

Residential and Socioeconomic Integration and Social and Cultural Segregation of Chinese Immigrants in the Netherlands

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(In the format of 'Housing Studies')

ABSTRACT *Social scientists have long sought to understand the role of ethnic residential segregation in the process of integration of minorities. Chinese immigrants in North America stand out because they have different residential distribution and integration process. Research on Chinese immigrants is considerably fewer in Europe, but shows a residential distribution different from American Chinese. Besides, the European picture also questions the hallmark role of residential integration in overall integration. To understand the residential integration and its role in the overall integration process, this paper adopts a housing career approach in exploring the residential integration process of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands as well as their socioeconomic, social and cultural integration. The findings firstly show that their high-level of residential integration is related to the spatial requirements of the Chinese restaurants. Secondly, the study also uncovers that, despite their high level of residential and socioeconomic integration Dutch Chinese deliberately preserve Chinese culture and values in particular with respect to food, parenting, social manners and family values.*

KEY WORDS: Residential integration, socioeconomic integration, cultural integration, social integration, segmented integration theory, Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands

Introduction

Residential segregation along ethnic lines is often regarded as a problem, potentially leading to economic, social and cultural segregation of minority groups and thus, hindering the development of a sustainable multicultural society (Pawson & Kintrea, 2002; Dekker and Rowlands, 2005). Residential segregation varies between minorities in different places. For example, prior research consistently shows that compared with other minorities African Americans are less able to translate individual attainment into access to white neighborhoods, (Freeman, 2000). In European countries, North Africans and Turks have been identified as the most disadvantaged groups with respect to housing conditions (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 1997b). Most literature focuses on ethnic minorities with black or brown skins (Sarre, 1986). These minority groups are usually reported to integrate into mainstream society in a linear process, in which the passage of time and the succession of generations lead to increasing economic, cultural, political, and residential integration (Le, 2013).

Asians are always treated as a different minority group in North America. Previous research findings describe American Asian immigrants as relatively privileged, experiencing relatively low levels of residential segregation and advanced socioeconomic achievement (Massey & Denton, 1987; Zhou, 1991). However, among the Asians the Chinese tend to live more in ethnic enclaves such as Chinatowns and ethnoburbs (small suburban cities with high percentage of Chinese) in North America, regardless of their high socioeconomic achievements (Massey & Denton, 1987; Li, 1998). Also, their strong affinity with Chinese ethnic community increases over time, which is widely different from other minority groups (Wong, 1998; Schnittker, 2002; Yu & Myers, 2007; Painter et. al, 2004; etc.).

For Europe, a recent report (Gijsberts, 2011) presents a different picture. According to the report, Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands are widely spread across the country, across urban regions and across cities, and often live in neighborhoods with large numbers of natives. However, despite their higher level of residential integration than those in North America, Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands still tend to stay within their own communities (Gijsberts, 2011). Therefore, the research

gap here includes two aspects: How do Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands arrive at residential integration and why do they maintain a strong affinity with their ethnic community and culture, despite their advanced residential and socioeconomic integration?

Focusing on this research gap, the purpose of this study is firstly, to understand the residential integration of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, and secondly, to understand the discrepancy between their residential, socioeconomic integration and social, cultural segregation. For the first, two classical views explain the housing results, which are constraints in the housing market (Rex & Moore, 1967; Sarre, 1986; Pahl, 1970) and individual choices (Peach, 1968; Phillips, 1981). The more recent housing career approach (Bolt & Van Kempen 2002) offers a more comprehensive explanation as it adds in and emphasizes individual resources besides constraints and choices and weaves the four aspects of overall integration, including socioeconomic achievements, acculturation, social integration and residential integration, into one story line, making them researchable.

Using the concept of ‘housing career’, the study adopts a comprehensive approach that combines constraints, choices and resources to study the integration process of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. Firstly, theories of integration and the housing career concept are discussed. Thereafter, the conducting of semi-structured interviews with Chinese immigrants in Rotterdam, the city with the largest ‘China town’ in the Netherlands, is described. Next, the integration process of Chinese immigrants is examined on its four aspects. Finally, the theoretical contribution and policy implications of this study are discussed.

