

'We are talking about love here'

*Transnationalism and flexible citizenship among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.*



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the Netherlands.



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Cover design; Picture by author: Spring Festival, The Hague. First encounter with informants  
network of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

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## Introduction

*"It must have been my destiny that I came to the Netherlands. After living in China for 25 years, I was bored, I had to go. I think I was born curious, I like challenges, to discover my own limits in new situations. Actually I did not know a lot about the Netherlands, except for the part of the drugs and the red light district! But I think I really liked the liberal ideas in the Netherlands, people are free. Looking back, I don't like certain parts in Chinese society, like that stupid education system. But in the end I just want the best for Chinese government and the people. It is like an old friend, who you are attached to. You see the negative side, but you accept it. We are talking about love here!" (Lin).*

The increasing fascination on Chinese society and its dynamic is visible all around the world. This fascination is expressed in both fear of the upcoming power of China, as well as in increasing collaboration with China. The latter is visible in the first visit of the Chinese president Xi Jinping to the Netherlands in March 2014, which received a lot of attention on both an economic as well as a political level<sup>1</sup>. The change within China and the opening of its borders resulted in more and more migration to, for example, the Netherlands. Previously migration to the Netherlands was mainly formed by people who migrate because of economic opportunities, but the last ten years there has been an increasing migration from China to the Netherlands because of education (Wolf 2011). These Chinese knowledge migrants are young, born in the dynamic world of opportunities.

Behind the rapidly changing Chinese society is an ancient tradition of norms and values. Together, *'contrasts are big; a farmer is sitting in a plane for the first time, he wants to open the door in order to smoke. The Chinese middle class discovered Scottish whiskey, but still prefers Chinese tea. All Chinese are learning English, but no one speaks it, afraid of losing face'* (Putten 2011:7). One important example of Chinese heritage is that of 'Xiao'. This Confucius concept describes the relationship between an individual and his or her parents, co-citizens and the government (Feng Xin-Ming 2007). In this master thesis the concept of Xiao is examined through the eyes of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. The strong bond between informants and concepts like Xiao can be viewed as a form of *'transnationalism'* (Guernizo 1998; Pieke 2004). This thesis will argue that the concept of

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<sup>1</sup> NOS 22-03-2014 'Historisch bezoek Xi aan Nederland'

transnationalism does not accurately describe the heritage from China; Xiao is a socialization mechanism in Chinese civilization, instead of a form of nationalism with China as a nation. In line with this argument, it is essential to look at what happens when one migrates from one civilization to another. Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands seem to be adapting to Dutch civilization, in line with the flexibility in Chinese civilization, and in line with the concept of '*flexible citizenship*' (Ong 1999). Ultimately the concepts of transnationalism and flexible citizenship will touch the debate concerning integration. Through critique on theoretical concepts, this thesis will also criticize policy concerning integration of knowledge migrants in the era of globalization. But for a start it is essential to look at the history concerning migration from China to the Netherlands, and who this group of Chinese knowledge migrants are.

### 1. Population (background)

Recent numbers show that there are about 53.300 Chinese Dutch, originally from mainland China, living in the Netherlands (Gijsbert et al. 2011:29). However, it is incorrect to talk about 'the Chinese community', because of the enormous diversity within this group.

Firstly there is an enormous diversity in descent; Chinese people migrated to the Netherlands from Indonesia, Suriname, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China (Chong 2005:10). Secondly, there is a diversity in motives for migration among Chinese Dutch. Before the Second World War we can already speak of Chinese migration to the Netherlands, although on a low scale. Mostly Chinese men went to work in and around the ports of the Netherlands (Linder et al. 2011:28). After the Second World War Chinese migrants came to the Netherlands for employment opportunities in the '*wederopbouw*'<sup>2</sup>. This group of first-generation immigrants was predominantly less educated, and started to work in the food industry (Linder et al. 2011:28). After the turn of the millennium, a new wave of Chinese migrants came to the Netherlands, mainly for educational reasons. This group has increased; approximately 51 percent of the Chinese migrants from 2000 onwards came to the Netherlands for educational reasons, compared to only 7 percent in the period 1990-2000 (Gijsbert et al. 2011:26). This group, Chinese knowledge migrants, is relatively young, most are single and females are overrepresented. Informants mention that Chinese Dutch within the hospitality industry are functioning in another networks compared to

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<sup>2</sup> Period of high employment because of the reconstruction after the second world war - 1945-1960

Chinese migrants employed at universities or hospitals. We can therefore make a division between economic migrants and knowledge migrants; migrants who have come for economic reasons and migrants who came here as a student. This together leads to a very diverse group of Chinese living in the Netherlands, to the point that we cannot speak of 'the Chinese community'. Because of these differences I shall focus on one distinguishable group; Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. The number of Chinese knowledge migrants, mainly Chinese PhDs or ex-PhD's<sup>3</sup>, is growing every year. Higher educated Chinese Dutch are mostly located in large cities with universities across the Netherlands (Gijsberts et al. 2011:12). This research has taken place, mostly in and around Utrecht. Although some informants also study or have studied in Leiden, Enschede and Maastricht. All informants are currently studying or working in the 'Randstad'<sup>4</sup>. They all came to the Netherlands for their master or PhD. In the period from January until May 2014, the research for this thesis has been performed, 27 informants have been interviewed, most of them twice. The accountability and methods used for this research are discussed in paragraph four of this introduction.

## 2. Scientific relevance

Due to the fact that migration among knowledge migrants from China is fairly new, there is little research performed on highly educated Chinese Dutch. It is of great importance and interest to look at Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

This thesis focuses more on academic theoretical concepts, but the importance of China and its citizens is becoming more apparent in all layers of Dutch society. As mentioned before, the first visitation of the Chinese president Xi Jinpings to the Netherlands in March 2014 is a striking example of this increasing focus on China. With the Chinese president arrived a trade delegation of 250 Chinese, which shows the economic importance of the relation between China and the Netherlands<sup>5</sup>. This is visible in the growing number of Chinese companies in the Netherlands, now an estimated 350<sup>6</sup>. With the economic growth in China, the 'fear of the great danger' evolved; *'China's consequent power in the twenty-first century has become a hotly debated topic in foreign policy circles'* (Broomfield 2014:265).

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<sup>3</sup> PhD means Doctor in Philosophy, also called Doctorate which entails research in any subject. In most cases it entails a four year program.

<sup>4</sup> Western part of the Netherlands around the cities Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht.

<sup>5</sup> NOS 22-03-2014 'Historisch bezoek Xi aan Nederland'

<sup>6</sup> NOS 22-03-2014 'Wat doet China in Nederland?'

Wing, an important informant in this research mentions that *"especially in American media, China's economical growth is portrayed as dangerous for Western countries"*. But this attitude has already changed, especially in the Netherlands; *'Although Chinese are culturally distant from us, and they are with many, there is plenty of room for potential'*<sup>7</sup>.

Chinese migrants seem to have been adapted in Dutch society; unemployment and crime rates are low (Linder et al. 2011:32). But on a social level Chinese migrants are perceived as separated from Dutch society, so are their difficulties; *'Problems within the Chinese-Dutch community are largely invisible to the (indigenous) outside world, such as illegal citizenship, human trafficking, gambling addiction and generational conflicts within Chinese families'* (Gijsberts et al. 2010:11<sup>8</sup>). To tackle these problems within the Chinese Dutch community, some research has been performed in the context of Chinese in the Netherlands (Chong 2005; Gijsberts 2011 et al.; Linder et al. 2011). But research have been focusing mainly on economic migrants. The new flow of knowledge migrants in the Netherlands has hardly been investigated<sup>9</sup>. This thesis is not focused on difficulties within the Chinese community per se, but insight in their bonds with both China and the Netherlands could be a start for further research on issues such as generational conflicts, gender issues and homesickness. The information presented in this thesis will result in more knowledge about the lives of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands which will ultimately lead to recommendations concerning integration policy. Before this is possible it is essential to tackle theoretical problems which arise in the debate concerning migration and integration. For this reason this thesis focuses on concepts that are being used and whether or not they are essential in the situation of this group of migrants.

The concepts that are leading in this thesis are that of *flexible citizenship* (Ong 1999) and *transnationalism* (Pieke 2004; Tilly 2007; Guernito 1998). In my opinion examining these concepts is an essential starting point because of the newness of this group and to a larger extend, to comment fixed concepts in a rapidly changing society. Transnationalism is used to describe the strong bond between mainland China and overseas Chinese (Tilly 2007:8). This strong bond is argued to manifest itself in a form of nationalism (Gellner 2008:98). The

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<sup>7</sup> NOS 22-03-2014 'Wat doet China in Nederland?'

<sup>8</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Problemen binnen de Chinees-Nederlandse gemeenschap grotendeels onzichtbaar zijn voor de (autochtone) buitenwereld, bijvoorbeeld illegaliteit, mensenhandel, gokverslaving en generatieconflicten binnen Chinese gezinnen.

<sup>9</sup> Aihwa Ong has investigated Chinese knowledge migrants, but in the American context. Frank Pieke has investigated Chinese in the Netherlands, but this study entails mostly economic migrants.



strong bond will be central in this thesis, so this concept of transnationalism will be examined by looking at Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands and their relationship with China. Flexible citizenship is used to describe the flexible character of Chinese migrants. Chinese migrants celebrate mobility in this era of globalization and go where their opportunities are greatest (Ong 1999:9). This flexibility will also be portrayed in this thesis, not as something new, but as an inherent part of Chinese civilization. So, the increasing interest in China as a growing economy, and the lack of knowledge concerning Chinese knowledge migrants, makes this thesis is highly relevant.

