – the interviewed men believed that their role should mainly be in the financial contribution, and women explained that they were in charge of taking care of their children, doing household chores, while still having to work. Moreover, men believed that the two sexes had different and complementary characteristics/abilities: women were described as nurturing and "interpersonally facilitative", which made them fit to taking care of children and being responsible for the household maintenance. The previously mentioned authors stated: "These findings suggest that although women migrate and live in a more egalitarian society (...) they still uphold traditional Chinese values and gender norm expectations." (p.59). In that scenario, women still find themselves being the major factor

in the primary socialization of their children, therefore, being responsible for the transmission of culture (Pinto, 2013).

1.4.THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE SETTLEMENT SOCIETIES

Integration presents itself as an increasingly more challenging occurrence as the world becomes more globalized. In this scenario, the success of the immigrants' economic and social integration does not solely depend on rapid *acculturation*, but also on ethnic resources they mobilize in the diasporic *communities* in the settlement society. In that regard, Pires (1999) stated that the concretization of integration implies the social life standardization between "the parts" and "the whole", i.e., the existence of "order" and harmony in a social setting. Additionally, as migrants' "lived environment extends beyond national borders, they become embedded in webs of transforming social relations that stretch across geographical and cultural boundaries", meaning that their sense of home and belonging gets split into two (or more) realities (Leung in Thuno, 2007, p.210).

Auguste Comte viewed integration as the interdependence of the systems and development of a common moral of the members of a society. Similarly to the latter, Émile Durkheim stated that integration implied the need of consensus on values. Moreover, the latter sociologist identified socialization as the tool that allows for the internalization of values, therefore being the main source of integration. Social integration is created by a collective consciousness that is formed by norms, beliefs and values. Durkheim defined the *collective consciousness* as the way through which individuals perceive the social world and the set of attitudes they have towards it (Pires, 1999).

Anthony Giddens stated that *social systems* are composed of "relations reproduced in time and space between individuals and collectivities" and that these relations are organized and patternized by a set of rules and resources, which constitute the *structure* (cited in Pires, 1999, p.14). Therefore, the integration of immigrants is done in patternized societies, meaning that they have to adapt their actions and social life in order to integrate in the society of settlement. Individuals have, however, the ability of *agency* (the reproduction or transformation of already-created *systems*), which can facilitate or complicate the process of integration.

Rubén Rumbaut (2015), with Robert Park and Ernest Burgess' work as reference, defined *accommodation* as usually being a process in which the individual is aware of their efforts to accommodate to different situations – and this is usually the case for first generation immigrant adults. The author also referred that in the case of young immigrants, and second and third generations, *assimilation* is what takes place. In this regard, Qin (2009) stated that children usually pick up the culture and language of the country of settlement at a faster pace than their parents do, thus creating an “acculturation gap”. Nevertheless, those children often become the link between their parents and the society of settlement.

In the comparison between the concepts of *acculturation* and *assimilation*, Teske Jr. and Nelson (1974) emphasized that the latter is not the product of the former, albeit the dependence that *assimilation* has on *acculturation*. One of the differences between the two processes is the fact that *assimilation* is two-way, i.e., if the group where the individual (or group) wants to assimilate does not accept them, and vice-versa, then *assimilation* cannot occur. Additionally, *acculturation*, unlike *assimilation*, does not require there to be a change in the values of the individual's values and in the reference group. Lastly, there also has to be internal change in order for *assimilation* to take place. In turn, integration (or *accommodation* without *assimilation*) refers to the capacity of individuals to become integrated in two cultures, i.e., preserving their “religious, cultural, and linguistic identities while fully participating in their new home country's political sphere” (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2006,p.4).

Robert Park's (1928) concept of the *marginal man* is also relevant to be mentioned, as some members of the Chinese *community* seem to find themselves in a relatively permanent “period of transition, when old habits are being discarded and new ones are not yet formed” (p.893). Likewise, Siu (1952) referred to the *sojourner* – an individual that spends “many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated to it” (p.34). The author added that this individual is ethnocentric and that, insofar as it keeps those attitudes, a foreign group of residents in any country can also be characterized as *sojourner*. Furthermore, Park (1928) believed that the difficulty in migrants' *acculturation* and *assimilation* resides mostly in the distinct physical traits of *racially-different-from-the-mass* migrants, and not so much in their different mentality. The sociologist refers to the divergent physical appearance as a sort of *racial uniform* that is a permanent symbol of the permanent *alien-like* character of migrants. Similarly, Zhou

and Liu (2016) emphasized that “immigrants, especially those who look drastically different from the host core group, are often stereotyped by the host society as unassimilated, disloyal, and forever foreign” (p.33). Park (1928) also stated that the more diverse the “racial stocks” and the more divergent the cultures, the more difficult it is for *amalgamation* and *assimilation* to occur, leading to “racial problems”. If that is the case, people of different groups will live in symbiosis, all contributing to the same economy, however, they still have their own groups and social organizations. The author added, nonetheless, that eventually *assimilation* would have to take place. Furthermore, society would successfully become a melting pot “where diverse populations merge, acculturate, and eventually assimilate”. (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2006, p.3).

The validity of Park’s arguments of non-European immigrants eventually assimilating to the society of settlement has been challenged by the fact that globalization and easier communication allows those same migrants to maintain ties to their society of origin, making it less compelling to assimilate (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2006). Regarding this same subject, Basch *et al* (1994, p.6) referred that *transnationalism* can be described as “the processes by which immigrants maintain, forge, and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Cit. in Zhou and Liu, 2016, p.31). *Transnationalism*, therefore, assumes that people do not have permanent and linear migration patterns, but rather they are non-unidirectionally mobile, as are materials and ideas. Levitt & Glick Schiller (2004) and Portes *et al* (1999) added that *transnationalism* is “an old phenomenon that is further facilitated and intensified by the advances in communication and transportation technologies in the processes of contemporary globalization” (Cit. in Zhou *et al*, 2019, p.540). In this sense, migrants’ lives combine “activities, routines and institutions” of both the society of origin and the society of settlement, with both concrete and virtual ties and practices (Zhou and Liu, 2016, p.31). Furthermore, *transnationalism* can be viewed dichotomously - from above and from below. The former relates to the state of origin’s role in the promotion of diasporic identities. The latter emphasizes the manner in which immigrants relate economically, culturally and politically to their country of origin and the transference of “values and norms, identities, life-styles, and relational patterns” (Levitt, 1998, 2007, as Cit. in Zhou and Liu, 2016, p.32). According to this perspective, immigrants keep tight bonds with their families and *community* in their societies of origin. In spite of this, the immigrants’ ties with their societies of origin have been growing weaker due to the *assimilation* into the society of settlement – although homeland engagement and hostland

assimilation not necessarily being mutually exclusive (a “zero-sum game), meaning that “homeland engagement usually benefits integration into host societies” (Zhou and Liu, 2016, p.48). In this respect, the celebration of cultural events and holidays in the society of settlement promotes the celebration of ethnic identity by gathering Chinese immigrants and people of Chinese descent in the same cultural environment. Processes of differentiation between migrants and non-migrants can occur, however, within the same ethnic *community* – a phenomenon that illustrates *homeland dissimilation*.

According to Wu (2016) several scholars argue that international students should not be perceived through that role only, as they possess several other roles in the societies of settlement, such as those of “family members, temporary workers in local markets, participants in church activities, volunteers in local community organizations, and so on” (Neilson, 2009; King and Raghuram, 2013; Mosneaga and Winther, 2013, Cit. in Wu, 2016, p.44). On the one hand, qualified migration movements (that could include students) allow the society of origin to develop through transnational bonds, and on the other hand, these same movements affect the local *co-ethnic communities*.

The integration of immigrants has to be achieved in different social and economic spheres – such as, but not limited to, labour market integration, cultural activities, and language skills. In this regard, in their study of the importance of friendship ties with locals in the cultural assimilation of immigrants in Germany, Facchini, Patacchini and Steinhardt (2015) found that “having a well-developed, native-including social network in the destination country might be an important driver of cultural assimilation” (p.646). Furthermore, the previously mentioned authors noted the importance of the labour market and educational institutions in the formation of such ties. Similarly, Satyen, Dort and Yin’s (2020) study also found that the Chinese women in their study, perceived employment as a means of independence and integration.

To conclude, in their work about Chinese students in English Universities, Tian and Lowe distinguished four types of social networking in Chinese students in the British context – *Separation/Marginalization*, *Integration/Separation*, *Integration/Identity Retention*, and *Integration/Assimilation* (in Foskett and Maringe, 2010). The first type consists of a restricted network of a few Chinese students; the second one refers to a network composed of Chinese individuals, but commonly open to people from the outside; the third group involves great participation in the host society, while still maintaining close contact with other people from the *co-ethnic community*; and the last type consists

of strong social networks with British people, while generally decreasing association to other Chinese people.