Theoretical framework

Theories of Integration

Integration and assimilation are sometimes treated synonymously in the literature. However, integration is more often used in European research while assimilation is more prevalent in the American literature (Bolt *et al.*, 2010). For this paper, the term integration is described as the process whereby the differences between the Chinese immigrants and the Dutch population decline across a range of domains. In a major review and reformulation of theory, Alba and Nee (1997) define a multidimensional concept of integration, in which there are four key dimensions: acculturation, social integration, socioeconomic achievement, and residential integration such as access to suburbs, to neighborhoods with white majorities and with higher levels of amenity.

To examine the integration pattern of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, different modes of integration should be studied. There are three major theories of immigrant and ethnic integration. Firstly, according to the classic integration model, immigrants follow a linear process, becoming more similar to local majority groups over time and over generations in norms, values, behavior, and characteristics (Brown & Bean, 2006). For the residential aspect, the longer immigrants have lived in a destination country, the more mixed their residential pattern with native members, which is also a linear process.

Secondly, integration can happen in a non-linear way in which the integration of immigrant groups remains blocked. These blocks result from lingering discrimination and institutional barriers to employment and other opportunities. This is the core of the “ethnic disadvantage” point of view (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963). The “ethnic resilience” model (Le, 2013) has a different point of view in which immigrants retain or revive old cultural traditions, norms, and behaviors and choose to remain somewhat isolated from mainstream society, which also hinders complete integration.

Thirdly, the most comprehensive one is the segmented integration theory. It stresses a three-part path: integration for those with advantages in human capital, ethnic disadvantages for some because of poverty and racialization, and the selective retention of ethnicity for yet others (Alejandro & Zhou, 1993). The third path is unique as it describes the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s culture and values, accompanied by economic integration (Rumbaut, 1994; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). For example, Asian Americans are reported to combine elements of both traditional Asian (although they may modify old traditions and values to fit their contemporary circumstances) and mainstream American culture (Le, 2013).

These three theories may help to analyze the integration process of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. For the classic linear integration theory, research has shown that it does not fit Chinese in North America, and hence, it may also not be applicable to Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. The ethnic disadvantage theory may also not fit most of Dutch Chinese, since Chinese immigrants are seen as less disadvantaged comparing with other minority groups. The third, the selective retention of ethnicity, may help to explain the selective integration of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands as identified by Gijsberts (2011).

The role of residential integration

Residential integration is regarded an important factor accelerating integration. Firstly, homeownership attainment is recognized as a milestone of overall integration (Kriwo 1995; Rosenbaum 1996; Borjas 2002) as well as the commitment to the host society (Rosow 1948; Alba and Logan 1992; Rossi and Weber 1996). Secondly, residential integration facilitates integration because contact with non-immigrants neighbors fosters meaningful social relations, while segregation can derail intergroup relations by fueling mistrust and group stereotypes and by exacerbating perceptions of group difference (Vang, 2012). Therefore, residential integration may help social integration and acculturation and thus becomes a very important stage in immigrants' progression towards full incorporation in receiving societies (Alba and Nee 1997; Marston and Van Valey, 1979).

Yet, residential integration is often seen as a hallmark of rather than a factor in overall integration by previous integration studies (a.o. Newbold, 2004). They posit that upon arrival in a new country, immigrants will initially reside in immigrant enclaves, usually located in poor sections of the inner city where housing is cheap. As immigrants improve their socioeconomic position and adopt the host society's language, customs, norms, and values (a process known as acculturation), both real and subjective differences will disappear (Marston and Van Valey, 1979). Once social and cultural distance diminishes, the spatial gap between immigrants and non-immigrants will also be filled. Accordingly, residential integration is treated as the result of social and cultural integration here.

However, several recent studies suggest different ideas on the role of residential integration in the overall integration process. Vang's (2012) study on African immigrants in America points out that it does not necessarily follow that spatial proximity between immigrants and dominant group members will result in, economic, civic, and other forms of integration. Meanwhile, a lack of residential integration with the dominant group also does not mean that immigrants are doomed to a life of social exclusion; especially if immigrants are concentrated in minority neighborhoods that are not socioeconomically disadvantaged. The situation of the Chinese immigrant in the Netherlands tends to support Vang's (2012) view while the Chinese immigrants in North America fit more into the second idea.