### 3. Research Methods

Qualitative methods are used in this research through semi structured interviews, participant observations and casual conversations with informants. In the fieldwork period, contacts were found through 'snowballing'; through a few contacts I was invited into a larger network of Chinese knowledge migrants in Dutch cities. The research resulted in less participant observation, but many interviews and conversations. One could argue that the 'lack' of participant observation leads to a less convincing thesis, but here I would disagree. An anthropologist should be flexible and function in the lives of the participants (DeWalt, DeWalt 2011:28). Because of the busy schedule of Chinese knowledge migrant studying or working, planned interviews and conversations were most practical and desirable for participants. I conducted semi-structured interviews around topics to find similarities and differences between informants, as well as to be flexible to ask personal indebt questions. This was supplemented by going to the Chinese school on Saturdays for participant observation, going to lectures about China and attending Chinese Spring Festival. Ranging from one to more than five conversations, the 27 informants form the basis of this thesis. I interviewed most informants at least twice to ask remaining questions, clarify previously discussed information and to interact with informants in different situations. Eleven of the informants are male, sixteen are female. This is in line with the population of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands which consist of more females than males (Gijsberts et al. 2011:39). Almost all interviews were in English, and were recorded. The quotations that are present in this thesis are presented as literally as possible, which explains the sometimes inadequate sentences or word choice. All names of informants have been changed to guarantee informants' privacy. This thesis is written in English and not in Dutch,

so informants will be able to read the thesis. This sharing of knowledge from both the informant side as well as the fieldworkers side is an essential part of the '*power of knowledge*', important in anthropological fieldwork (Foucault 1980:174). As mentioned before, the interviews were conducted according to topics<sup>10</sup> that are linked to goals and questions within this thesis.

#### 4. Goals and questions

As the title suggests, this thesis focuses on concepts of transnationalism and flexible citizenship. In the anthropological debate surrounding overseas Chinese, these concepts describe both the relationship with China as well as the Chinese position in the world. In previous studies (Ong 1999, Pieke 2004) these concepts are described as essential in the age of globalization. In line with the importance of examining these concepts this thesis will answer the question of how Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands shape their lives in the possible 'tension' between transnationalism and flexible citizenship. Chinese knowledge migrants 'being-in-the world' is in direct connection with feelings of closeness to China, but their future plans entails great flexibility as well.

To begin the journey of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, it is important to look at the stories which describe the migrants' lives in China, the process of migration and their settlement in the Netherlands. In Chapter one the question will be answered; who are Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands and what are their feelings towards living in the Netherlands? Their lives in China are described when it comes to education, as well as the process of choosing and migrating to the Netherlands for their education. Ultimately this will lead to information about their settlement in the Netherlands, and the difficulties and differences between living in Chinese or Dutch society. So, this chapter will give an overall view of the lives of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

The closeness to China is described in previous literature as 'transnationalism' (Pieke 2004; Tilly 2007), which leads to the question in Chapter two; in what form can we speak of transnationalism among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands? Soon in Chapter two it becomes clear that we cannot only speak of a form of nationalism, but a present

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<sup>10</sup> Interviews were conducted around the topics; live in China, process of migration, life in the Netherlands and future plans.

connotation with Sinitic civilization noticeable. Although Chinese knowledge migrants feel connected to China as a nation, there is a deeper feeling of closeness to Chinese civilization. Elaborating dr. Diederick Raven's idea, this chapter will look at various learning strategies, different socialization processes which accounts for differences in civilization. In Sinitic (Chinese) civilization we can speak of '*model emulation*' which results in an hierarchical and harmonious society. For Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands this is essential in their lives. This will be shown by looking at the concept of Xiao (Feng Xin-Ming 2007), most important heritage from China for informants in the Netherlands. So, learning strategy within Sinitic civilization will be central in explaining the bond between Chinese knowledge migrants and China.

Another concept which is being used in the debate surrounding overseas Chinese is the concept of flexible citizenship (Ong 1993; Ong 1999; Waters 2003), which will be described in Chapter three. Aihwa Ong describes flexible citizenship as a way for overseas Chinese to seek for opportunities around the world. The question in Chapter three is; can we speak of flexible citizenship among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands? It will become clear that the flexibility is indeed an important part of their lives and future plans. Chapter three will portray that this flexibility is not something new, but inherent a part of Chinese civilization, in line with the concept of Xiao. The flexibility should ultimately lead to easy adaption in a new environment. This is indeed visible when we look at Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands; crime rates are low and they are perceived as not coasting problems (Gijsberts et al. 2011:29). The question which flows out of this observation is ultimately the question of integration.

Chapter four will look at the concept of integration. Although Chinese knowledge migrants adapt in Dutch society, we cannot speak of full integration. Chapter four will first focus on the views on integration from the point of Chinese knowledge migrants who have settled down in the Netherlands. Secondly the focus will shift to integration policy in the Netherlands, and its relation to the Dutch national identity. The question that we have to ask is; is policy towards integration of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands essential or even relevant? This question will be answered by looking at Chinese knowledge migrants' children and their position in Dutch society.

The conclusion will look back at previous arguments made in this thesis. Ultimately

the question will be asked if the concepts of transnationalism and flexible citizenship are also relevant for Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. By showing the migrants' bond with China as well as their lives in the Netherlands, both policy and concepts that are used are criticized. This thesis will not give any answers to the question what integration concerning this migrants group should entail. This thesis will argue that we are asking ourselves the wrong question.

## Chapter One: Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands

The first time I met Lin was in The Hague. We were walking from the train station to China town. There were red lanterns on the lampposts and flags with Chinese characters on the sidewalk. We were at the right place for Spring Festival, Chinese New Year. We talked about her PhD and research in Chinese law. We were both enthusiastic about us meeting, her kindness and smile was contagious. We immediately made the decision to meet again, to talk about her life in China and the Netherlands.

Lin's enthusiasm and passion is quite common among most Chinese knowledge migrants I spoke with, but she and other informants made me see that among Chinese knowledge migrants there is an enormous diversity in their backgrounds. This has profound effects on peoples' language, culture and attitude towards migration to the Netherlands. But there are also similarities identifiable within the group of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. In this chapter I will look at similarities and differences in the lives of Chinese knowledge migrants according to the topics that have been used during the fieldwork period; their lives in China, the process of migration and Chinese knowledge migrants' lives in the Netherlands.

### 1.1 Looking back; educational life in China

*"Parents literally stop cars at the street in front of the school, so that they don't horn and the children will not get distracted" (Lin).*

Lin is talking about the final examination here, which is viewed as the most important day in the life of a Chinese student. Like Lin, all informants identify their education in China as fierce. Studying for more than ten hours a day was, and still is, not unusual. There are only a few good universities and a lot of students. This leads to enormous competition among students, also through extra learning activities outside school. For Lin as well as most informants, going to university or college was their moment of internal migration to a big city, sometimes thousands of kilometers away from their hometown. In this case, the people's Republic of China with a surface of almost 100 million square kilometers and its

1.35 billion inhabitants should be approached as a continent instead of a country, where internal migration, mostly from rural areas to large cities, is very common<sup>11</sup>.

*"As a child I was not really into studying, I just wanted to play. But after a while I realized that I had to study to achieve something. I started to like learning new things. I think I was born to be curious, I like challenges and to discovering my own limits" (Lin).*

For Chinese knowledge migrants, their time living on campus is viewed as forming and positive with having fun with peers, free from their parents. Throughout their lives all informants mention that they always lived with others; in their childhood they would live with parents, grandparents and other relatives. At university they would live in a dorm with six or even seven others; *"We even had to shower together!"* (Lin). This collectivity is important for informants when thinking about their lives in China. The idea to go abroad after or during university was mainly introduced in the university years, due to a foreign professor or friends who studied abroad before them. The curiosity for new situations and other cultures which Lin describes is also present among most informants living in the Netherlands.

### 1.2 The process of migration

As for many other Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, Lin's being in the Netherlands seems to be mainly a coincidence, without pre-information about the Netherlands as a country, apart from the red light district and the legal use of soft drugs. For most informants, studying abroad to seek adventure and improve their opportunities was the main reason for migrating. First choice for Chinese knowledge migrants is mostly the US or England, because of the language. But getting approved and passing the language test is very hard. The Netherlands, as being internationally orientated and containing high quality universities is a good second choice. The choice for a certain university depends on universities international ranking or a certain supervisor (for PhD's). The process of getting everything organized costed most informants a year. For Lin this was *"a therapy of letting go, of waiting"*. She, like many others, only told her parents that she wanted to go abroad

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<sup>11</sup> General office bulletin China 2012 Consular Affairs and Migration Department of department Immigration and Asylum. See: [file:///C:/Users/M.Ebbers/Downloads/china-2012-12-11%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/M.Ebbers/Downloads/china-2012-12-11%20(1).pdf)

after all the arrangements had been made. Lin was raised in the South of China, and although migration in this region is very common, her parents were not very happy about her leaving. Her marriage opportunities would diminish when she would study abroad for four years. After reassuring them, she received their approval. Now Lin feels that her parents are supportive but concerned, they speak proudly of their daughter to friends and relatives in her hometown.