1.4.1.THE INTEGRATION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN PORTUGAL

As it was mentioned in a previous chapter, in 2002 a considerable part of the Chinese *community* met adversities regarding the Portuguese language. Costa (2002) viewed this obstacle as a possible way for the Chinese immigrants in Portugal to unify and form a *community*. Nonetheless, earlier generations of Chinese immigrants were often able to use their strong ethnic networks in order to overcome their limited human and financial capital, and to secure a job and guarantee economic stability (Zhou *et al*, 2019).

The language constraints can bring about consequences in several ways: they can affect institutional relations, economic activities, the relationships with institutions, and they can affect the interaction with individuals outside of the Chinese *community* – and more specifically, with individuals who do not speak the same language as them. The individuals interviewed by Costa (2002) mentioned that they viewed learning Portuguese as a way of integrating in Portugal. However, they also considered their opportunities for learning the language scarce, as there were not many schools for Chinese people to learn Portuguese, and they did not have enough time to attend these classes (in case these were available). Nevertheless, currently there are better and more varied opportunities of learning Portuguese, including an online platform to learn Portuguese by the High Commission for Migration (ACM) and certified in-person classes. In this regard, in 2019, ACM’s website stated that “being fluent in [the] Portuguese language not only allows a better communication with others and a better interaction with the host society, but it is also fundamental for a full integration in [the] Portuguese society, including in the labour market.” Furthermore, the knowledge of the Portuguese language is also “necessary in order to apply for Portuguese nationality and to be granted a permanent residence permit or a long-term resident status.” (ACM, 2019). On a national level, in the academic year of 2020/2021 there were 103 public schools, in 76 municipalities, that offered 337 courses of Portuguese Host Language (PLA) through the Directorate-General of Schools (DGEstE). These courses were available in four different levels (A1, A2, B1,

B2) and were targeted to people aged 18 and over. In 2019, the Porto Metropolitan Area had 27 of these courses in 11 schools, in 7 of the 17 PMA's municipalities (ACM, 2019). In addition to the DGEstE classes and online platform, courses provided by the Institute of Employment and Professional Training (IEFP), other government-provided resources and private resources are available for non-native citizens to learn the Portuguese language. (ACM, 2019).

As mentioned previously, the knowledge of the Portuguese language can help with the integration of Chinese immigrants. Thus, because “the Chinese immigration from Macao and Mozambique forms part of a broader migratory context that involves a rationale of historical and linguistic closeness between Portugal and its former colonies and administrative territories”, these immigrants are well integrated and less cohesive than their fellow Chinese immigrants (Gaspar, 2017, 55).

Lastly, it is important to highlight that, in spite of the opportunities to learn Portuguese, language fluency is not the only factor in the integration of individuals, as integration can manifest in different ways. Chinese associations, for example, have an essential role in the “internal structuration of the «community» as well as the establishment of the relations with institutions and official structures of the country of settlement” (Costa, 2002, p.674). Those associations can also work as transnational associative networks, and they were initially created in order to ease the integration of Chinese individuals in the Chinese *community* through, for example, the organization of cultural and recreational events, such as the Chinese New Year. The majority of them were created in the mid-90s, but there were two other perceptible and active moments when they were created – in the early 1980s and in the late 80s/ early 90s. As of 2020, there were around 40 of these associations in Portugal (Silva, 2020).

CHAPTER 2 – THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE INVESTIGATION

2.1.OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main objective of the present investigation is to unveil the gender dynamics in the integration of the Porto Metropolitan Area's Chinese *community*, i.e., to understand if either of the genders finds it harder to integrate.

When reviewing the literature regarding this issue, there were two distinct hypotheses that were put forward. The first hypothesis considers that Chinese women are still responsible for the majority of household responsibilities, especially taking care of children and elderly (Satyen, Dort, Yin, 2020), therefore it would be expected they would have less free time to participate in other activities – such as labour market participation- which would complicate their integration in the Portuguese society. The second hypothesis proposes that with migration women are able to achieve parity with men, having increased labour market participation, while men tend to find it harder to overcome the obstacles to their integration - such as language barrier, discrimination and finding a job (Qin (2009).

In order to meet the objective traced for the investigation, four questions, that would later be answered with the primary data collected, were elaborated. The questions were:

1. Are there significant differences in the way Chinese men and women integrate in the Portuguese society?
2. Does any of the genders have an easier or more difficult integration in the Portuguese society?
3. What are the main obstacles Chinese people find to their integration, and do these obstacles vary according to gender?
4. What form does the integration of the two genders take? *Marginalization, separation, inclusion, assimilation, ethnic identity maintenance* or *ethnic identity restriction* (Typology based on the work of Tian and Lowe, in Foskett and Maringe, 2010)?

2.2.METHODOLOGY

The subject explored in this dissertation - the integration of the Chinese *community* in the PMA, with a focus on the gender experiences – possesses a qualitative nature, therefore conducting semi-structured interviews was the selected method to collect primary data. Roulston & Choi stated that “in the semi-structured interview, the same topics form the basis for questioning, yet interviewers’ sequencing of questions is participant-led” (p.233, *in* Flick, 2018). As it was mentioned by the aforesaid authors, the main benefit in using this method is getting a more in-depth and rich understanding of each individual’s experience – as the interviewees are able to bring up topics they find relevant to the interview- while still maintaining some structure and set objectives to the final collected data. Additionally, the time spent in Chinese-owned businesses when contacting potential participants and conducting an interview presented an opportunity for some surface-level ethnographic work that allowed assessing the relationship between the Chinese individuals working in those businesses and the respective Portuguese clients.

The difficulty in reaching the section of the population being studied – individuals of Chinese ethnicity older than 18 and living in the Porto Metropolitan Area – required that the method chosen to select the interviewees would be the *snowball* sampling method. Parker & Scott indicated that among hard-to-reach populations are those that “ (...) have low numbers, (...) feel stigmatized and/or desire anonymity, (...) and require a degree of trust in order to become a willing participant” (p.4, 2019). In the case of the present investigation, the need for anonymity and the lack of trust were the main constraints found when searching for a sample. *Snowball* sampling results in a non-probability sample that often is composed of individuals who have similar characteristics and experiences – this being the primary limitation of the method. Therefore, there was an effort to create different chains of sampling, i.e., contact different people who in turn were able to indicate other individuals to be a part of this study.

The interviews were conducted during a time when the pandemic of SARS-CoV-2 was problematic, so the options of them being conducted in person or via *Zoom Meeting* were always presented to the interviewees. Nevertheless, due to limitations later discussed in the dissertation, some of the final interviews had to be conducted via e-mail. In this scenario, there was one interview conducted in person, four interviews done via video call, and four e-mail interviews. To conclude, it should be mentioned that the

interviews conducted in-person and via *Zoom Meeting* had a duration of thirty to fifty minutes.

2.3. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The major limitation the current dissertation presents is the number of individuals that composes the studied sample - 9 interviewees, a number that gives access into a very restricted part of the reality analyzed. Despite the efforts to search and contact people in order to be a part of the interviews, finding people who agreed to do so was challenging. The main reason given by the potential interviewees for declining to be interviewed were not knowing how to speak Portuguese well enough and/or not having free time. In that sense, and as it was previously mentioned, the options of having the interview be done via e-mail, or in-person gradually in different occasions, were presented. Nonetheless, the individuals still disagreed on participating. Regarding the language barrier, it is important to note that it was made clear that the participants would not have to answer all of the questions if they did not understand them, and that there would be an effort to explain everything as thoroughly as they needed – whether it would be in Portuguese or in English. Nevertheless, not being able to speak the native language of the *community* in question was a major obstacle that could have been overcome if the interviews would have involved “lay researchers/translators/interpreters (*community* researchers) with specific language skills or professional translators/interpreters”. (Resch & Enzenhofer, pp. 131-132, 2019 in Flick, 2019). Furthermore, not being able to speak the native language of the *community*, meant that the information gathered was not as rich as it could otherwise have been – and perhaps involved the loss of key information.

Another limitation derived from the nature of the sampling method carried out - which tends to produce homogeneous results. In spite of the efforts made in order to minimize the effect the method had on the final sample, the group of interviewees was, at times, very similar in their experiences and/or answers, due to the kin bonds of some of them. Moreover, three of the people interviewed were born in Portugal, i.e., they were part of second generation ethnic Chinese, which understandably means that they have less difficulties and experience less obstacles to their integration in a society that is, in essence, their home. Nevertheless, their perspectives and stories about their own and their family's experiences still gave an important insight into what the reality may be.