Housing career approach

To explore the way of residential integration and also the other aspects of integration, a housing career approach is suitable as it strongly relates the development of housing career to individual resources & restrictions besides the structural context and personal choices (Özüekren, 1992; Siksio & Borgegard, 1990; Bolt & Van kempen, 2002). Housing careers can be defined as the sequence of dwellings that a household occupies during its history (Pickles & Davies, 1991). Different stages in the housing career result from changes in individual resources & restrictions over life course.

Four types of resources are included in the housing career approach (Siksio & Borgegard, 1990; Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2010). Firstly, material resources referring to income-generating jobs, personal savings, and opportunities to raise capital through money lending institutions are one of the key factors for the housing result. The second are social resources, which are the social ties people use to get housing information (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2010). Thirdly, cognitive resources include education, skills and knowledge of the housing market. The last are political resources relating to attaining and defending formal rights in society. The first three kinds of resources respectively fit into socioeconomic, social and cultural integration, therefore, the housing career approach is appropriate in dealing with each aspect of integration.

Conceptual Model

In summary, what is shared by integration and housing career studies is that residential integration interacts with socioeconomic achievements, social networks and cultural values alongside life course or, more precisely, immigration time (Figure 1). For this paper, the expectations include two aspects. Firstly, Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands do achieve full residential integration. Yet, according to the story of American Chinese, residential integration does not necessarily result from high socioeconomic achievements, so there should be other reasons for the residential integration of the Dutch Chinese. Secondly, it is expected that despite being economically and residentially integrated, Dutch Chinese immigrants still keep their distance from mainstream society and culture. Then, based on these two expectations, the first question is: what are the underlying reasons of residential integration of Dutch Chinese? The second question is why their residential integration does not result in social and cultural integration.

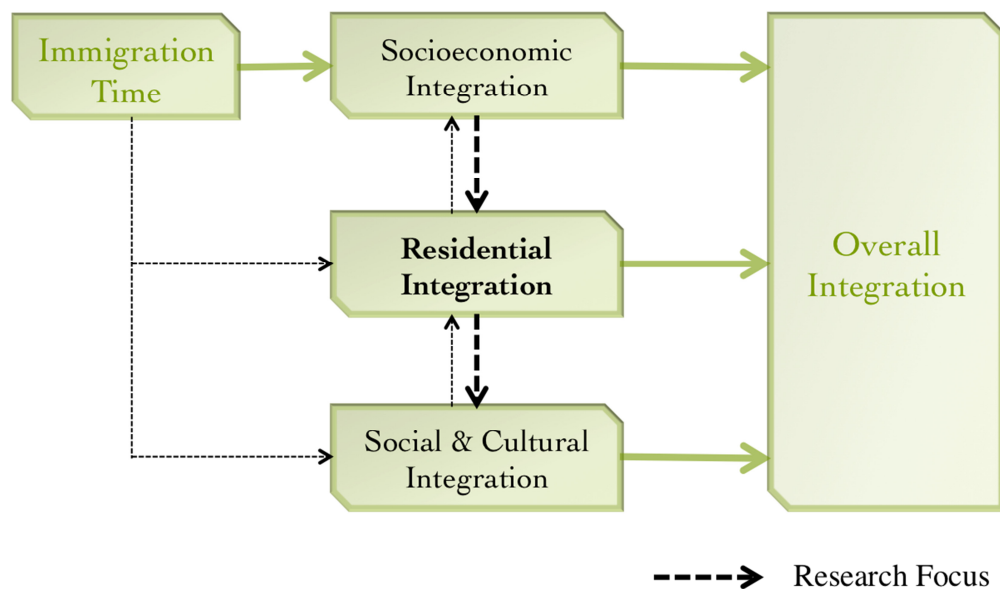


Figure 1. The conceptual model

Data & Methods

To explore the integration process of the Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, a study including different generations is essential. The first generation with the longest story is expected to show most changes in both residential and the other three aspects of integration. For the second generation, who were born in the Netherlands and the in-between generation who received primary education in China, their stories can be used to compare with the first generation. In order to understand the integration of Chinese immigrants into the Dutch society, a semi-structured interview approach was chosen for the exploration of the perceptions and opinions (Barriball & While, 1994) of the Dutch Chinese regarding the complex process of their integration.