Although most Chinese knowledge migrants recognize the concerns and support from parents, there is a diversity in attitudes towards migration. In the North of China it is less common to migrate compared to areas in the South. Wing, a good friend of Lin, was born and raised near Beijing, and studied in the capital as well; *"People in the North say; there are good opportunities here, why do you want to leave? There must be something wrong"* (Wing). This compared to certain areas in the South where whole villages disappeared from the map because everyone went abroad. Of course, multiple other factors like economic or social status contribute to attitudes towards migration, but within this research informants stated that the geographical diversity is predominant. Diversity in region of origin within China is also visible in language differences. *"You could compare it to talking with people from Spain; the language and communication is completely different"* (Wing). So, although Mandarin is the official language in mainland China, different dialects make it difficult to communicate with people from other areas in China, as well as with other Chinese migrants in the Netherlands.

On a financial level, most informants including Lin and Wing are funded by the Chinese government through the CSC, the China scholarship Council. Students who get approved, receive a funding and sign a contract, which states that the student must return to China for two years after they finished their education abroad<sup>12</sup>. This contract is not as binding as one would think. Because of the competition and financial crisis, there are multiple ways to extend your stay abroad. There are differences between people who stay here through funding of the CSC, and people who stay here through their own financing. At least for their parents, the contract is a form of reassurance that their child will have to come back to China one day. Although the contract is not as strict, among informants with a CSC funding, the idea of going back to China in the following years is more present compared

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<sup>12</sup> China Scholarship Council. See: [www.csc.edu.cn](http://www.csc.edu.cn)

to informants who came here with their own financial recourses. This latter group of rich Chinese knowledge migrants arriving in Europe or North America at a young age, for their bachelor or even for high school, is increasing<sup>13</sup>. According to informants, children of rich Chinese receive education abroad to get around the fierce Chinese education system. Informants are aware of this increasing group, and sometimes express the prejudices that are present regarding the financial situation of migrants.

### 1.3 Life after migration; differences and difficulties

Cong is, like Lin and Wing, a PhD student. Communicating with him is easy, his English is good. During our conversation his words are well considered. He explains the difficulties concerning language differences.

*"The language is difficult at first. English is sufficient, but the problem is, my English is not good. I mean, the way we speak, the logic, is different. When Asian people speak English I can easily understand, because we have similar logic. It is easy to follow, not the sounds but the use of the words, the order of the sentence. The first couple of months in the Netherlands you are translating the whole time, which is very tiring. It is better now that I have lived here for a while" (Cong).*

Although most of the informants, including Cong, work in an international environment where English is the main language, all of them experienced difficulties in the supermarket, in the train station or in their residence because they were not able to speak the Dutch language. According to the informants, it gets better after having lived in the Netherlands for more than a year. Because of the difficulties with learning the English language, let alone Dutch, Chinese students feel that they don't have the time or the ability to learn the Dutch language. Although the education level among Chinese in the Netherlands is higher, Chinese knowledge migrants appear to be the group with the most difficulties with the Dutch language. Speaking English is in this case their solution (Gijsbert 2011:13).

But we are not only talking about difficulties in language, but also about differences in verbal and non verbal communication. The directness of Dutch people is perceived as

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<sup>13</sup> Time 17-02-2014 'The Top Countries Rich Chinese Choose for Emigration'.



difficult to deal with, although most informants feel that they are quite adaptive to this. This also depends on geographical diversity; some regions in the South of China are seen as more direct and have less difficulties with the 'directness' of Dutch people compared to people from the Northern parts of China. Difficult is also the way people greet each other and what you talk about during the coffee break. *"Communication with other Chinese is always easier, you know what to say"* (Cong). Another big difference and important difficulty for Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands; food. During my conversation with Cong and his friends this becomes more visible. When I ask them if they have ever felt homesick Cong says; *"For Chinese culture, food is very important. As long as there is good Chinese food, I am ok with it. Food is a very important part of the culture, also in China. S. amplifies; "Most of the time we talk about food. Here you talk about the weather" (Cong). In China, social relations evolve through eating and drinking: "Even when I met my supervisor in China, we would never meet in an office, but go out to eat" (Wing). This brings us to migrants' first contact with Dutch society; through their supervisor at university. The differences between university life in China and in the Netherlands are big, and this is often the first form of 'culture shock' experienced by Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.*

*"The communication between colleagues is different in the Netherlands. Two years ago, when I just came here my supervisor said; "I am not your boss, I am your colleague". In China professors have more authority, when they say something, you do it" (Wing). When this difference in university is discussed informants even speak of an identification crisis, especially for students receiving CSC funding.*

*"We talked about this with some friends. For the Netherlands we are workers, for China we are students. So we don't have discounts or facilities for students or employees. For example in transport, we cannot get a discount. We are guests, this is our identification with the CSC funding. For people who get paid by the Dutch government it is different. We are kind of in the middle" (Cong and friends).*

Because most informants predominantly focus on their study, they speak of a culture shock within the working or studying environment. How to fit in and how to act are some

primary concerns, which leads to 'feeling like a guest'. In the next paragraph I will discuss 'feeling at home' and what contributes to feelings of home.

#### 1.4 My aunt is not my mom: Feeling at home

*"I consider Utrecht as my second home town, this is not really home. It is like the feeling I had when I was young. During vacations my parents have send me to my cousins' home, because they had better facilities, like a shower and a toilet. The feeling here is similar to the feeling I had in those summers; the living conditions are better, the environment is better and I feel more comfortable working here in the Netherlands compared to China, but still my aunt is not my mom" (Daiyu).*

Where the aunt stands for feeling comfortable, mom stands for the feeling of being at home. Through this metaphor we should understand the situation of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. Although most informants encountered homesickness during their first stay in the Netherlands, most informants feel comfortable after a while. But because of multiple reasons they don't really feel at home, like not speaking the Dutch language, or other differences between life in China and life the Netherlands. Next to language, the absence of their family is another big reason for not really feeling at home. Daiyu, who is one of the close friends of both Lin and Wing explains that she is reminded of being a foreigner during her stay in the Netherlands;

*"When I talk to Chinese friends, I don't have to explain everything or always talk about China. It is nice to talk about China here because people are curious. But when you always talk about China you realize that you don't belong here, that you are Chinese. The idea of home is where you have a family, you stay with family. I am always calling my family, asking them what they are doing, and I always have the feeling that I am the only one who is not there" (Daiyu).*

As mentioned before, choosing the Netherlands to study was, for most informants, primarily a coincidence. Only few Chinese knowledge migrants have a fixed idea about their future in or outside the Netherlands. Previous research (Gijsbert 2011) has shown that, although they plan to stay in the Netherlands, almost 30% of the Chinese knowledge migrants in the

Netherlands decide to stay here after graduation. 32% of the participants in this study wishes to go back to China, and 28% has not made a decision yet. Options are either migrating to another country, going back to China, or staying in the Netherlands (Gijsbert 2011:19). Receiving funding by the Chinese government appears to be a reason to leave the Netherlands and to go back to China after studying in the Netherlands. But among all informants, with or without CSC, there is great flexibility concerning future plans. The flexible character and uncertainty for the future (which will be amplified in Chapter three), influences the feelings of being home as well. During our conversation in the canteen of the university, Daiyu expresses her thoughts about her time here the past three years and the reason for her stay:

*"I have never had the idea to stay here after my PhD. Maybe that's a reason that I don't feel at home here, because I never see myself living here permanently. Maybe this presumption makes my life here different" (Daiyu).*

Not feeling at home in the Netherlands does not imply that informants feel at home in China. Both informants as well as Chinese society are changing which can cause friction when returning to China for the holidays.

*"When I talk to my best friend in China, the interests in things are different. When people have been living in a stressful society for a long time, they tend to get negative. My best friend was a warm girl, but now she is more critical. I do feel this kind of distance between her and me. The insecurity and uncertainty is increasing in China, there is a lot of pressure on young people. The bad news about the milk powder and the food quality for example, is costing a lot of stress. My friend told me that you must be very brave to have dinner outside, people don't trust the restaurant" (Daiyu).*

Although this friction could results in a decreasing relationship with friends and relatives in China, there still is a strong form of identification with China and other Chinese among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

*"I did not know anyone here when I arrived, but on my first day here I already knew some Chinese people. It goes very fast, it is so easy. Maybe it is because we are abroad, I mean, it is easy to recognize Chinese people and to come into contact with them. We have a similar culture, Chinese people like to be together" (Cong).*

This research has shown that there is an enormous diversity among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, each with their own background and educational career. Most informants chose to go abroad after their education in China. The process of migration has known great competition, choosing the Netherlands was mostly due to chance. When entering the Netherlands, language was viewed as one of the most difficult elements to adjust to. But also the university life, communication and activities were different from life in China. This, in combination with the absence of family, all results in a comfortable life in the Netherlands, but with the absence of feeling at home here; your mom is not your aunt.