As previously mentioned, the option of having the interview be conducted via e-mail – which was not the preferable method – was chosen by four of the interviewees. The main limitation this method presents is the lack of dialogue that it involves – meaning that a lot of information ends up not being brought up. Furthermore, the added anonymity that it implies can allow interviewees to be more evasive and less open about their experiences. In this sense, it is important to note that three of the interviewees who only agreed to participate in this investigation under the condition that it would be done via e-mail presented several answers that were identical.

To conclude, it is of extreme relevance to note that the gender composition of the sample was not desirable for an investigation of this nature, in which there is an emphasis on the role being played by the gender variable, as only two males agreed to be interviewed.

CHAPTER 3 – THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN PORTUGAL AND ITS CONFIGURATION IN THE PMA

3.1.CHINESE MIGRATION

“Overseas Chinese work” is seen as a sphere that resides between domestic and foreign policies. In this framework, in official discourse “overseas Chinese have been presented as an extension of the Chinese nation united with the goal of first “saving”, then “serving”, and now “rejuvenating the nation” (Barabantseva, 2012, p.82).

Chinese migration has been occurring for centuries. Nonetheless, the foundation of People’s Republic of China in 1949 signified that the country closed itself to the rest of the world. In the late 1970s, however, as the economic reform came into effect, the aforementioned closure was eased (Zhou and Liu, 2016).

According to Zhou and Liu (2016), “New Chinese Immigrants” are those who emigrated from Mainland China after the economic reform in 1978. This new wave of migrants differs from the former ones in several ways, including in its origins, places of settlement and job in the society of settlement. The origin of these migrants is linked to several different places all throughout China, not only to villages or to towns, and they do not have the necessity of being spatially segregated and relying on jobs in *ethnic communities* in the settlement societies. Furthermore, they have distinct transnational practices, patterns of diasporic formation, and outcomes in integration. Other aspects that set them apart from the previous migrants are their occupation, as many of them are students, and their qualifications, as many of them are highly qualified. Consequently, the restructuration of ethnic Chinese *communities* in the West has been occurring since the decade of 1990 (Zhou *et al*,2019). In addition to that, the fact that the Chinese diasporic *community* is composed of many students is allowed by the international fluxes of students due to the expansion of higher education.

Regarding the definition of Chinese diaspora, Daniel Goodkind broadly defines it as a group that “includes those people living outside of China who were born in China or who otherwise identify as Chinese based on the language they speak and/or their ancestry.” (2019, p. 2).

Concerning the historical gender profile of the Chinese migration, Goodkind (2019) mentions that before the 20th century these flows were mostly composed of men. Nonetheless, there has been a gradual feminization of the diaspora. The reasons for such feminization occurring were the China's one-child policy that led to Chinese female children being adopted internationally, the international marriages involving Western husbands and Chinese women, the international flows of female Chinese students, the regrouping of Chinese families, and the greater female life expectancy. The age composition of the Chinese diaspora is very dependent on the country in question- this fact reflects the "(...) different levels of fertility, (...) differing composition among various types of migrants (e.g., students, laborers, chain migration of relatives) for whom age distributions are distinct, and (...) legal or other frameworks that affect migratory levels and trends). (Goodkind, 2019, p.7).

The migrant Chinese are also highly mobile, as they have better access to information and transportation. In this sense, Zhou and Liu (2016) stated that "most migrants are engaged with the homeland through family and kin networks" (p.33). In this respect, Zhou *et al* (2019) added that the development of the technologies of communications and transportation have allowed immigrants to keep strong bonds to their society of origin. Moreover, these connections allow migrants to engage with both the societies of origin and settlement simultaneously, thus creating transnational identities and a diversified sense of belonging. Transnationalism allows for the questioning of the view of Chinese immigrants as a homogeneous/ fixed ethnic group.

In summary, the fact that Chinese migration is composed of a large amount of different ethnicities indicates that "immigrants' experiences, opportunities, constraints, and trajectories (...) are shaped by the complex, dynamic interplays of various factors, such as countries of origin, access to social capital and opportunities, locality (...) and transnational connections" (Ang, 2011; Vertovec, 2007, Cit. in Zhou *et al*, 2019, p.541).

3.1.1.BRIEF PORTRAIT OF THE CHINESE MIGRATION TO PORTUGAL

Up until the late 1960s, Portugal was mostly a country of emigration (Bäckström and Castro-Pereira, 2012). Nevertheless, the decolonization after the 1974 revolution resulted in the immigration of a significant amount of Chinese people who used to reside in former Portuguese colonies (namely Timor and Mozambique) to the country (Costa, 2002). Moreover, this early flow was also comprised of citizens of Macanese background.

The beginning of the 1980s brought about the loosening up of the emigrational mobility of the citizens in the PRC, and with it another “group” of Chinese immigrants settled in Portugal – a group that was, not only more numerous, but also possessed different characteristics from the former migrants. Gaspar (2017) stated that the new emigrational patterns were influenced by capitalism and China’s importance in the global context. Furthermore, the Chinese state perceived diasporic *communities* as a vessel for change, for transnational relations in favor of China - believing that the development of Chinese *communities* in other countries can result in the promotion of China’s “good image”-, and economic growth.

The mid-1990s and 2000s arrived with yet another migratory flow of Chinese citizens to Southern Europe, as these countries received “unauthorized, unskilled migrants to work in the informal economy”, giving them the opportunity to enter legalization programs. (Gaspar, 2017, p.50). After the 2000s, a significant amount of economic migrants coming from the province of Zhejiang entered the country. Concerning the previously mentioned timeframes, INE (Cit. in Gaspar, 2017) showed that the Chinese population residing in Portugal in 2011 was constituted by 3,4% of individuals who had entered the country before the 1990s, 25,8% between the years of 1991 and 70,8% from 2001 to 2011, meaning that the majority of those citizens entered the country in the latest period of time mentioned.

Lastly, the most recent flow of Chinese migrants started in the year 2012. This flow has been heavily composed of students, business migrants and investors “attracted by investor immigration programmes and fiscal policies promoted by the Portuguese Government” – an example of this is the Residence Permit for Investors (ARI, or otherwise known as the Golden Visa Scheme)” (Gaspar and Ampudia de Haro, 2019, p. 2). This migration phenomenon transformed the socio-demographic characteristics of the Chinese population in Portugal, which now possesses wealthier traits.

3.2. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION RESIDING IN PORTUGAL

The beginning of the 2000s brought up, as mentioned in the previous chapter, a migratory flow of economic citizens original from Zhejiang. Additionally, Chinese students and business migrants also entered the country around that time. Those two factors caused the Chinese population in Portugal to steadily grow – from 3 282 individuals in 2000 to 15 714 in 2010. (GEE, 2020). In this context, in beginning of the decade of 2010, the Chinese population represented the eighth most numerous foreign population in Portugal.

In 2018, following the increase of people coming from Asia and Europe, the Chinese population, constituted by 25 357 individuals, was already the sixth largest foreign population – a position that remained the same in 2019, as this population of 27.839 individuals corresponded to 4,7% of the total of the foreign citizens in Portugal (Oliveira, 2020). Nonetheless, in 2020, Y Ping Chow, the president of *Liga dos Chineses em Portugal*, admitted that because the numbers only comprise those who have Chinese citizenship, and left out children who were born in Portugal and people who got Portuguese citizenship, the number of ethnic Chinese was estimated to be around 35 000 (Silva, 2020).

Residence Permits

Regarding the acquirement of new Residence Permits (*títulos de permanência*) in Portugal, Chinese people sought out to do such progressively less frequently starting from the year of 2016 until the year of 2019 (See Table 1).

Year	Nº of New Residence Permits	Variation in Comparison to the Previous Year (%)
2017	2.600	-8,4
2018	2.335	-10,2
2019	2.164	-7,3

Table 1 - Number of New Residence Permits for Chinese Individuals and Yearly Variation (2017-2019). Data retrieved from Oliveira (2020).

Acquirement of Portuguese Citizenship

As previously mentioned, in 2019 the Chinese population represented 4,7% of the total of the foreign population in Portugal (See Table 2). Nonetheless, and as Table 2 shows, this segment of the population only corresponded to 0,5% of the total acquisitions of Portuguese citizenship. These numbers indicate that Chinese citizens had one of the lowest proportions in terms of acquiring Portuguese citizenship among the foreign populations (with a discrepancy of 4,2 percentage points in regards to the expected proportion). The situation described previously was similar in the years of 2011 and 2018. There could be, however, an explanation for the low acquisition of Portuguese citizenship by the Chinese population, as the country of origin does not recognize dual citizenship (Oliveira, 2020). Nevertheless, it does not necessarily mean that these citizens are not well integrated in the place they are living in (Oliveira *et al*, 2017, Cit. in Oliveira, 2020).