Interviews were conducted in Rotterdam, a big city with one of the largest 'China towns' in the Netherlands. Most of the interviewees were found in the Chinese Christ Church and two Chinese schools in Rotterdam, because these are places for Chinese immigrants who may have time and willingness to talk or make appointments. To reduce bias resulting from interviewees within the Chinese church community and Chinese school (parents and part-time teachers), snowball sampling was also used for other kinds of interviewees.

After one-month of fieldwork, 20 interviews were collected, among which 12 were with the first generation, 3 with the second, and 5 with the in-between generation. For the second and in-between generations, all of the interviewees are married and have started their own housing career apart from parents' dwellings. For the first generation the housing career starts at the point when they arrived in the Netherlands. The interviews were conducted in Chinese mandarin and Cantonese with first and in-between generations because many do not speak English. With the second generation, English was chosen as the language to conduct interview as they speak English better than Chinese. The interviews were recorded on a voice recorder and then transcribed and interpreted manually.

The main topics of the semi-structured interviews are about the housing career. Information on every dwelling in which the interviewee has lived, including the tenure, the attributes of the dwelling, and most importantly the population structure of the neighborhood, the communication with neighbors, etc. This created a story line around which the following topics were discussed: 1) Reasons of every move that may include job career, family career, changes in social network and ideas, etc. 2) Changes in immigration goals and expected duration of stay and how do these affected the housing career and other things in daily life. 3) The feeling of integration into Dutch society that may include language skills, the decrease of conceived differences between Chinese and Dutch and also the remaining differences. 4) The knowledge of the interviewees about Dutch society and culture, which may include neighborhoods, working places, other friends and communities.

The analysis of the interview focused mainly on three aspects: 1) What are the most important moving triggers: jobs and income (socioeconomic achievements), the ideas of living and language (acculturation), or friends and community (social integration)? 2) What are the reasons for maintaining a strong affinity with Chinese community and what kind of Chinese values and ideas do they prefer to preserv? 3) How do the following factors affect each other: socioeconomic achievements, culture related ideas, social networks, temporary goals, housing and neighborhood preferences?

Empirical results

To understand the integration process of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, information on the four aspects of integration were examined for the 20 interviews.

Socioeconomic achievements

Socioeconomic achievement comes first as it considerably contributes to the economic resources for the housing career (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 1997). From this socioeconomic perspective, the interviewees should be divided into two categories according to their jobs, namely the Chinese entrepreneurs and the Dutch-firm employee group. The first group includes those who run their own Chinese restaurants (but also Chinese supermarkets and Chinese drugstores). The other group includes those Chinese immigrants who work in Dutch firms and have a relatively high education.

Although interviewees in these two groups have very different jobs, most of them show a common characteristic in achieving economic independence within a relatively short period after arriving in the Netherlands. Mr. Zheng, who has been here for about 30 years and has experience of working in four different restaurants, describes his short starting period as following.

Mr. Zheng: My wife and I came here with the help of my cousin and we firstly worked and lived in his restaurant. After about one year we decided to start our own business. My cousin and other Chinese friends offered us information of the restaurant and money to buy it (...) At that time, we were really hardworking to make more money and we also lived in the restaurant.

For the other group, the adaptive period is rather shorter because most of them came here with higher professional skills or even received master or PhD education here in the Netherlands. Mrs. Gu

who came here as a master student, clearly describes her family's socioeconomic achievements as the base of buying their first dwelling.

Mrs. Gu: Firstly we (Mrs. Gu and her husband) lived in a rented social apartment and started to consider buying a dwelling in Rotterdam when we had a baby in Delft, but we were still in university and could not afford to buy a dwelling. After graduation, our jobs were both settled and we matched the condition to apply a loan from the bank, so we bought a dwelling in a new area near Rotterdam.