The strong and unconditional bond with your mother can be separated from the comfortable, but weaker bond with your aunt. There are many ways to differentiate this feeling of being at home or feeling comfortable. Here I want to use the terms 'strong' and 'weak' bond, concepts that are closest to informants strong feelings towards China as home, and the comfortable but weaker bond with the Netherlands. The identification with China, the 'strong' bond with China, has been conceptualized in previous research as 'transnationalism' (Ong 1999, Pieke 2004). In the next chapter I will look at this concept of transnationalism through important heritages from China according to Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

## Chapter Two: Identification with China

On the desk in Guo's office there are mainly Chinese books and map's with Chinese characters. Next to them is a big bag of some sort of coconut powder, I have no idea what it is. I met Guo at the Chinese Spring Festival in The Hague, in the train I noticed his enthusiastic character right away. With his polite British/Chinese accent he wanted to show me the Chinese culture. My first conversation with him was in the middle of Chinatown. We were an hour early for the dragon dance in the main square, and the group of ten Chinese PhD and master students were standing on the street corner, negotiating in Chinese what to do. Guo and I kept our distance as it took a long time for them to make a decision. Guo explained; *"This represents Chinese culture! Everyone wants to have a say, and nothing gets done! This could take a while..."*.

The strong bond with mainland China is mostly visible in the words people use to describe this bond and their strong network with other Chinese. In conversations Chinese people often refer to Dutch people as foreigners. Where identification with Chinese is visible among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, there are also visible actions noticeable in relation to China, especially in the above communication processes of Chinese knowledge migrants and their friendship with predominantly other Chinese. This strong bond with China is even present in policy surrounding immigrants in China. By actively guiding the process of migration, the Chinese government played and still plays a big role in communicating with oversea Chinese. Special institutions organize this bond with Chinese abroad, to link them with other Chinese in for example the Netherlands, or keep cultural bonds with China. *"If I stayed here and became a Dutch citizen, it would be easy for me to go back to China, easier than it would be for you. We keep this bond with China"* (Wing). The relationship between oversee Chinese and China is described as a form of transnationalism (Pieke 2004). But to understand the relationship between Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands and China, a national identity is not covering my argument here. We can also see the strong bond with China as a bond with the Sinitic civilization.

## 2.1 Nationalism or civilizations?

*'We call immigrant experience "transnationalism" to emphasize the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement'* (Glick Schiller 2006:ix).

Transnationalism, as defined above, is in line with the concept of nationalism (Guernizo 1998:4). Before the second world war, nationalism as a distinct subject was viewed as irrational, as a fictive idea and a sentiment. It was in the inter-war period that nationalism became a subject of explicit and general analysis (Breuilly 2008:xvii<sup>14</sup>). The interest in the concept of nationalism reappeared, and different standpoints and focus points on nationalism evaluated. Through the functional, modern pragmatic perspective, Gellner (1974, 2008) gave his contribution concerning the evaluation of nationalism and its function in society. Other modern scientists like Anderson (2006) focused more on the power of imagination within the concept of nationalism. Eriksen (1994) focused on the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. Although they criticize other's perspectives, they all contribute to a thorough image of what nationalism entails and elements from all angles are portrayed here: *'Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent'* (Gellner 2008:1). A national identity which is propagated is a very strong and intensive form of identification. A national identity indicates a historical based territory, a place with common history. Citizens within this nation share common rights and obligations as citizens of this nation, which forms an *'imagined community'* (Anderson 2006). Solidarity within the national identity is 'imagined' as members of the nation-state will never know each other and yet all share a sense of solidarity; *'The possibility of imagination is limited here; one does not feel connected to the whole of humanity, there are limits within which one feels connected'* (Anderson 2006:6). The illuminated character of nationalism gives to both the state and national identity a form of sovereignty, it demands the right to exist. It is also a community, despite inequalities and disagreements. One feels a degree of horizontal brotherhood with others in the community. Although the boundaries of this national identity as *'imagined community'* are limited, it is

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<sup>14</sup> printed as an introduction in Gellner 2008

also very powerful; *'Ultimately it is this fraternity that has made it possible, over the past two centuries, for millions of people, not so much to kill, as to be willing to die for such limited imaginings'* (Anderson 2006:7). So, both Anderson as well as Gellner agree; nations are ideological constructions seeking to forge a link between (self defined) cultural groups and the state, which creates abstract communities (Eriksen 1994:120).

Although previous literature (Pieke 2004) has defined the relationship of Chinese and China as 'transnationalism', this thesis takes a different route. There are strong feelings noticeable towards China among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, but I am positive that we cannot only speak of a form of nationalism, a bond with China as a sovereign nation. Through the words of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, it becomes clear that the bond between Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands and China is not based primarily on the bond with China as a nation, but with Chinese civilization.

Although *'Clash of Civilizations?'*, written by Huntington (1993), received a lot of critique (Ong 1999; Pieke 2004), it cannot be neglected that the concept of civilizations is a challenging one that signifies a real and important aspect of the cultural dimensions of human groupings (Raven 2014<sup>15</sup>). Civilization is a cultural entity which is defined both by common objective elements and by subjective self-identification. The civilization to which one belongs is the broadest level of identification, above the division of the world in nations. Civilizations may involve a large number of people, as with China, or a small number of people, such as the Anglophone Caribbean (Huntington 1993:22). Civilizations are dynamic, they rise and fall, they divide and merge: *'Civilizations disappear and are buried in the sands of time'* (Huntington 1993:24). I will not go into detail about the perceived clash of civilizations described by Huntington (1993), but the great difference between the Western, Islamic and Sinitic world can be explained through the concept of civilizations (Raven 2014).

*"It was my personal choice to go abroad. I have two older brothers, so my parents did not mind me going abroad. My father died when I was young. My mother is very proud of me. Of course she misses me, but I try to visit here once or twice a year, that's all I can do. In China*

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<sup>15</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 50. Central to this essay is an anthropological big picture theory – it views the landscape from the air rather than from the ground – about how people learn. With this theory in hand I am able to throw new light on a long-standing question: why isn't the scientific revolution of Chinese origin'. The artisanal way of learning is a way of learning available to any civilization, i.e. there are no cultural specific assumptions built into it, but the intellectualist way of learning is loaded with cultural specific assumptions, specific Christian assumptions to be precise.

*we have a value system where children should be 'Xiao'. That's the cornerstone in our system. You cannot really find this concept in Western society. It means children should respect and take care of their parents, as a reward for the time they raised you" (Yan Tao).*

Xiao is an essential element in Chinese socialization. Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands value and cherish this concept of Xiao, both in their words and in their actions. Through the concept of Xiao, I will argue that we can speak of socialization in a civilization, rather than in a nation. Xiao is an essential part of socializing of a human being into the Sinitic civilization.

## 2.2 Xiao as an essential heritage

子曰：「夫孝，德之本也，教之所由生也。復坐，吾語汝。」

*"The Teacher said, "Xiao is the foundation of virtue, and is what all teaching grows out of. Sit down; I will tell you" (Zheng Zi 505 - 436 B.C.E<sup>16</sup>).*

Xiao 孝 is a fundamental concept in the lives of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. I use the Chinese term, there is no English translation which accurately describes the concept of Xiao (Feng Xin-Ming 2008:2). In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.) the concept was actively advocated in Chinese society to teach both individuals in their direct surrounding, as well as in civil society. Xiao is an essential part of Confucianism as a guideline in life. It is a concept of both kindness and hierarchy, which will lead to a balanced and harmonious society (Feng Xin-Ming 2008:2). Later it will become clear that the concept and outcome of Xiao is essential in understanding Sinitic civilization. Through the text of Zeng Zi concerning Xiao, a student of Confucius, and conversations with Chinese knowledge migrants I will describe what this concept means and how it how it shapes the lives of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

夫孝，始於事親，中於事君，終於立身。

*"Xiao starts with serving one's parents, progresses with serving one's lord, and ends with establishing oneself" (Zheng Zi 505 - 436 B.C.E<sup>17</sup>).*

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<sup>16</sup> Translated by Feng Xin-ming 2007:3

<sup>17</sup> Translated by Feng Xin-ming 2007:4



*"Kindness is embodied in everyday life. For example in relation with your parents. It is a mutual love. With relatives there are very strong ties, for example during Spring Festival. Family is very important, and this does not only mean the parents and children, but also with persons who share the same family name" (Guo).*

Closeness to the family is perceived as the most important heritage from Chinese civilization. Most Chinese knowledge migrants talk to their parents everyday through Wechat or QQ<sup>18</sup>. The quote of Guo must be viewed in relation to China's patrilineal society. The family name is proceeded through sons, the father provides for his family (Watson et al. 1991:122) This also means that the son is expected to care for his parents when he is an adult. The bond between the (male) child and parents is thus very important. Xiao means to love and to respect your mother and father, brothers and sisters. Parenting in this case becomes a practice of the verbs 'to govern' and 'to love'. Parents govern you and guide you because they love you, and because they love you, they govern you. *'When people are taught Xiao, they will respect all those who are fathers; people will respect the elders as well as each other. This will lead to a happy, harmonious society where people respect each other'* (Zeng Zi 505 - 436 B.C.E<sup>19</sup>). Being kind and respectful to elderly should also be present in governance and society as a whole. The governance should also be Xiao, as well as all people in all stages of society. When they are Xiao, all is harmonious;

子曰：「夫孝，天之經也，地之義也，民之行也。」

*'The Teacher said, "Now, Xiao is the principle of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the (proper) conduct of the people" (Zeng Zi 505 - 436 B.C.E<sup>20</sup>).*

An important reason for 'not being Xiao', is to bring disorder into society. Being rebellious and arrogant are the main reasons for not being Xiao. An individual has to function within a group, without too many individual differences. Although you should be successful in school, you should not stand out too much, or show off. Bettine Vriesekoop mentions this in her book *'At the Chinese'* (2007<sup>21</sup>). Zhong, a word with many meanings in Chinese, describes this idea. To preserve life and society as a whole, one should not deviate too far from the center

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<sup>18</sup> Chinese Social media, comparable to Skype and Twitter

<sup>19</sup> Translated by Feng Xin-ming May 2007:26

<sup>20</sup> Translated by Feng Xin-ming May 2007:10

<sup>21</sup> Free translation from the original title: 'Bij de Chinees'

(Zhong). A harmonious relationships with people around you are inherent to the idea of Zhong, but also 'being Xiao' both service and provide this centralized and collective society (Vriesekoop 2007:45).