Year	Percentage of the Chinese Population in the Total Foreign Population (%)	Percentage of Chinese Acquirement of Portuguese Citizenship in the Total Portuguese Citizenship Acquisitions (%)	Percentage Points Variation when Compared to the Expected Proportion (pp)
2011	3,8	0,6	-3,3
2018	5,3	0,5	-4,7
2019	4,7	0,5	-4,2

Table 2- Percentage of the Chinese Population in the Total Foreign Population; Percentage of Chinese Acquirement of Citizenship in the Total Portuguese Citizenship Acquisitions; Percentage Points Variation when Compared to the Expected Proportion (2011; 2018; 2019). Data retrieved from Oliveira (2020).

Gender Composition of the Community

Regarding its gender composition, in 2018, the Chinese population in Portugal was composed of a similar proportion of men and women, with 12 622 males and 12 735 females of Chinese citizenship residing in the country (GEE, 2020).

Marriage Profiles of The Chinese Population in Portugal (Oliveira, 2020)

In 2019, 30% of 10 marriages of Chinese men corresponded to the marriage between a Chinese man and a Portuguese woman, 50% to both Chinese individuals, and the remaining 20% corresponded to the marriage between a Chinese man and a woman of one other nationality.

In that same year, 77,8% of the 27 marriages of Chinese women during that same year were with a Portuguese man, 18,5% within the same ethnicity, and the remaining corresponded to the marriage of a Chinese woman and a man of another nationality.

Formal Education of the Community (Data Retrieved from Oliveira, 2020).

Regarding the formal education of Chinese people in Portugal, in the academic year of 2017/2018 there were 1.404 Chinese students enrolled in elementary school and secondary school (3,2% of the total of foreign nationalities). In that same year, 89% of the Chinese individuals in elementary and secondary school got approval.

In 2018/2019, the number of Chinese people in elementary and secondary school increased to 1.443, comprising 2,7% of the total of foreign nationalities, and the percentage of approvals increased to 90,8%. Regardless, the percentage of Chinese student approval represented a difference of -2,9 percentage points in comparison to the Portuguese average in that same academic year.

Concerning the enrollment in higher education, in 2017/2018 there were 1.137 Chinese students in Portugal (2,3% of the foreign population's total) and 1.290 in 2018/2019 (2,3% of the foreign population's total) – this number represents an increase of 285% when comparing to the beginning of the decade. Additionally, there were 238 graduate students in the academic year of 2017/2018 (which represented 4,5% of the foreign population's total), and 302 graduate students in 2018/2019 (4,8% of the foreign

population's total). In 2017/2018, there were also 162 students enrolled in the course of Non-Native Portuguese Language (*Português como Língua Não Materna*), and in 2018/2019 that number increased by 0,6% with 163 students enrolled in that course – 4,1% and 4,7% of the foreign population's total, respectively).

School Qualifications of the Chinese Employees in Portugal

<i>Habilitations</i>	<i>Under primary education (ensino básico)</i>	<i>“1º Ciclo” - 1st to 4th Grade s (%)</i>	<i>“2º Ciclo” - 5th and 6th Grade s (%)</i>	<i>“3º Ciclo” - 7th to 9th Grade s (%)</i>	<i>Secondary School (%)</i>	<i>Higher Education (%)</i>	<i>Unknown n</i>
<i>Nationality</i>							
<i>China</i>	-	10,0	13,1	45,9	13,3	4,7	-
<i>Total</i>							
<i>Foreign Population</i>	-	11,0	10,1	31,9	30,5	12,2	-
<i>Portugal</i>	-	9,9	13,2	26,5	29,7	20,4	-

Table 3 – Percentage of Chinese Employees' (*Trabalhadores por Conta de Outrem*) School Qualifications in Portugal in 2018. Data retrieved from Oliveira (2020)

In 2018, there were 171.284 foreign employees registered at establishment plans (*Quadros de Pessoal*). Chinese employees (*Trabalhadores por conta de outrem*) were the 10th most represented in the foreign employees, being composed of 4.961 individuals, and a large number of them belonged to the group that had completed 3º *ciclo* (7th to 9th Grades). Another aspect that is worth noting is that when comparing to the foreign population's average, the Chinese employees registered had lower percentages of secondary school and higher education completed (See Table 3).

Employment of the Chinese Community (Data Retrieved From Oliveira, 2020)

Regarding Chinese employers, in 2017, these made up 18,3% of the foreign employers in Portugal – a figure that changed to 17,6% in the following year. Additionally, the majority of these employers worked in wholesale and retail (70, 1%) and in restaurants and similar (23,3%) in 2018.

In the years of 2018 and 2019, the Chinese population kept the lowest unemployment rate in the foreign population - only making up 0,4% of the total foreign population's unemployment rate.

Lastly, in 2018, the base remuneration of the Chinese population in Portugal was 733, 81 euros, which corresponded to 24,3% less than the base wage of a Portuguese national. Gender-wise, there was a difference of 50,91 euros between men and women's base wage (754,45 euros and 703,54 euros, respectively) in that same year.

3.2.1.THE CHINESE POPULATION IN THE PORTO METRAPOLITAN AREA

According to Matias (2010), a study by Universidade Portucalense referred that there was insufficient data regarding the initial Chinese immigrants in the 1920s. Nonetheless, there is data that points towards the earliest Chinese immigrants in Portugal settling down in Porto and being dedicated to commercial activities in the 1920s. Matias (2010) also referred that the Porto Civil Government's Archive mentions the settlement of the first Chinese *community* in Porto in the second half of the 20th century.

In 2002, and still following the trends of it majorly being present in the Large Urban Centers, the Chinese *community* in Porto was the second largest. The Porto Metropolitan Area is, in fact, an important place for the settlement of Chinese *communities*, forasmuch as from the 1930s it has reconfigured to be place to several Chinese stores in downtown Porto.

In the census of 2011, the majority of the Chinese population residing in Portugal, albeit scattered, was very present in the large urban centers. Lisbon was home to 43,1% of the Chinese *community*, followed by the North (23,3%), Centre (13,8%), Alentejo (10 %), and, lastly, Algarve (7,6%) – in the autonomous regions the number of Chinese individuals was unsubstantial (Delgado, Paulino, 2014). In this scenario, Grande Porto, a nomenclature that referred to 15 municipalities in the PMA, had the second largest

concentration of those immigrants (Delgado, Paulino, 2014). Gaspar (2017) added that in 2011, the proportion of Chinese immigrants in the total of immigrants was higher in the North of Portugal.

Table 4 shows that in the subsequent years (2012-2014) the Porto Metropolitan Area's number of Chinese individuals with the Legal Status of Resident followed the tendency of the numbers of the same population in Portugal – the numbers rose steadily until the year of 2015, when the numbers decreased. The increase in the numbers during the duration of those 2 years may be explained by the implementation of the new Residence Permit for Investors (ARI) in 2012 (Gaspar and Ampudia de Haro, 2019).

In 2016, the numbers in Portugal started rising again until 2019. However, the population in question in the PMA suffered a decline in number in 2018, having increased again in the following year.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Chinese Individuals with the Legal Status of Resident in Portugal</i>	<i>Number of Chinese Individual with the Legal Status of Resident in the Porto Metropolitan Area (PMA)</i>	<i>Percentage of those Residing in the PMA in the Total Chinese Population with the Legal Status of Resident</i>
2012	17 186	2 091	12,17
2013	18 445	2 293	12,43
2014	21 042	2 319	11,02
2015	20 851	2 213	10,61
2016	21 953	2 274	10,36
2017	22 689	2 553	11,25
2018	24 856	2 475	9,96
2019	27 780	2 664	9,59

Table 4 - Number of Chinese Individuals with the Legal Status of Resident in Portugal and in the PMA; Percentage of those Residing in the PMA in the Total Chinese Population with the Legal Status of Resident (2012-2019). Source: Pordata, 2020

To conclude, it is important to mention the role that Vila do Conde, and more specifically Varziela, has in the settlement of the Chinese *community* in the PMA, as it is the closest equivalent to being a *Chinatown* similar to those that are present in countries like the USA, Canada, France, and so many others. The *Chinatown* in Varziela has existed for around 20 years, and it is place to stores and warehouses full of Chinese products, but also to Chinese Church and “schools for the children of immigrants to learn Chinese on the weekends, cafes and ethnic supermarkets” (Silva, 2020). Lastly, and in accordance to the reality of the background of the Chinese population in Portugal, the majority of the population in this place also has its roots in the province of Zhejiang.