Although the two groups have many differences, they share the same picture that most of the Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands have a short period of socioeconomic adaptation. They found permanent jobs very soon. This is consistent with the situation in North America where Chinese immigrants are relatively privileged in their socioeconomic achievement (Zhou, 1991).

Residential integration

Both groups also show rapid residential integration after arriving, but in different ways. The interviewees in the restaurant group have very similar housing careers. Since they focus on their business, they usually living in (or very near) the restaurant for a very long period. The interviewees in the other group have a wider choice set because their dwellings are less tied to their working places than among the entrepreneurs.

As quoted from Mr. Zheng, for those who work in their restaurant, their typical first step in housing career is co-residence with their fellowmen in the restaurants of their relatives and friends. They may continue living there for quite a long time till they get married or bring wife and children here from China. This phenomenon validates Wolf's (2011) view that the residential places of Chinese people also depend on whom they have already known before immigration. When they initially arrive in the Netherlands, the Chinese interviewees just need to live with or near certain people. As these people are widely dispersed over the Netherlands, the newly arrived do not form ethnic enclaves.

When getting married, most 'immigrants entrepreneurs' finish the co-residence period with relatives and have their own dwellings. However, the location of this dwelling is still defined by the location of their business. Those who work in or run a restaurant initially live upstairs. With the increase of economic resources, they may move out to have a real dwelling, but still quite near to their restaurants. One typical 'Chinese-restaurant immigrant', Mr. Ye describes this strong relationship between dwelling and restaurants quite clearly.

Mr. Ye: We started to run a restaurant in Dordrecht, renting a dwelling quite nearby, just 5 minutes by car. I did not consider living near friends, our target is to make more money, so the most important thing is the business of my restaurant, the place should benefit my business, a place with more Dutch people is usually helpful.

Mr. Ye's answer also shows the reason why Chinese immigrants tend to arrive at residential integration very soon after immigration. Every village and nearly every town district in the Netherlands has one of more Chinese restaurants that serve a local clientele. Restaurant workers and owners can therefore be found in nearly every place. This helps to explain the phenomenon identified by Gijssberts's (2011) that Chinese immigrants are widely spread across the country, urban regions and cities, and more often live in neighborhoods with large numbers of natives.

For the integration into the housing market, homeownership is a very important indicator (Yu & Myers, 2007). Alongside with the increase of immigration time and economic achievements, the interviewees started to pursue better life quality rather than just business. They move out from their restaurants and move up into owner occupied housing. Yet, even then the distance to the restaurant is still more important than to relatives and friends. Mr. Ye's opinion on buying a dwelling shows their considerations.

Mr. Ye: We bought a dwelling when we had enough money. We always wanted to own a dwelling. We prefer house, a neighborhood with more Dutch people and less Moroccans and Turkeys because this kind of neighborhood often has better facilities and we also feel safer in it. (...) We searched for the house via real estate agent. We did not have the choice to choose a

neighborhood with more Chinese because these do not exist, but since our friends and us lived in the same city, it is not far to visit them by car.

In short, most of the restaurant households finally buy dwellings in Dutch neighborhood due to two reasons. The most important one is that they usually run restaurants in Dutch neighborhoods or small towns without many minorities. The other reason is that they do prefer high-quality Dutch neighborhoods.

Those who are engaged in other professions tend to have a different housing career from the restaurant group but similar with the second generation. In general, their housing career starts with renting a dwelling in mixed neighborhoods with other minorities, afterwards, when they build a family and get steady jobs, they also buy a dwelling. Because they have better cognitive skills, this group usually has more housing market information. Because they do not need to live close to their businesses, they also have fewer restrictions than the first group. People in this group tend to have shorter renting period and show more freedom when buying a dwelling.

Their initial period of living starts in rented dwellings found through the help of friends or relatives. Most of these rented dwellings have a relatively low price and some of them are dwelling sublets from other Chinese. This kind of neighborhood is usually mixed with many other ethnic minorities. Mrs. Liu, who came from Hong Kong as an accountant, lived in an apartment in a building with a high turnover rate after moving out from her sister's dwelling.