During my conversation with Sya and a Chinese fellow student, we are talking about their education in China and the Netherlands. Sya mentions that her fellow student sitting next to her is very good in mathematics. His reaction while looking at his cup of coffee is; *"No, not really"*. Sya who has been living in the Netherlands for a while smiled and says; *"That is also very Chinese. We will never say that we are good at something, we are very humble. In some situation this is good. But it is also good to accept a compliment"*. Modesty and Zhong is also linked to the construction of 'shame' in Chinese society. *'Shame is a powerful means of social control in a system where maintaining harmony in relationships is valued over maintaining behavior according to an objectively defined right and wrong'* (Bedford & Kuo Hwang 2003:133). The concept of Xiao as 'modesty' is also visible in parenting strategies among Chinese knowledge migrants. In a combined household with a Chinese mother and a Dutch father this is the prime source of conflict. Being respectful, Chinese style, means obeying your parents' orders and not fighting with brothers, sisters or peers. In my conversation with Kuan Yin we also talked about the differences in parenting. She is one of the moms who is married to a Dutchmen, together they have two daughters;

*"When we did not have children and when the children were little there were less conflicts. Later when they got older, there were more conflicts, many! Chinese raise children in a different way. In China children except what the parents say. For my husband this was negative. The first time my daughter slammed the door behind her, I was shocked! But my husband said it was ok for children to express their emotions. For me it is still difficult to argue with my daughter"*.

A harmonious society is realized through the concept of Xiao. In traditional thinking, there is nothing greater than Xiao (Feng Xin-Ming 2008:2). Not being Xiao will lead to banishment from society. *"If I were the only child it would be very hard for me to decide to go and stay abroad, that's against Chinese culture. When your parents are still alive you should not go too far away, that is also accepted as normal. This is difficult for migrants, we go through all those stages living abroad. First you think everything is great, but after a while you just don't*

*feel happy, you feel guilty. You have everything but you feel low. That's the price we have to pay. When my mom is older I need to go back to take care of her" (Yan Tao).*

In schools in China, not only parenting but also literature contributes to teaching the concept of Xiao. The book of filial duty, with its 24 examples of filial piety (Xiao), informants remember from both within the family as well as in schools. Wing explains how some stories are cruel and outdated. Of other storied she is more positive, some are even moving, like the example below:

*No. XVII On hearing the Thunder he wept at the Tomb*

*In the country of Wei lived Wang P'ou, a very dutiful child, whose mother, when alive, was much afraid of thunder. After her death her grave was dug in the hilly forest; and whenever the wind blew and it rained furiously, and Wang heard the sound of the chariot of the Thunder-goddess rolling along, he hastened immediately to the grave, and, reverently kneeling, besought her with tears, saying: "I am here, dear mother; do not be alarmed". And afterwards, whenever he read in The Book of Odes this sentence, "Children should have deep and ardent affection for their parents, who have endured so much anxiety in nourishing them". The tears flowed abundantly at the recollection of his mother (The book of filial duty<sup>22</sup>).*

Through the eyes of Chinese knowledge migrants, Xiao is an essential element in their Chinese education through parenting and literature. By informants, it is not defined as some nationalistic thing, but as a way of educating a new-born into the world. The concept of Xiao can thus be identified as a learning strategy.

### 2.3 Xiao as the cause and effect of learning strategies

*'Educating a new-born is the prime task of any human being: the universally available method is that of immersion in a new activity, this is the way artisanal knowledge is learned (...) Because rituals are fundamentally non- cognitive they can only be learned through immersion in practice' (Raven 2014<sup>23</sup>).*

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<sup>22</sup> Translated in Chen 1908:19

<sup>23</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 93

Central here is the idea that the way we learn is culturally significant. How people act depends upon what they know. Anything that is known may affect how people act. Therefore, everything that people know is constitutive of their existence as a society (Barnes 1988:45-46). In the basis of the different civilizations are '*meta-strategies of learning*', which imposes that different civilizations gain knowledge of the relationship between themselves and the world. One's being-in-the-world is defined through these meta-strategies of learning (Raven 2014<sup>24</sup>). Through the different learning strategies, different civilizations can be distinguished.

Within the Sinitic world the dominant learning strategy is called '*model emulation*', which is in line with the concept of Xiao. This way of learning and gaining knowledge is based on exemplary behavior. It is important to notice that imitation is at the bottom of a large amount of how we learn, in any civilization anywhere in the world. But what is unique to Chinese civilization is that they made emulation through models their dominant way of learning (Raven 2014<sup>25</sup>). So the Sinitic form of 'emulation' is reproduced through role models within the Sinitic civilization, in this way one can grow as a human being in this world. This is done by learning hierarchical structures by the elderly and defined by Xiao. Society is organized by 'good examples' leading to social cohesion between generations. '*Becoming civilized Chinese style implies nothing less than behaving properly, i.e. in accordance with cosmic principles*' (Raven 2014<sup>26</sup>). Within this cosmic principle 'the living dead' (ancestors) and parents play an important role in this form of socialization. In addition, a good life implies a profound degree of reciprocity to the one that educated you.

So, in the socialization process through parents, reproduction is essential. Xia came to the Netherlands for her study more than ten years ago. Leaving her family (including her husband and child) behind in China, she made the decision to go abroad. Now she still lives in the Netherlands with her husband and her two sons which she intends to parent both in the Chinese and Dutch way.

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<sup>24</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 92

<sup>25</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 98. In his essay, Raven makes a distinction between European, Chinese and Islamic civilizations to explain why science is of European descent. Different from Christian and Islamic civilizations; For Christians' Jesus Christ is the ultimate model to emulate and Mohammed is for adherers of the Islam. Whereas the Sinitic civilization starts to take the human condition to be that of a being immersed in an active and practical engagement with bits and pieces of the dwelt-in cosmopolis the West takes as its starting point a mind detached from the world which literally has to formulate it – to build an intentional world in consciousness (Raven 2014:120)

<sup>26</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 50.

*"You should not really teach your children, but teach them through your behaviors, not your words. My children will learn from me by how I treat others. For example when I think of my parents. My children sometimes ask me why I always want to talk to grandma. Then I tell them it is important. You can learn a lot from your parents. Don't think these traditions are old and out of date, because the experiences of our parents and grandparents are very important to the next generation. Our children learn from our behavior" (Xia).*

Learning from parents and grandparents is an essential part of model emulation, and Xiao. Next to parenting, education plays an important role. In the next paragraph I will argue that learning strategies are an implement part of civilizations.

#### 2.4 China as a civilization

After visiting the Chinese school, Wing and I talk about the major differences in this school and schools in China. Wing tells me; *"We learned to reproduce. Already in primary school we had to learn texts by heart, I still remember whole poems of Shakespeare and Chinese writers"*. She also shows me how she learned to write the characters, from upper right to lower left and by rewriting them 200 times at a fast pace. *"Here, at the Chinese school in the Netherlands they learn the characters few and slow" (Wing).*

*'Civilization is the broadest level of identification with which a person can identify. It is the 'biggest "we" within which we feel culturally at home as distinguished from all other "thems" out there' (Raven 2014<sup>27</sup>).*

Arriving in the Netherlands, everything is different, as argued by Chinese knowledge migrants. The differences between civilizations amplify the differences in the world and eventually the strong bond with the Sinitic civilization. The written heritage of Confucius (also called *Ru-ism*), with its important concept of Xiao, is central in this recognition of a Sinitic civilization. Knowledge is passed through model emulation, within a distinct knowledge-scape (Raven 2014<sup>28</sup>). This knowledge-scape explains the link between what knowledge should be and the society. *'A knowledge-scape is a chaotic field of interactive forces comprising politics, institutions, ethics, knowledge practices etc., i.e. all those forces interacting with each other in a society, is monastic in the sense that over and above it there*

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<sup>27</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 92

<sup>28</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 4

*are no contextual factors like culture, politics or society that have any additional explanatory power'* (Raven 2014<sup>29</sup>). When we would describe Ru-ism as a form of religion with its written texts, Sinitic civilization also has its own form of learning with the associated knowledge-scape. To obtain this knowledge in a particular civilization, one has to learn from others within the same civilization. The learning strategies that are being used are essential to civilizations and have great formative powers in the way people look at the position of themselves and others in the world. These learning strategies can also explain differences between civilizations (Huntington 1993; Raven 2014).

《詩》云：『心乎愛矣，遐不謂矣；中心藏之，何日忘之。』

*'The Book of Poetry says; The heart is engaged in love; why not say it? Store it in the middle of the heart, and never forget it'* (Zheng Zi 505 - 436 B.C.E<sup>30</sup>).