3.3.SAMPLE CHARACTERIZATION (See Tables 5 and 6)

Age

The interviewee's age varied from nineteen to seventy-seven years of age. Nonetheless, the three age groups more represented were the twenty, thirty and forty year-olds.

Gender

As mentioned in a previous chapter, the inability to find men who would agree to being a part of the investigation was significant. In this scenario, the overrepresentation of interviewees of female gender is very noticeable, forasmuch as only two of the interviewees were males.

Nationality

The majority of the individuals interviewed still had Chinese citizenship. Furthermore, two of those with Portuguese citizenship admitted having acquired it only when they turned 18 years old.

Place of Origin

As it was to be expected, due to the overall characteristics of the Chinese migration to Portugal, every interviewee that referred their own or their family's place of origin in China, was from Zhejiang. Nonetheless, four of the interviewees only mentioned that they (or their family) was original from China.

Place of Residence

The interviewees resided, to a certain degree, scattered all throughout the Porto Metropolitan Area. Nonetheless, there is a noticeable presence in Matosinhos.

It is also important to note that interviewee 8 was a PhD student, so he mentioned that, currently to the interview, he divided his time between Lisbon and the Porto Metropolitan Area. However, he also emphasized that most of his life had been spent in the PMA.

Portuguese Language Fluency

Analyzing the data shown in the Table 6, it is evident that the majority of the interviewees present some degree of difficulties in the learning of the Portuguese language.

It is important to highlight that interviewees 5, 6, and 7 presented the most difficulty in the group of interviewees. Conversely, interviewees 1, 4, 8 and 9 were fluent, as these interviewees were raised in Portugal.

Employment/ Occupation

The two main categories used to categorize the jobs of the interviewees were “Ethnic” and “Non-Ethnic”. The former refers to jobs such as working in Chinese retail stores and Chinese restaurants, whereas the latter concerns all the jobs that do not have an ethnic character to them.

In this framework, three of the interviewees had “Ethnic” jobs and two were in the remaining category. However, it should be noted that interviewee 2, although currently to the interview unemployed, formerly worked at a Chinese retail store. Lastly, interviewees 4 and 8 were higher education students, and interviewee 7, the oldest of the interviewees, was a homemaker.

<i>INTERVIEWEE</i>	<i>AGE</i>	<i>GENDER</i>	<i>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</i>	<i>PLACE OF ORIGIN (Interviewee's or Their Family)</i>	<i>PLACE OF RESIDENCE</i>	<i>NATIONALITY</i>
1	37	Female	China	Zhejiang, China	Vila do Conde	Portuguese
2	31	Female	China	Zhejiang, China	Porto	Chinese
3	51	Female	China	Zhejiang, China	Vila do Conde	Portuguese
4	19	Female	Portugal	China	Vila Nova de Gaia	Chinese
5	45	Female	China	China	Matosinhos	Chinese
6	47	Male	China	China	Matosinhos	Chinese
7	77	Female	China	China	Matosinhos	Chinese
8	27	Male	Portugal	Zhejiang, China	PMA/ Lisboa	Portuguese
9	25	Female	Portugal	Zhejiang, China	Vila Nova de Gaia	Portuguese

Table 5 - Socio-Demographic Characterization of the Interviewees.

3.4. ANALYSIS OF THE COLLECTED PRIMARY DATA

In order to achieve a better understanding of the interviewee's degree of integration, three main variables were mobilized: Labour market participation, Portuguese language fluency, and the friendship network of the interviewees.

Additionally, six categories of Social and Ethnic bonds were based and adapted from Tian and Lowe's work (2010), in order to characterize the interviewees' involvement in the Portuguese society. The first four categories were mobilized when referring to individual born and/or raised in China: *Marginalization* - "very limited intercultural interaction, partly from choice or partly forced by (perceived or real social exclusion and discrimination (Tian and Lowe, in Foskett and Maringe, 2010, p.293); *Separation* - Individuals seek out for intercultural interactions. Nonetheless, their network is mostly composed of same-ethnicity individuals, but it is commonly open to people from the outside; *Inclusion* - Involves great participation in the Portuguese society, while still maintaining close contact with other people from the co-ethnic community; *Assimilation* - Strong and vast social networks with Portuguese people/ the Portuguese society, while generally decreasing association to other Chinese people. The remaining two categories were mobilized when referring to individuals who were born and raised in Portugal: *Ethnic Identity Maintenance* - Chinese-ethnic individuals born and raised in Portugal who maintain strong bonds with the rest of the community; *Ethnic Identity Restriction* - Chinese-ethnic individuals born and raised in Portugal who generally keep social bonds with other ethnic Chinese reduced (often restricted to the kin bonds).

The first variable was the employment situation or occupation of the interviewee, as the greater labour market participation in societies of settlement allows women to achieve parity with men (Satyen, Dort, Yin, 2020). Concerning this dynamic, it is clear that almost all of the interviewed women were working – with the exception of interviewee 7 (due to her age) and interviewee 2, which had worked before, but was unemployed currently to the interview. Furthermore, the participation in this market is an important factor for the integration of immigrants (Facchini, Patacchini and Steinhardt, 2015; Satyen, Dort, Yin, 2020). In this sense, analyzing Table 6 and Figure 1, it is perceptible that those individuals who have "ethnic" jobs or do not participate in the labour market tend to have lower levels of involvement with the Portuguese society. In this regard, when asked about her leisure time, Interviewee 3, who owns a retail store,

mentioned that she only closed her store twice yearly – on the 1st of January and on the 25th of December -, and added:

When I have [free] time, I sleep.

Still regarding the labour market participation, the IOM (2015) referred that women migrants tend to have low-skilled jobs in the country of settlement, regardless of their qualifications - this seemed to be the case for Interviewee 3, as she had a higher education degree in China (presumably in Hospitality), but was now working in a retail store in Vila do Conde. The number of interviewees (3) who owned “ethnic” businesses, to some degree, meets the statistics presented by Oliveira (2020) in which of the Chinese population in Portugal in 2018, 70,1% of the Chinese employers worked in wholesale and retail, and 23,3% worked in restaurants and similar.

The second variable – Portuguese language fluency- was chosen to be a measure for the integration of the studied *community*, forasmuch as it fundamental for the interaction with the host society (ACM, 2019). Much like the situation that Costa (2002) found in his study, the majority of the people interviewed had some degree of difficulty speaking the language (See Table 6). Interviewees 2,3,5,6,7 mentioned that they had difficulty speaking Portuguese, however, Interviewees 5 and 6 also perceived themselves as being well-integrated. Regarding the subject of language fluency, Interviewee 2 stated:

The language barrier is a bit of an obstacle to having more intimate conversations, more familiar conversations. It's not possible to express those feelings directly.

Qin (2009) stated that men find it more difficult to overcome the obstacles to their integration, such the language barrier - a subject about which Interviewee 2 mentioned:

Here in the Chinese community (...) you can tell that women make a bigger effort to learn Portuguese and speak it better than men do. (...) [Because] the women already speak it, men don't want to learn it anymore. (...) In terms of percentage, women speak Portuguese better than men, and I don't know if men are also more closed off in their circle of men.

Interviewee 1 also mentioned that when people have a Chinese network in which there are individuals who speak Portuguese, they make less effort in order to learn it.

To add to the idea presented by Qin (2009) and Interviewees 1 and 2, when contacting possible interviewees to be a part of this study, a reality in which men seemed to be less able to speak Portuguese was noticeable, whereas women not only were more fluent, but were also more willing to try to speak it. Additionally, as Table 6 shows, those who had more difficulties in speaking Portuguese tended to have a lower degree of integration.

The final main variable studied was the nationalities of the friend group of the interviewees, forasmuch as friendships with locals are of great importance to the integration of migrants (Facchini, Patacchini and Steinhardt, 2015). In the primary data collected (See Table 6), it is noticeable that those individuals who claimed to have the majority of friends of Chinese ethnicity tended to be less well integrated, and vice-versa. It is also important to emphasize that Interviewees 4, 8 and 9 were part of the second generation of Chinese.