Mrs. Liu: I almost did not know my neighbors at all, I mean, they are always changing, but most of them are also minorities, maybe from Suriname and Morocco. To be honest, I do not like my neighbors very much because I feel they always make the public corridors dirty and noisy.

Mrs. Liu's picture also reflects one possible reason why Chinese immigrants do not have an obvious initial period of concentration in disadvantaged neighborhoods. When their choice is limited, they live in disadvantaged neighborhoods with other ethnicities rather than in a Chinese neighborhood and they move out as soon as they can afford a better neighborhood.

With enough economic resources, buying a dwelling seems to be inevitable for these Chinese immigrants. Mrs. She came from Hong Kong in 1988 with a bachelor's degree and her husband got a master's degree here in the Netherlands. She emphasizes the importance of socioeconomic achievement, and also mentions the effects of the social renting system in the Netherlands.

Mrs. She: Yes, most people will buy a dwelling when they have enough money, because you can choose in what kind of dwelling and neighborhood you want to live. If you rent a dwelling, you must just wait, government will pick one for you by chance. You just have only 3 times to reject the dwellings assigned by the government. If you have steady income to apply a loan from the bank, you always want to buy a dwelling also because you do not have to pay every year.

This answer also reflects a strong will to choose the dwelling and the neighborhood. Mrs. Gu describes their considerations about location and facilities for the dwelling in a more detailed way.

Mrs. Gu: We chose this dwelling because it is not very far from both of our working places and the neighborhood is well developed, the buildings there are relatively new. The roads there are well-organized, easier to drive through, better than the roads in Rotterdam center. And it is also near Rotterdam center, easy for us to do shopping there without living inside it. Small towns near big cities are very popular, we can have convenient daily life without too much noise and strangers."

When asked about neighbors, Mrs. Gu's consideration is also representative. She clearly illustrates the idea that living in a neighborhood with many Chinese may be positive but not necessary. Instead, she deems the school quality and social network of her children more important. She prefers neighbors with above-average socioeconomic status who mostly happen to be Dutch.

Mrs. Gu: We heard there are many Chinese live in that new area comparing with other areas, yes this is good but not necessary. However, as a Chinese, what I consider most is the quality of school in this neighborhood and what kind of jobs do my neighbors have. Because what kind of

children decide the quality and enrollment rate of the schools, and what kind of children do the school have is decided by what kind of parents and family do they have. It is impossible for us to know what kind of neighbors do we have before we move in, but at least people who can afford to buy a townhouse there usually have a decent job and with relatively high education background, I think they tend to encourage their children to study and play in a good way. And also, to have this kind of neighbors makes me feel safe.

Mrs. Gu's consideration for children also indicates a general relationship between Chinese immigrants and their Dutch neighbors, which will be discussed in the next part.

Social integration

For most of the interviewees, the amount of communication with their neighbors is limited. Those with small children like Mrs. Gu usually communicate a little bit with neighbors on children and parenting, while for those who are single, the interaction is smaller. The reason is that they stay mostly within Chinese communities after work.

For the social integration, the story of second generation is more clear and convincing. They have a larger Dutch social network built from school and do not have a preference for living in a neighborhood with more Chinese when choosing their dwelling. However, they still turn out to have stronger ties to their Chinese neighbors who may be physically further away than to their Dutch neighbors living just next door. Sharing Chinese culture is part of that choice.

This view is clearly shown by Mr. Wang, who came here with parents as a 5 years old and received complete Dutch school education. Although he has various friends with different ethnic backgrounds, he and his family now tend to have more Chinese friends in the neighborhood.

Mr. Wang: At the moment of searching a dwelling, we did not consider living close to Chinese, but the funny thing is that there are quite a lot Chinese families in this new neighborhood (...) they also have children, so it is quite easy (to become friends), you meet each other and the children play together (...) due to the children, you get better relationship in the neighborhood (...) We go to Chinese friends or they come to us, and we eat together. With the Dutch it is always different. Even with your neighbors, if you want to arrange something, you always have to make an appointment, it is easier with Chinese (...) In that way you can say you are more closer to your Chinese friends because you can just go and have dinner with them...we Chinese always get together and eat, for Dutch people, drink seems to be more common.