Among Chinese knowledge migrants, there is the overall idea of closeness to China. While most informants speak of closeness to China as a country, there are no strong nationalistic feelings attached to this closeness, both in this thesis as well as in previous research. The importance of family is linked to the concept of Xiao, which is experienced as the most important heritage from China. Through Xiao a new born is socialized into Sinitic civilization. *'Model emulation is how it is done. (...) The cultivation and edification of the person, is what model emulation is all about (...) Ancestral worship, filial piety, respect, and legitimacy without implying these notions cannot be clearly separated. I would like to claim that they need to be understood as mutually influencing as well as reinforcing one another'* (Raven 2014<sup>31</sup>). The knowledge-scape defines how and what people learn in their socialization process, like the concept of Xiao. For Chinese migrants in the Netherlands is an essential element in their being and their position in the world.

The difference between the Western and the Sinitic civilization is often a source of conflict for informants, both externally as well as internally. The external conflict is mostly visible among mixed couples who are raising up children, who need to socialize their children in a Dutch environment. The internal conflict arises when talking about the future. Although the future is very unpredictable for most informants, decisions will evolve around

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<sup>29</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 88

<sup>30</sup> Translated by Feng Xin-ming May 2007:34

<sup>31</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 19-28

the lives of their parents, in line with the concept of being Xiao. Although the concept of Xiao is essential for all stages in society, for most informants the love for the country is not the same as the love for Chinese governance. Most informants separate country from governance, An is one of them. She explains her relationship with Xiao as we are sitting in her office.

*"When you do not obey your parents, you will be accused of not being Xiao. In Chinese culture it is a very big accusation. Not Xiao people are blamed, equal to bad people. Sometimes people even say that it is not human when you are not Xiao. But I don't see Xiao in the relationship with the government. No, I don't think the government loves us! If people say that the government loves them, it is like SM<sup>32</sup>! One is beating the other. It is an unhealthy relationship".*

In this thesis, the thick bond with China is not linked to nationalism on a governmental level, but to Xiao which is an essential part of Chinese civilization. This is also visible in a small network like the Chinese school in the Netherlands.

The first time at the Chinese school I met Kuan Yin. Every week she sits at the same table, quietly watching videos on her ipad or reading a book, just like some other moms sitting at the one side of the canteen. On the other side there are people sitting together on a big table with big bags of groceries from the Chinese supermarket, chatting loudly. In our second conversation I ask Kuan Yin if she has any contact with the other moms at the Chinese school, like the moms sitting on the other side of the canteen. She explains that she doesn't, they speak a dialect, come from a different part of China and are functioning in a different network; *"We don't have a lot in common. I have a lot of Chinese friends, but they all came here to study. I don't really have contacts with the Chinese restaurant owners, we have nothing in common. We cannot talk about the same things" (Kuan Yin).*

Because of language differences, different interests and different migration reasons one can state that the national bond with other Chinese people is not as strong as one would imagine. Also after migration, communication and their network is linked to geographical diversity and to the network you are in, presented in Chapter one.

These examples show that the distinction between civilizations is not just an

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<sup>32</sup> 'sadomasochism'

academic concept, empirical examples and the experiences of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands portray the deep structural differences in civilization and strong bond with a civilization. Naming the differences between civilization does not mean that we can speak of an hierarchy in civilization. *'Anthropologists have rightly objected to the assumption that, in the end, every society should become like the modernized that is industrialized West. But the quest for understanding the mechanism of societal change needs to be separated from the doctrine of evolutionism'* (Raven 2014:11). Socialized in our own civilization, it would be impossible to understand each other fully. This does not mean that, on an individual level, people feel great distances or cannot function in a different civilization; the mobility in this era of globalization is living proof. The great mobility of Chinese knowledge migrants and their flexibility as a human being in this globalized world is explained in the next chapter.



## Chapter Three: Flexible Citizenship

*"For Chinese culture I like the softness and flexibility, with a personal touch. We pay a lot of attention to relationships, and we value other people's emotion. We are extremely polite and focused on formalities and gestures when we meet people. To a certain extent it is very beneficial, especially when we meet strangers. So I think the flexibility in Chinese culture you can see in the value of procedure. For example when I have some difficulties, I would not fill in a form for my supervisor or boss. I will try to talk to him directly" (Lin).*

The flexibility of Chinese migrants to cope in a new environment is present in both this thesis as well as in previously written material (Smart 2001:475). According to Aihwa Ong (1993, 1999), who is one of the writers focusing on Chinese migrants in the US, there is a flexible notion of citizenship among Chinese migrants. She concluded that Chinese who benefit from capitalism celebrate flexibility and mobility. The new rich Chinese migrants go where their opportunities are greatest. Their wealth and flexible notion of citizenship could be called 'astronaut', shuttling across borders, 'with their 'parachute [satellite] kids', who can be dropped off in another country by parents on the trans-Pacific business commute' (Ong 1999:19). According to her, these kind of Chinese migrants strive for fluidity and flexibility, rather than stability and place attachment.

Although this flexibility is visible among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. I state that this flexibility among Chinese knowledge migrants is not something new; it is an element of Chinese civilization. This flexibility works together with other concepts of Chinese civilization, like the previously amplified concept of Xiao. Already in the beginning of this research, it became clear that flexibility was most visible when talking about informants future plans.

### 3.1 An uncertain future

*"I think my future is very unpredictable. I had the feeling I had to go abroad to see how people live outside Asia, to challenge myself. I did not really think about my life after the four years of my PhD here, although I had a sort of vision to work for the greater good eventually. My parents did not agree with me going abroad, but I persuaded them. Life for me here is a daily accumulation of change with a lot of benefits. I am sure I will go back home, maybe*

*after some years in another country. I have to pay back to Chinese society. It is not a nationalistic thing, I can do more there compared to here" (Lin).*

Lin is not an exception; in general, there is a lot of uncertainty about the future among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. In most cases, among PhD's there is a four-year plan. But what will happen after finishing their PhD is undefined and uncertain. This leads to great flexibility in portraying the future. Chinese knowledge migrants who have settled down in the Netherlands because of marriage and children, also feel their future is unpredictable and portray their lives as flexible. For both students, as well as former students, there are some factors which influence the decision whether to stay in the Netherlands, to go to China, or to move to another country. Family is very important here. In line with the concept of Xiao, the health of parents plays a big role in deciding to go back to China; *"Now our parents are still fit. Once they get older we have to fulfill our responsibilities, we have no choice" (Kuan Yin).* Among migrants who have children, the education and personal well-being of the child plays a significant role, as well as the opportunities for the Dutch husband or wife in China. Education is generally perceived as better in the Netherlands, but most informants agree; the future career opportunities of their children are in China.

So, as stated above, for both Chinese knowledge migrants who study here and Chinese knowledge migrants who already finished their study and are now working in the Netherlands, the uncertain future is similar. But a distinction can be made. Informants who are already working in the Netherlands or settled down due to their husband and children, like Kuan Yin, Yan Tao and Xia, seem to think about the future more actively. Year by year they seem to make a thought out check and balance for the upcoming year. Whereas students, like Lin, Cong and Daiyu, do not seem to make active choices concerning the future. Only towards their graduation students will actively think about the future.

An is one of the students who will graduate in the upcoming year. During one of our conversations in her office she talks about her future plans.

*"If I get the chance, I will stay here longer. But it is very difficult. I did not communicate this with my parents, it was too early for that when I left China. I said that I would just study here,*

*or maybe I emphasized I had to come back some day, because of the contract<sup>33</sup>. Otherwise they would have asked a lot of questions. It was too early to talk about that. Now I am really thinking about staying here, but I haven't told them yet. My parents try to guide my life. That's why I think my parents should not know everything. If I told them that I would like to stay here, they will start making comments. But now it is open, the future is still in the air".*

In communication with parents, the flexibility and uncertainty about the future is emphasized. When everything is in the air, no questions are asked or comments are made. This is present in all communications with parents among Chinese knowledge migrants. Also, the flexibility causes people to be where their opportunities are greatest, in line with the argument made by Aihwa Ong (1993, 1999).

*"We have this saying; move to live better. It means that you go where the resources are when you cannot survive when you stay in one place" (Wing).*

Although there is great functional flexibility among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, there is more behind this flexibility than a defined purpose. Flexibility is an essential part of Chinese civilization.

### 3.2 Being flexible, Chinese style

I got to know Wing through a friend of a friend, my first encounter with Chinese networking in the Netherlands. Soon I discovered her broad network of friends, who were all willing to talk to me. After our first coffee together Wing invited me to celebrate Chinese New-Year with them. We went with around fifteen young Chinese, all studying in the Netherlands. They were all so friendly and open, the fieldwork period could not have started better than this! Because of this positive experience, I was surprised to hear that they had no contact with other Dutch outside their working environment, they even had difficulties communicating with them. Later I asked Wing about this, she said; *"You know.. we don't want to interrupt Dutch people in their daily life, so we should keep a distance. They are the majority, this is their society"*.

The above example shows how Chinese knowledge migrants portray their lives in the Dutch context. The lack of contact between Chinese migrants and 'native' Dutch can also be

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<sup>33</sup> Contract means the contract of the scholarship from the Chinese government (CSC)

portrayed in previous research; Chinese migrants are perceived as 'secluded' from Dutch society. But Chinese knowledge migrants, don't cause any trouble; crime rates and financial and social benefits are low (Gijsbert 2011:11<sup>34</sup>). Chinese knowledge migrants adapt in Dutch society. Being harmonious in Dutch society is essential in understanding this adaption into Dutch society.