INTERVIEWEE	GENDER	EMPLOYMENT/ OCCUPATION	PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE FLUENCY	ETHNICITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE'S FRIEND GROUP	INTERVIEWEE'S SOCIAL AND ETHNIC BONDS CATEGORIZATION (BASED AND ADAPTED FROM TIAN & LOWE)
1	Female	“Non-Ethnic” Job	Fluent	Majority Portuguese	<i>Inclusion</i>
2	Female	Unemployed	Has Some Difficulty	Majority Chinese	<i>Separation</i>
3	Female	“Ethnic” Job	Has Some Difficulty	Chinese and Portuguese	<i>Inclusion</i>
4	Female	Student	Fluent	Chinese	<i>Ethnic Identity Maintenance</i>
5	Female	“Ethnic” Job	Has Great Difficulty	Chinese	<i>Margenalization</i>
6	Male	“Ethnic” Job	Has Great Difficulty	Chinese	<i>Margenalization</i>
7	Female	Homemaker	Has Great Difficulty	Majority Chinese	<i>Margenalization</i>
8	Male	Student	Fluent	Portuguese	<i>Ethnic Identity Restriction</i>
9	Female	“Non-Ethnic” Job	Fluent	Majority Portuguese	<i>Ethnic Identity Restriction</i>

Table 6 - Dimensions of the Interviewee’s Integration; Characterization of Their Integration.

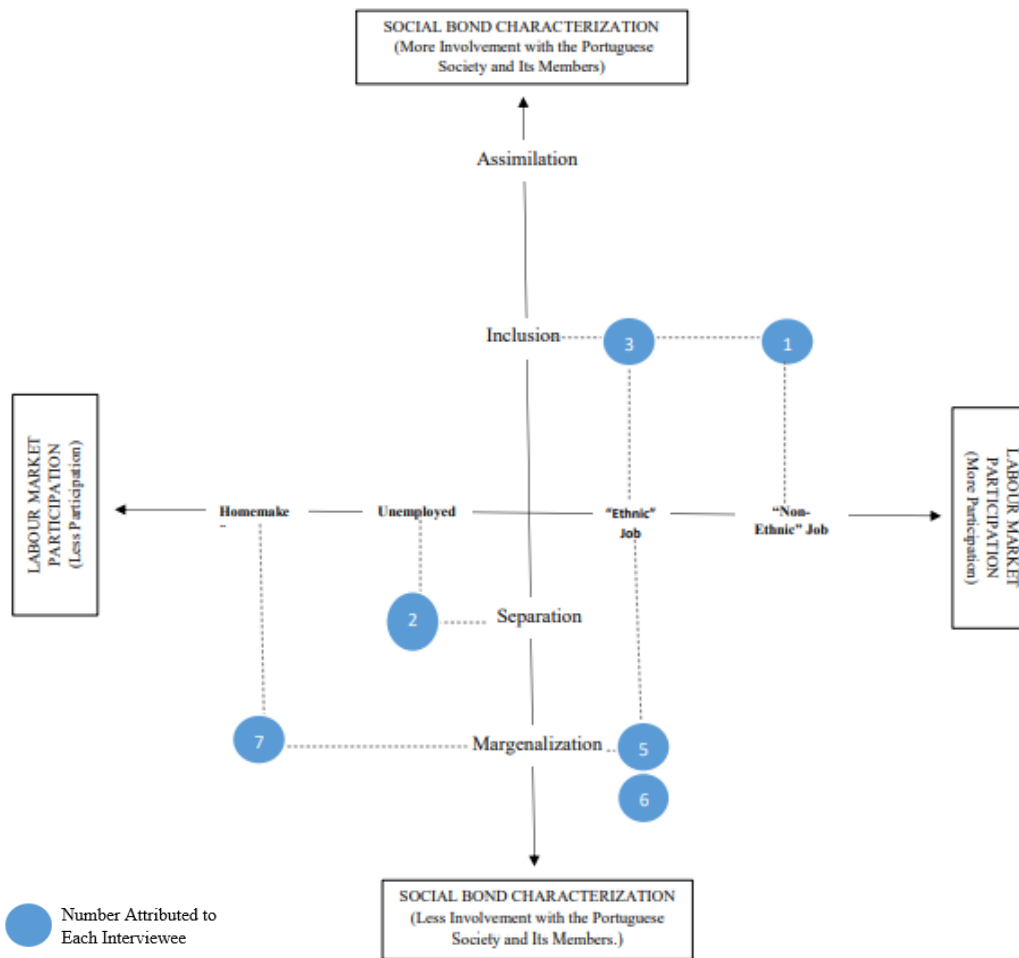


Figure 1 - Social Bond Characterization versus Labour Market Participation - Individuals Born and/or Raised in China

There are, however, some other aspects worth noting about the integration of the individuals studied.

The first one relates to the gender roles in the household responsibilities majorly performed by women (Satyen, Dort, Yin, 2020), regarding which Interviewee 2 admitted that she got married and had a child at a very young age, and that it implied that she had to be very closed at home to take care of her child and lost friendships for 4 or 5 years. Similarly, Interviewee 3 stated that she was the one who was responsible for all the housework, but she attributed that fact to her husband being lazy. Interviewee 8 added:

My mother was more present in the education – at least in mine – than my father was. My father was often away because of work (...) My mother also owned a store, so she also had to work.

Park (1928) stated that, often, foreign *communities* would have their own groups and social organizations. That fact is evident in, not only the “*Chinatown*” in Varziela, but also in the Interviewees 2 and 4’s experience regarding frequenting a Chinese church rather than a Portuguese one. Furthermore, Interviewee 3 mentioned that, before the pandemic started, she would often go to events organized by the Chinese Association.

The previously mentioned author (1928) also referred that *acculturation* and *assimilation* could be hindered by the *racially-different-from-the-mass* traits of a foreign population, and that those traits could lead to migrants possessing a permanent *alien-like* character. In this regard, Interviewees 8 and 9 mentioned often being treated as tourists in the PMA. Interviewees 1 and 9 stated that people assumed that they did not speak Portuguese. Regarding being the target of people’s prejudice, racism or commenting, Interviewees 1, 2, 8 and 9 mentioned being or having been affect by it. Interviewee 1 stated:

Some people lumps us all together (...) They think that [all Chinese people] don’t understand Portuguese, and, sometimes, they make comments and speak as if we don’t understand.

Interviewee 2 added:

People would walk passed me, right? And they called me “Chinoca”.

Nonetheless, Interviewee 8 and 9 mentioned that the racism they had experienced as children seems to have lessened throughout the years and does not bother them as much anymore. Interviewee 8 mentioned:

Sometimes I think that there is still a bit of prejudice, but (...) not as often. When I was a child, I might have noticed it more.

Reporting to a similar experience with prejudice/racism, Interviewee 9 added:

There has been a lot of racism, it’s true, but (...) as they grow older, people also learn how to get less affected by it. (...) when I was younger, [people] had more closed minds – the elderly sometimes would also treat us badly, because the culture was also more closed, but not nowadays. (...) The cultures are all mixed, and people don’t care as much.

Elias (1974) mentioned that *communities* often have a “we” character that can sometimes overshadow the individual image of a person. Perhaps a good example of that was the fact that Interviewees 1, 8 and 9 distanced themselves from the majority of the Portuguese population and approximated to the Chinese *community* in the matter of work ethic, while using “we” and “they/them”. Additionally, Interviewee 2 mentioned Chinese people in Varziela *community* do not always want to meet Portuguese people and integrate in the Portuguese society - as she does - thus, sometimes perpetuating themselves the *othering* of the Chinese *community*.

Regarding the aforementioned work ethic, Interviewees 1, 2 and 8 mentioned it sometimes being a constraint to their socialization when they were younger.

Interviewee 1: (...) *back then, we [Chinese children] would hear about other kids going on vacation, and we were working.*

Interviewee 2: (...) *in high school, (...) you arrange to meet with your friends, right? On the weekends, after school. (...) I did not have that availability, because I had the responsibility of helping my mom around the store.*

Interviewee 8: *I felt a difference from my friends who, sometimes, had an easy childhood, and I always helped my parents at the store. (...) So, as I grew older, I started realizing that I had other chores (...) that stemmed from the culture and that because of that I couldn't, for example, socialize as much, or be with my friends as often as I wanted.*

Bauman's (2001) concept of *aesthetic community* can also be mobilized when analyzing the outcome of the interviews conducted, as some of the interviewees, namely some of those who were born in Portugal, admitted that they felt more Portuguese than Chinese. Nonetheless, whenever they needed to, they would evoke their ethnic identity – such as in the celebration of Chinese holidays or in family gatherings. Furthermore, the author admitted *ethnic communities* to be the only *communities* to not cease existing.

Regarding the willingness from the host society to embrace migrant *communities* who want to integrate, Teske Jr. and Nelson (1974) affirmed that *assimilation* could only be achieved in this two-way process. In this sense, Interviewee's 2 experience when trying to integrate in the group of peers at university can illustrate this situation:

There was always that... I wasn't from that group, but I try, I can communicate and such, but integrating is a bit difficult.