Mr. Wang's explanation on his closer relations with Chinese neighbors underwrites another of Gijsberts's (2011) findings. According to Gijsberts, the second generation has a less pronounced preference to live in a neighborhood with a high proportion of other Chinese households. However, they still tend to stay within their own communities when their socio-economic position improves. This is consistent with the research on Chinese immigrants in North America that documents that the strong affinity with their ethnic community stays or even increases over time (Wong, 1998; Schnittker, 2002; Yu & Myers, 2007; Painter et. al, 2004; etc.).

Acculturation

Mr. Wang's description of neighbor relations also reflects that the second generation of Chinese immigrants still deliberately preserves certain aspects of Chinese culture, which indicates a selective acculturation. When facing the differences or even conflicts between Chinese and Dutch cultures, on the one hand they partly accept and even learn from Dutch culture, while on the other hand they still insist on some Chinese ideas. They select from both Dutch and Chinese culture and finally become neither complete Dutch nor Chinese. This selective retention among Chinese immigrants is even more common for the first and in-between generations and it is mainly reflected in the following four aspects.

The initial one is food. As mentioned by Mr. Wang, Chinese people tend to have serious attitudes towards food and meals. Many of other interviewees mention that they generally accept eating bread or

potatoes, but still eat Chinese dishes as their everyday meal. For those married with Dutch people, they even tend to change their international family appetites into Chinese.

The second difference is about parenting. Chinese people tend to have a less equal relation between parents and children than Dutch people. Mrs. She, as the president of Chinese school, talks a lot about parenting and education:

Mrs. She: Usually Chinese parents always order children to do things we consider right and explain less why they should do so. We are more authoritative and Dutch parents are more like friends with their children... I gradually realized that they (Dutch parents) may be right and I try to explain more to my children.

Traditional Chinese parents seem to expect more from their children and have a different idea about what children should do than Dutch parents. Mrs. Wang, a part-time Chinese teacher who married a Dutchman, explains the Chinese parenting she wants to preserve:

Mrs. Wang: My husband (a Dutch man) thinks the duty of children is to play as they can learn a lot from playing, while I have different opinion. You know, traditional Chinese parents usually think the main duty of children is to be reading and learning. I partly accept my husband's idea but still I insist that our children should pay more time to books, not that much as real Chinese parents' require in China, but at least more than Dutch parents' require.

The third difference is the way people handle gifts as a token of social exchange. Chinese people regard the quality and price of gifts much more seriously than Dutch people. The price of the gift is often seen as the value of friendship, and also represents the wealth and status of the person who send the gift. Gift relate strongly to the typical Chinese self-esteem called 'mianzi'. Mrs. Lin, an in-between generation restaurant immigrant refers to this difference.

Mrs. Lin: About the differences... yeah, our gifts are very different from Dutch people. Sometimes they (Dutch) just send flowers; it is very simple compared with the Chinese way... I partly accept this way with Dutch friends. I send simple gifts, although not that simple as real Dutch. For my Chinese friends, I pick more expensive gifts because it is about manners, personal reputation and self-esteem.

The fourth one is about the family values, focusing on the distance between family members. Chinese immigrants tend to be much closer to their family members and relatives than the Dutch. They have more activities and family reunions and emphasize the filial piety of their children more. Even Mrs. She, who thinks of herself as highly accepting Dutch parenting idea, still insists on the Chinese close relationship between grow-up children and parents. Mrs. Liu, who does not have children, focuses more on the relationship between other family members.

Mrs. Liu: We Chinese always have a big family, I mean when we have dinner or go outside, we are always with not only friends but also family members. I think we do not have a clear boundary between friends and relatives when have parties or other activities.

Above views fit into the selective retention process; relatively advantaged groups may embrace traditional home-grown attitudes and use them to inspire their children. (Alejandro & Zhou, 1993)

Conclusions

The study aims at understanding the integration process of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. In particular, the following two questions are investigated: how do Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands achieve residential integration, and why do Dutch Chinese maintain a strong affinity with Chinese community and culture? The results are consistent with the expectation that their socioeconomic and residential integration goes much further than their social and cultural integration.