As mentioned in Chapter two, in becoming civilized in the Chinese way the harmonious relationship between people through hierarchy is essential. Keep your distance to keep the Dutch society harmonious has to be viewed in line with the concept of Xiao as a learning strategy in Sinitic civilization. To portray the flexibility in human relations, we can look at the representation of a person within the Chinese characters; 人 and display of two people; 二. These characters show that harmony must be embedded in the moral life in the relationship between people; *'Love your fellow men'* (Raven 2014<sup>35</sup>). One can argue that the combination between this priority in human relations, and the value of hierarchy (presented in Chapter two) should lead to great flexibility in stepping into another society. This is visible among overseas Chinese knowledge migrants, also in the Netherlands. This group is not only obeying to Dutch rules and regulations, but is also not evident or interrupting the 'majority'. Chinese knowledge migrants feel that they respect the 'host society' and the rules and regulations which apply to - in this case, the Netherlands.

*"In China we are very adaptable to situations. When we want something we go around trees to come to the point. In the Netherlands they just cut the trees" (Lin).*

Through the flexibility and the concept of Xiao; you go around trees. Xiao blocks social isolation, being different is not desirable and even discreditable. This is of great value when it comes to internal migration, which has intensified at a fast pace due to urbanization in China (Xiaoying Wu 1994:669). But what happens when you enter a society where people cut trees, where socialization is performed in a substantially different way? Chinese knowledge migrants chose to adapt into society, which is in line with Chinese civilization. Their civilization gives the Chinese knowledge migrants a mechanism to cope in a new environment, in China as well as abroad.

Although this research was focused on first generation Chinese knowledge migrants

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<sup>34</sup> Presented in table three in the Appendix

<sup>35</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 94

in the Netherlands, it is interesting to look at how this coping mechanisms works among children of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. Visiting the Chinese school in the Netherlands shows how parenting and education are major sources in socializing a child in a society.

### 3.3 The force of education

At 11 o'clock the bell rings through the hallway of the Chinese school. On Saturday, children of all ages are coming to this place to learn Chinese. In the canteen, their parents are waiting for them. I make my way to the classroom on the first floor. Although I prepared what I would say to the children, none of them asks me what I am doing there. Next on the list is the classroom of seven till ten years old, there is a lot of chaos before the lesson starts. One boy yells to a latecomer; *'has your mother forced you again to come to class?!'* Through the chaos the teacher looks if everyone is present. When she starts class again after the break, bags of chips, biscuits and other wrappings are lying on the tables. The teacher speaks Chinese to the children, who are not really focused on her. In the middle U form, there are only girls, discussing the new episode of 'the voice' while polishing their nails. I can understand what they are saying, they only speak Dutch to each other. In the outside U, there are mostly boys, dressed in jeans and sweaters. When they receive a handout with a assignment, most of the students begin to work. Although being an hour late, children are still coming into the classroom, the teacher does not seem to mind, she is kind to all of them. After ten minutes the handout is evaluated, the first time I hear a student speak Chinese. But as soon as the answers are discussed, the subject switches to the boy band 'One Direction' and the newest nail polish again.

My experiences at the Chinese school shows that there is a significant difference noticeable between Chinese knowledge migrants and their children; *'The younger generation of Chinese grew up between Dutch, attending Dutch schools and sports clubs. Their parents have barely integrated into Dutch society. Working in restaurants, barely speaking Dutch. But they are encouraged to pick up their children at high grades in study. Then you do not like us to work twice as hard for half the price, was the idea. That parents suddenly have children with high education who are financially independent, functioning in Dutch society'* (NRC<sup>36</sup>). Off course,

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<sup>36</sup> NRC 08-12-2013 'De Chinees krijgt een Hollandse mond'.

this article focuses on economic migrants from China, and their second generation children. But in this research among Chinese knowledge migrants, similarities are found. The children in the Chinese school are talking Dutch, playing Dutch games. While sitting in the canteen, Wing and I discuss the differences between Chinese kids in China and second generation Chinese here. She mentions;

*"There is something about them.. I cannot get my finger on it. These children are so Dutch, just how they walk and act. If I'd see them on the street without hearing them speak, I would immediately notice they are not really Chinese".*

The language second generation Chinese migrants use, is the first clear difference between Chinese knowledge migrants and their children in the Chinese school. Although research has shown that some of the domestic communication in Chinese families is in Chinese, second generation Chinese migrants make an enormous leap when it comes to the use of the Dutch language compared to their parents (Gijsbert 2011:13). But also other elements like their interaction with 'native Dutch' and their day to day activities are different from their Chinese parents.

*"I speak Chinese to her but she speaks Dutch to me. After a holiday in China I am excited because she speaks more Chinese, but when we get back it will take only one day in school to speak Dutch again. The power of the environment is amazing. So imagine when the kid goes to a bad school!"*

Chow shows me the force of education while sitting in her living room. She is married to a Dutchman, whom she met during her study in the Netherlands. When entering the home, her four year old daughter peeks from her bedroom door. Chow says something in Chinese to her, she replies in Dutch. After that, she asks her father in Dutch if he would read her a bedtime story. Chow, as well as other parents see the force of education, and have mixed feelings about this. On the one hand they want their children to be successful in Dutch society, but there is a fear of their children moving away from Chinese morals and customs.

*"My children speak both Dutch and Chinese, The fact that my children also speak Chinese is very important to me. They also have to know the culture. Later when they are older they will understand why I was strict with them. I read Chinese books to them so they will understand*

*mama. Food is very important in Chinese culture, and the way we interact with people. We always think about others first, and you should be polite, especially to people older than you"* (Kuan Yin).

The doubt and concerns of Kuan Yin and others is not only focused on language, but also on other Chinese elements. These elements, like interaction and the politeness can be linked to the concept of Xiao with its relevance of hierarchy and harmony. After discussing cultural differences in her life, we talk about Kuan Yin's oldest daughter. Kuan Yin is worried and anxious for next week. Her daughter is in the seventh grade and has a test coming up. According to Kuan Yin, this test will not only determine the upcoming year, but her entire daughters' future. Not going to the highest level of Dutch education is unthinkable. This is in line with other informants' ideas about their children's future. A high level of education is essential. The importance of knowledge and education is also present in the philosophy of Confucius, where learning is advocated (Wing-Tsit Chan 1963). One can argue that the force of Dutch education increases because of the importance of educational success in Chinese families.

### 3.4 The great learning

*'The extension of knowledge is reached though the investigation of things. When things are investigated knowledge is extended; when knowledge is extended, the will becomes sincere, the mind is rectified; when the mind is rectified, the persons life is cultivated; when the personal life is cultivated, the family will be regulated; when the family is regulated, the state will be in order; and when the state is in order, there will be peace throughout the world. From the son of heaven to the common people'* (Wing-Tsit Chan 1963:86-87).

The above quotation is an element of *'The great learning'* 大学 (written by one of the student of Confucius, Zengzi) an important text in Confucianism, especially for students entering the Confucius school. Where some other books of Confucius are more spiritual, the book of learning is quit rational in tone. It states that by learning and gaining knowledge, you will not only learn, but you will learn to be great. Through the above steps, gaining knowledge is linked to harmony and peace in society (Wing-Tsit Chan 1963:86).

Central in the idea of learning is that when a men wants to achieve perfection of knowledge, he has to learn from others around him and all other things in the world. He

should reach for perfect intelligence at all time, which will lead to this perfection of knowledge. Teaching had to be performed in the family and outside the family: *'Even the superior men (ruler) cannot rule without going beyond the family and filial piety is how one services his ruler'* (Wing-Tsit Chan 1963:91). This is where Xiao (sometimes called filial piety) and the importance of learning come together. Through gaining knowledge, learning from the elderly or the ruler, one can become Xiao.

This chapter has shown that the uncertain future of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands is an outcome of the flexibility in Chinese civilization. Their mobility and flexibility is both of communicational purpose, as well as a tool to go where their opportunities are greatest. Chinese knowledge migrants who have children seem to make a more thought out check and balance about their lives and their futures, although the flexibility and uncertainty about the future is still present. For their children this is a different story; *'A new generation of citizens are forming distinctive attachments and laying down roots despite the intensity of their overseas ties'* (Waters 2003:232-233). Second generation Chinese knowledge migrants are laying down their roots to not only live harmoniously in Dutch society, but also to 'be Dutch'. The concept of Xiao and flexibility in Sinitic civilization is passed on to Chinese knowledge migrants' children. Combined with the importance of learning and the Dutch focus on education explains in my opinion the verbal and non-verbal differences between first and second generation Chinese (knowledge) migrants in the Netherlands.

*"With other international students we have this similarity of being the minority, and so we can talk about the same things. I feel more connected to Chinese or other international students. For example last week; a Dutch colleague was telling a story about her daughter who sang 'olifantje in het bos', everyone thought this was so cute. I didn't understand: there are not even elephants in the forest, let alone in the Netherlands! That's when I feel like a foreigner, so I kept my distance and talked about it with my friends afterword's" (Wing).*

In this thesis I want to portray this example as being flexible, Chinese style. By not intervening with the majority, Chinese knowledge migrants are not a burden to Dutch society. Although this is the case, the distance between Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands and Dutch society can be linked to integration. Through the conversations and



interviews it has become clear that we cannot speak of full integration - in the traditional western sense of the word, among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. In the next chapter this idea of integration is portrayed as a political issue. This will lead to the question where Chinese migrants have to integrate into when entering a society with a different civilization, in this case the Netherlands.