Conversely, Interviewees 5 and 6 mentioned feeling well embraced by Portuguese individuals, mentioning that they are friendly and kind, adding:

The neighbours help me a lot.

To conclude, it is pertinent to mention that the transnational ties with China that these individuals carry are an important factor in the constraining of their integration in the Portuguese society. An illustrative example of that is the fact that Interviewee 8 mentioned that his mother, although residing in Portugal for around 35 years, still respected the presidents of China. Furthermore, that same interviewee and Interviewee 3 mentioned using WeChat (a messaging *app* very popular among Chinese people). Lastly, several of the interviewees, especially those of the first generation of immigrants, mentioned traveling frequently to China to visit family and friends, thus maintain ties to the society and culture of origin.

CONCLUSION

The results of the present investigation cannot be generalized to the experiences of the entire Chinese *community* in the Porto Metropolitan Area, not only due to the heterogeneity of the ethnic Chinese, but also because of the size of the sample studied. Likewise, the gender dynamics of the integration processes of this *community* did not become very clear, as only two men accepted to be interviewed. Nonetheless, the previously mentioned unwillingness of men to be interviewed could also perhaps be an indicator of an eventual lesser/ more difficult integration of this gender in the Portuguese society.

In spite of the limitations mentioned above, there were still some important dimensions found that should be considered for future research about the group of individuals in question. On a more general note, it was noticeable that the individuals interviewed, inasmuch as they were not born in Portugal, had some difficulty integrating in the Portuguese society – to this contributed the lack of Portuguese fluency, the lack of leisure time and, presumably, the lack of willingness to do so. In this sense, a few of the women in the study pointed towards the third reason presented being more substantial in the male individuals. Further, the seemingly greater difficulty for men in learning Portuguese is a factor that can often be a constraint to forming bonds with locals and make it challenging to deal with Portuguese institutions. Nonetheless, some of the interviewees who considered that they were well integrated, also admitted to having difficulties integrating due to the language barrier or the labour responsibilities and lack of free time resulting from them.

To conclude, the answers to the questions raised in a previous chapter about methodology are presented:

1. *“Are there significant differences in the way Chinese men and women integrate in the Portuguese society?”* The primary data collected is insufficient to make a definite statement about this issue. However, the integration of both genders seems to be somewhat similar.
2. *“Does any of the genders have an easier or more difficult integration in the Portuguese society?”* As already mentioned, the results do not allow there to be a precise answer to this question. Even so, the primary data collected (backed by

the literature review) pointed towards men having a slightly harder time integrating than women do.

3. “*What are the main obstacles Chinese people find to their integration, and do these obstacles vary according to gender?*” The primary data collected only allowed the perception of a very small part of the reality, in which language, lack of free time and lack of willingness to integrate seem to be the main obstacles to the integration. Further, the results seemed to point towards both genders coming across fairly similar obstacles – lack of language skills seeming to be more prominent in men’s experience.
4. “*What form does the integration of the two genders take? Marginalization, separation, inclusion, assimilation, ethnic identity maintenance or ethnic identity restriction?*” The scope of the investigation does not, naturally, allow to perceive this issue through a gender lens. Nonetheless, the form of integration each individual achieves seems to be more dependent on their labour market participation, their fluency in the Portuguese language and their friendship bonds with Portuguese people. Additionally, the age, country of birth and generation of immigration seemed to be other important factors to the integration of the interviewees.

In the future, further investigation on the subject of gender dynamics in the integration of the Chinese *community* in the PMA could be carried out in order to understand the full scope of the challenges (or lack thereof) this *community* faces. Additionally, there could be an emphasis on finding a larger sample of interviewees, by, for instance, contacting and working with Chinese associations, which could act as an intermediate between the interviewer and the possible interviewee, conceivably allowing there to be a higher degree of trust from the interviewee. Furthermore, a comparison of the results achieved with the conclusions of similar investigations in other areas of Portugal - whether these would be smaller cities where the *community* is less developed, or, for example, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area - could be relevant to understand the characteristics of the integration of the Chinese *community* in Portugal.

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Appendices

A. INTERVIEW FORM

<i>Questões</i>	<i>Respostas</i>
1. Sexo	☐ Masculino ☐ Feminino
2. Idade	
3. Quais as qualificações escolares que possui?	
3.1. Onde obteve essas qualificações? (país, cidade, etc.)	
4. Qual é o seu emprego ou ocupação atual?	
5. Nasceu em Portugal?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não** *Se sim, onde?
5.1. *(Se sim) De onde é originária a sua família? (País,Cidade, etc.)	
5.1.1. E quando é que a mesma veio para Portugal?	
5.2. ** (Se não) Onde nasceu?	
5.2.1. ** Quando é que veio para Portugal?	
5.2.1.1. ** Com quem veio para Portugal?	
6. (Se não nasceu em Portugal) Mantém relação com pessoas no país onde nasceu?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não**

6.1. *(Se sim) Com quem mantém relação?	
6.1.1. *Pode descrever essas relações?	
6.2. ** (Se não) Porquê?	
7. (Se nasceu em Portugal) Qual é a sua relação com a China? Mantém relações com pessoas que moram lá?	
7.1. Pode descrever essa relação?	
8. Onde mora?	
8.1. Há quanto tempo mora nesse local?	
9. Já morou noutra país/ cidade?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não *Se sim, onde? *Quando e quanto tempo?
10. Possui a nacionalidade Portuguesa?	☐ Sim ☐ Não*
10.1. *(Se não) Qual é a sua nacionalidade?	
11. Costuma visitar o seu país de origem/ país de origem da sua família?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não**
11.1. *(Se sim) Quais os motivos pelos quais o faz?	
11.1.1. *E qual é a regularidade com que o faz?	

11.2. ** (Se não) Porquê?	
12. Tem por costume celebrar festividades tipicamente chinesas em Portugal?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não**
12.1. *(Se sim) Quais são as festividades que costuma celebrar?	
12.1.1. *E com quem as costuma celebrar?	
12.2. ** (Se não) Porquê?	
13. Costuma participar em festividades tipicamente portuguesas?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não**
13.1. *(Se sim) Quais são as festividades que costuma celebrar?	
13.1.1. *E com quem as costuma celebrar?	
13.2. ** (Se não) Porquê?	
14. Pode descrever como sente que é acolhido/a na Área Metropolitana do Porto?	
15. Pode descrever como os outros cidadãos (nomeadamente portugueses) se relacionam consigo?	
16. (Se morou noutro país) Sente que existem diferenças na forma como foi acolhido e na sua integração em relação à sua experiência em Portugal?	☐ Sim * ☐ Não

16.1. *(Se sim) Pode descrever essas diferenças?	
17. Frequentou (ou frequenta) o ensino português?	☐ Sim * ☐ Não
17.1. *(Se sim) Quais os níveis de ensino que frequentou (ou frequenta)?	
17.1.1. *E como descreve a sua experiência no ensino português?	
17.1.1.1. *Sentiu-se (ou sente-se) bem integrado/a com os seus colegas?	
18. Pode descrever o seu grupo de amigos atual?	
18.1. Como os conheceu?	
18.2. Quais as nacionalidades dos seus amigos?	
19. Diria que no seu dia-a-dia a maioria dos indivíduos com quem se relaciona são portugueses?	☐ Sim ☐ Não*
19.1. *(Se não) De que nacionalidade são as pessoas com quem mais se relaciona no seu dia-a-dia?	

20. Sentiu (ou sente) algum tipo de dificuldades na adaptação à sociedade portuguesa (como, por exemplo, diferenças culturais, barreira linguística, etc.)?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não
20.1. *(Se sim) Pode descrever a/s dificuldade/s que sente ou sentiu?	
21. Sente-se bem integrado/a e acolhido/a em Portugal e, mais especificamente, na Área Metropolitana do Porto?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não*
21.1. *Porquê?	
22. Alguma vez teve dificuldades em ser atendido/a pelos serviços e instituições portuguesas (como, por exemplo, supermercados, restaurantes, hospitais, etc.)?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não
22.1. *(Se sim) Pode descrever as dificuldades que sentiu?	
22.1.1. *Como ultrapassou essas dificuldades?	
23. Alguma vez sentiu que a sua forma de pensar era diferente das restantes pessoas em Portugal?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não
23.1. *(Se sim) Quais as principais diferenças que sente?	
24. Pensa que as mulheres e os homens chineses têm experiências diferentes na integração em Portugal?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não

24.1. * (Se sim) Na sua opinião, quais são as principais diferenças? 24.1.1. *Acha que os homens têm mais ou menos dificuldades do que as mulheres em se integrarem em Portugal? 24.1.1.1. *Porquê?	
25. Sente que as suas responsabilidades familiares e/ou laborais influenciam a sua integração na sociedade portuguesa?	☐ Sim* ☐ Não**
25.1. * (Se sim) Porquê?	
25.2. ** (Se não) Porquê?	