The primary issue of the integration process of Dutch Chinese is the residential integration. They tend to arrive at residential integration soon after immigration. This is different from both other minority groups and from American Chinese. Many Dutch Chinese start with living near relatives or friends, but the relatives and friends live widely dispersed as Gijsberts (2011) has reported. For this

reason, they do not form a residential concentration even at the beginning. Besides, this initial period of living near certain Chinese is rather short, which also reduces the probability of forming Chinese residential concentrations. With increasing socioeconomic achievement, they move towards better dwellings in higher-quality Dutch neighborhoods.

This study identifies multiple reasons for this kind of residential integration. The most important one is that Chinese immigrants work everywhere in the Netherlands. Especially for the entrepreneurs, their dwelling follows their restaurants which can be found in many neighborhoods and villages and serve a local clientele. The second important reason relates to the high rate of car use of the Dutch Chinese. The average city size in the Netherlands is relatively small, especially when having a car. Therefore, Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands do not need to live near their fellowmen because the time distances between them are always short. Finally, the existence of other larger minority groups and the housing allocation system in the Netherlands also has an influence on the residential distribution of Chinese immigrants.

Regarding social integration, Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands maintain a strong affinity with their ethnic social network, which is consistent with the American Chinese (Wong, 1998; Schnittker, 2002; Yu & Myers, 2007; Painter et. al, 2004). Especially for the first and in-between generations, their Dutch social networks are mainly restricted to working hours. After work, they usually spend little time to communicate with Dutch neighbors and their social ties in neighborhoods are few. This may partly explain why the residential integration does not lead to the same level of social integration. The ties with their Chinese fellowman are much stronger than with Dutch colleagues and neighbors. Even for the second generation, who engages in a larger Dutch social networks than the first generation, the social network within the Chinese community is not reduced. It is easier for them to establish close ties with Chinese, due to the preserved Chinese culture and values.

The preservation of Chinese culture and values accounts for the selective cultural integration of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. They deliberately preserve the Chinese community's culture and values, even when acquiring a higher socioeconomic status. This phenomenon is consistent with the behavior of American Chinese as described in the segmented integration theory (Alejandro & Zhou, 1993). This similar result on culture suggests that Dutch Chinese's residential integration does not make a difference in the cultural aspects of: food, parenting, social manners, and family values. Chinese food and family values are almost completely preserved, while the ideas on parenting and social manners go towards a combination of both the Chinese and the Dutch ways. This distinguishes Dutch Chinese from the cultural isolation identified in the blocked integration theory (Le, 2013), because they do accept parts of the mainstream Dutch culture and combine them with selected traditional Chinese values in order to adapt to Dutch society.

The conclusion must be that residential integration is not very influential in overall integration, nor is it a hallmark of social integration and acculturation. In fact, where Chinese immigrants work seems to be more important than where they live for their integration. Their colleagues and customers are reported to help them understand more about Dutch society and culture while influence of their Dutch neighbors is relatively weak. Besides, the case of the second generation shows the importance of education for overall integration through. They arrive at a higher level of acculturation and social integration than the first generation through the social networks built in school. Most of the current literature on the position of ethnic minorities in Dutch society assumes that immigrants' failure in socioeconomic achievements blocks their residential integration. The residential segregation, in turn, leads to social and cultural segregation. However, this study suggests that Dutch Chinese do achieve a high level of socioeconomic and residential integration, but they engage less in Dutch social networks and keep a cultural distance. This clearly indicates that socioeconomic and residential integration may be necessary but not sufficient for social and cultural integration.

As for policy makers, this research suggests that, when promoting overall integration of minority groups, education may deserve more attention than housing policies aiming at residential integration. For further studies, more diversified interviewees would be helpful to check possible bias of this study and a quantitative study may contribute to a detailed picture of the spatial distribution of Chinese immigrants' working and living places. Lastly, comparative studies on Chinese immigrants in other European countries should yield interesting information and results.

Acknowledgements

This article was written as my master thesis of the Research Master in Human Geography and Planning. I would like to thank my supervisor prof. dr. Pieter Hooimeijer, my friends Qianjie Chen, Ravi Khadka and Mila Stamenova for their valuable support.

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