B. COLLECTED DATA TABLE

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS	INTERVIEWEES' ANSWERS
1. Sociodemographic Data: • Age • Job/ Occupation • Nationality • Qualifications • Sex	1 – 37, Accountant, Portuguese, Higher Education, Female 2 – 31, Unemployed (Helps at friend's store), Chinese, Higher Education, Female 3 – 51, Storekeeper, Portuguese, Higher Education, Female 4 – 19, Student, Chinese, Secondary School, Female 5 – 45, Storekeeper, Chinese, 9th grade, Female 6 – 47, Storekeeper, Chinese, 9th grade, Male 7 – 77, Stay-at-home, Chinese, N/I, Did not Frequent, Female 8 – 25, Works in Non-ethnic Job, Portuguese, Higher Education, Female 9 – 27, Student, Portuguese, Higher Education, Male
2. Place Of Birth	Born in Portugal – 4,8,9 Born in China – 1,2,3,5,6,7
3. Place of residence	Downtown Porto – 2 Matosinhos – 5,6,7 PMA/Lisbon - 8 Vila do Conde – 1,3 Vila Nova de Gaia – 4,9
4. Place of origin (interviewee and/or interviewee's family).	<u>Family</u> China - 4 Zhejiang, Wenzhou – 8,9 <u>Interviewee</u> China – 5,6,7 Zhejiang, Wenzhou – 1,2,3

5. Relationship with the place, people and culture of origin.	Strong Relationship With China - 4 “Familiar” Relationship With China - 2 Not Very Connected to China – 8,9 Maintains a Close Relationship With Family/Friends/Neighbours in China – 2,3,5,6,7 Has Family in China, but Does Not Have a Very Close Relationship With them – 8,9 Mentions Using WeChat – 3,8 Interviewee 4 mentions her parents being traditional Chinese, raising her as a Chinese kid.
5.1.Visiting the place of origin	
4.1.1 Frequency of the visits.	Frequently (at least 1x/year) – 5,6,7 Once every 2 years – 2 Only visited 1-3 times – 1,8,9 Does not usually visits China – 3,4
4.1.2. Reasons for visiting.	Visiting Family – 2,5,6,7,8,9 Tourism – 1 Family’s Business Trip – 8 No Information/Not Applicable – 3,4
5.2.Celebration of Chinese festivities/holidays in Portugal.	Only has a Dinner Celebration With Family – 1,8,9 Has the Habit of Celebrating Them – 2,3,5,6,7 Mentions the Tradition not Being the Same Anymore – 1,2,4
a) Festivities/holidays celebrated.	Chinese New Year – 2,4,5,6,7,8,9 Moon Festival – 5,6,7,8 Qing Ming Festival – 5,6,7 No Information – 1,3
b) People with whom they are celebrated.	Family – 1,2,4,5,6,7,8,9 Other People From the Chinese Community - 3

6. Relationship with the Portuguese society (and the PMA).	
6.1.Participation in the celebration of Portuguese festivities/ holidays.	
a) Festivities/holidays which are celebrated.	Christmas and/or Easter – 2,3,5,6,7,8,9 São João – 1,2,3,8,9 Other Festivities – 3,8,9
b) People with whom they are celebrated.	Family – 2,5,6,7,8,9 Friends – 8,9 Neighbours – 5,6,7 No Information – 1,3
6.2.How the interviewees feel in the Porto Metropolitan Area.	
a) Interviewees' adaptation/ integration (and the challenges faced). Notes: a) Interviews 5,6 and 7 were conducted via e-mail, so the interviewees are likely to have had help filling the form. b) Interview 3 was partially conducted with the help of the interviewees' son. c) Regarding the language barrier – when contacting other possible interviewees, it was apparent that men are less fluent/comfortable speaking in Portuguese than women (This was also mentioned by Interviewee 2)	Feels Well-Integrated – 5,6,9 Has/ Had Difficulties Integrating/ Adapting – 2,5,6,7 Has a Language Barrier – 2,3,5,6,7 Felt No Challenges – 1,4

b) Interviewees' challenges while dealing with Portuguese institutions/services.	Has No Difficulties – 4,5,6,7 Mentions Being Treated Like a Tourist – 8,9 Language Barrier - 3 No Information – 2 Interviewee 3 States That Nowadays She Does Not Come Across Any Challenges, But Admits That She Often Has Her Son's Help.
c) Other citizens' way of treating them.	Feels Well-Accepted – 5,6 Mentions Having Neighbours' Help Whenever Needed – 5,6,9 Refers to Portuguese People as Being "Friendly" – 4,5,6,7 Mentions Being Treated Differently From Portuguese People - 2 Were Teased When They Were Kids – 1,2,8,9 People Assume They Don't Speak Portuguese – 1,9 Mentions People Making Comments About Them/ Having Prejudice Against Them/ Experienced Racism – 1,2,8,9
d) Nationality of those with whom the interviewees interacts with on a daily basis.	Both Chinese and Portuguese- 1,2 Majority Chinese – 5,6,7 Majority Portuguese- 3,4,8,9
7. Interviewees' current friend group.	Interviewee 2 Mentioned That She Cannot Maintain Friendships With Portuguese People Because She Cannot Have Deep Conversations With Them Due To The Language Barrier.

a) How they met them.	At Work – 9 Chinese Church – 4 Chinese Community Gatherings – 3 In China – 3,7 In Other Countries – 9 School – 1,4,5,6,8,9 Through Mutual Friends – 1,5,6 No Information - 2
b) Nationalities of his/her friends.	Both Chinese and Portuguese – 3,4 Mostly Chinese – 2,5,6,7 Mostly Portuguese – 1,8,9
8. Interviewees’ perceived differences between their and other individuals’ (namely, Portuguese) way of thinking/behaving.	Had to Start Helping Out/Working at The Family’s Store Starting From a Young Age – 1,2,4,8,9 Keeps Chinese Values/Costumes, But Also is Influenced by Portuguese Culture – 1,2,8 Mentions Being More Hardworking than Portuguese People – 1,8,9 States Thinking Differently From Portuguese People – 1,2,4,5,6,7 Has Never Noticed Any Differences – 3,9
9. Experiences in other countries/cities.	Not Applicable – 1,2,3,4,5,6,7
a) Former countries/cities of residence.	European Countries – 8,9 China (Born in PT) - 9
b) Differences and/or similarities in the experiences of integration they have had in both places.	Mentioned Being Treated Differently Due to Being a Foreigner There - 9 States That People There Are More Used To Cultural Diversity – 8 Was Treated Like a Tourist in China - 9

10. Attendance of the Portuguese school system.	Not Applicable – 3,5,6,7
a) How many years/ levels of education he/she attended.	Up to Higher Education – 1,4,8,9 From The Age of 12 Up To Higher Education - 2
b) Interviewee's experience.	Did Not Have Any/Many Problems – 8,9 Found It Hard To Socialize Due To The Language Barrier - 2
c) Perceived integration with their peers.	Feels Well-Integrated – 4 Had Difficulty Integrating - 2
11. Interviewees' perceived gender differences in the integration Chinese individuals in Portugal/ the PMA.	Although Not a Chinese Issue, There May be Differences According to Gender – 1,2,8 Mentions That If People Have a Network Where a Chinese Individual Speaks Portuguese, They Make Less Efforts To Learn the Language – 1,2 There Are No Differences – 4,5,6,7,9 Does Not Have an Opinion – 3 Basing Her Opinion on Her Knowledge About The Chinese Community In Varziela, Interviewee 2 Mentioned that Men Make Fewer Efforts to Learn Portuguese. Adds That The Community Tends To Be Very Protective and People in That Community Tend to Not Want to Leave That Area And Integrate in the General Society.

12. Labour/ family responsibilities' influence in the integration of the interviewees in Portugal/ the PMA.	States That There Is No Influence – 1,3,5,6,7,9 Mentions That Having to Work at Family's' Business Had Some Influence in Their Social Life – 2,8,9 Mentions That Family Responsibilities Are Usually Shared By Both Genders – 2,3 Mentions That Men are More In Charge Of Business, And Women Are More In Charge of Home Chores/Educating Children – 2,8 States That Her Responsibilities Do Not Leave Her Much Time For Leisure – 2,3 Did Not Express Any Opinions – 4
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