## Chapter Four: Integration, How and Why?

*'The limited focus on integration of first generation knowledge migrants seems understandable, at least for those who intend to return to China or migrate to another country. However, part of this group has completed their education in the Netherlands and is working here. In the context of the high level education and the development around aging in Dutch society, it can be interesting to preserve this group of migrants in the Netherlands' (Gijsbert 2011:20<sup>37</sup>).*

In previous research we can see that (first generation) Chinese knowledge migrants don't have a lot of contacts with 'native Dutch'; less than half of the Chinese migrants identify themselves with Dutch society. In line with this research, especially knowledge migrants who have arrived after 2000 show little commitment to the Netherlands and find themselves mostly in their own Chinese circle (Gijsbert 2011:16). As presented in the previous chapter, this is the consequence of their uncertain future, flexibility and focus on harmony in society. But Dutch society can benefit from this group of highly educated citizens if they settle down in the Netherlands. After permanent settlement the need for integration arises.

This chapter will look at this group of Chinese knowledge migrants who settled down after their study in the Netherlands. Central here is how this group wants to integrate in Dutch society and which elements can contribute to 'feeling more at home' in the Netherlands. Subsequently this chapter will look at the integration process in the Netherlands, which eventually leads to the question how Chinese knowledge migrants are supposed to integrate according to Dutch society.

### 4.1 Can your aunt become your mom?

*"In the beginning I really liked it here. But now I see that it is hard to make friends. I bring my children to school and talk to parents, but it is very superficial. Language is an obstacle,*

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<sup>37</sup> Free translation from Dutch: De geringe focus op Nederland van de recent gekomen eerste generatie kennis- en studiemigranten lijkt voor integratievraagstukken minder relevant. Althans voor degenen die van plan zijn terug te keren naar China of door te migreren naar een ander land. Echter, een deel van deze groep heeft de opleiding inmiddels afgerond en is in Nederland aan het werk. Zij lijken de intentie te hebben langer in Nederland te blijven. In het kader van toekomstige ontwikkelingen, zoals de vergrijzing van de beroepsbevolking, kan dit een interessante groep zijn om in Nederland te behouden.

*because people want to speak in their own language and I don't speak Dutch. I don't work, so I have no colleagues, five minutes at the schoolyard is not enough" (Kuan Yin).*

As mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, Chinese knowledge migrants feel comfortable in the Netherlands, although China is still more like home. In the light of integration of migrants, the emotional connection with the Netherlands is one of the forms of integration (WWR 2007:166). Although the emotional relationship has played a big role in the debate concerning full integration, it is often a byproduct of other forms of integration (WWR 2007:17) which will be evaluated in paragraph three of this chapter. First it is important to look at the factors which might contribute to feeling more at home in the Netherlands, which can lead to a more emotional relationship with Dutch society.

Just like all other informants, Kuan Yin feels that language is a major obstacle for her life here; *"my home is where I speak the language"*. This contributes to feeling a foreigner in the Netherlands. Although Kuan Yin is currently not working, the international environment in study and work place, makes learning the Dutch language more difficult;

*"I would prefer to be in an environment where people speak only Dutch, but everyone uses English. When Dutch people think your Dutch is not good enough, they switch to English"*.

Inside the working environment, speaking English is not a problem. But in the daily private lives of Chinese knowledge migrants, not being able to speak the Dutch language is a major reason for not feeling at home.

*"I think the idea of home is where your family is. I always call my family about what they are doing, and I always have the feeling that I am the only one who is not there" (Daiyu).*

In line with the concept of Xiao and the importance of family, the absence of family members in the Netherlands is, next to language, one of the major factors for not feeling at home. This is compromised by using Skype or other communication resources, but the absence of family in the Netherlands seems to be an invincible element, and a prime reason to go back to China. Apart from the absence of family members and the language differences, here is another element in communication which causes informants to not feel at home in the Netherlands. Although Daiyu is happy living in the Netherlands, there are

differences in communication which contributes to her feeling like a foreigner in the Netherlands;

*"The most important part for not really feeling at home here is that in China when I talk to friends, I don't have to explain or always talk about China. It is nice to talk about China here because people are curious. But when you always talk about China you realize that you don't belong here, that you are Chinese".*

Ghorashi (2003, 2010) also sees this, concerning Iranian women living in the Netherlands who are also constantly reminded by others that they are foreigners; *'The notion of temporary settlement contributes to an image of migrants as entirely different from the Dutch and as belonging to the place they come from and to which they will, supposedly, eventually return'* (Ghorashi 2010:110). The identity of the migrants becomes fixed as foreigner, separated from 'Dutch identity'. Although this observation is not well represented among the informants in this research, some informants, like Daiyu, observe the attitude of others towards them being a 'foreigner'.

When talking about home, informants constantly switch between their situation in China as a reference and their current life in the Netherlands. In speaking with informants, they refer to China as 'home', and sometimes to 'native Dutch' as foreigners. Informants often refer to pleasant elements in Dutch society as similar to their lives in China, such as good Chinese food or speaking Chinese with friends. Others feel that while the Netherlands is not really home, China isn't either.

*"I had a talk about it with a friend. When we are not in China we miss it a lot, but once we are there we want to leave again. It is like a war. We grew up there so everything is familiar, but you get sick of it. So many people, so much pollution, you want to leave again. It is a mixed feeling. My parents used to be my home, but I think it is not there anymore"* (Chow).

As Chow mentions, after a few years in the Netherlands, both China as well as the Netherlands was not really home. Wing already mentioned this phenomena in the beginning of the fieldwork period, and while time went by, I came across multiple examples of people who feel that they are *'in between'*; migrants imagine their life in China as it was when they left. But China is changes constantly where the 'old', static image is no longer present. There is friction between their image and the present time. The imagined community is often

called the *"hometown you will never come back to"* (Wing). Celebrating flexibility and uncertainly resolves some of the feeling of being in-between societies.

*"No, I don't really feel at home here. Actually I am doing the opposite, stepping out of my conform zone every day. I don't see it as a rosy thing to stay at home every day. I do feel very satisfied and surprised of my growth since I have left China. It is really unique"* (Lin).

Overall, flexibility and an uncertain future of Chinese knowledge migrants is celebrated, feeling at home in the Netherlands is not a priority. Feeling comfortable here is enough, at least for Chinese knowledge migrants who are currently studying. Although they mention that they would like to learn the Dutch language, it is not a priority for their limited time in the Netherlands and the international character of Universities. For former students who have settled down in the Netherlands, learning the Dutch language is more desirable. But here the Dutch society plays a role as well; when someone is perceived as a foreigner, they are approached in English which makes learning the Dutch language more difficult. So, functioning in a society depends not only on migrants' ideas about integration, but also on the society in which migrants have to integrate. After looking at the experiences of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, it is essential to look at Dutch society and its ideas about integration.

#### 4.2 Dutch integration policy

*'Integration may be defined as the process whereby ethnic groups come to shift their loyalties expectations, and political activities towards a new center, whose institutions assume jurisdiction over, and responsibility for the group mentioned'* (Haas 1968:19)<sup>38</sup>.

Integration policy arises when the Other in society is seen as different because of ethnicity, religion, race or origin, causing a minority-majority relationship (Eriksen 1994:110). 'Diversity' is formed by how one sees oneself, but also by how others perceive that person; subjectivity and agency thus play a major roles (Eriksen 1994:55). The attitude towards integration and migrants in the Netherlands has shifted to an increasing focus on the responsibility on the side of migrants. This is in line with the increasing focus on the debate about a defined Dutch national identity. This shift can be explained through four primary

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<sup>38</sup> Definition is given in Dreyer (1976)

changes in Dutch society (WWR 2007:22).

The Netherlands has always been an immigrant country, with its multiple minorities. But in recent decades the Netherlands, like most other countries in the world, has become more diverse in times of increasing globalization (Sen 1999:247). Although the trade between China and the 'Western' world is not something new (Brook 2009). Globalization is seen as both a threat as well as an opportunity for the nation state. Internationally oriented nation states and their citizens can become successful in an international environment. But simultaneously globalization seems to undermine the nation state, leaving the nation state in doubt about its place in the world (WWR 2007:22). Flows of anything from money to refugees have intensified in this era of globalization, not only from North to South but in every direction. This has led to the weakening, and sometimes obliteration, of boundaries (Eriksen 2007:105). Territorial polities have difficulties protecting themselves against unwanted flows (Eriksen 2007:105), this causes feelings of vulnerability, mostly because *'Globalization is not an unidirectional process. It has no end and no intrinsic purpose, and it is neither uncontested, unambiguous nor ubiquitous'* (Eriksen 2007:9). New transnational migrants may have another identity than 'the Dutch identity'. To overcome this doubt, the identity of the nation state is redefined. The will to define the differences nourishes the feeling to define the Dutch identity, distinguished from other national identities (WWR 2007:24).

Secondly the attempt to create a European identity around 1992 also nourished the formation of a defined Dutch identity, where people distinguished themselves from the European idea, nations wanted to define their own identity, apart from the 'overarching' European identity. Especially in the past ten years, the anti-European voice has increased, which fueled the defined identity of the nation (WWR 2007:25).

The third element which contributes to the will to define the Dutch identity is individualization. The way Dutch society is organized has to be viewed within the history of pillarization and polarization. In the 19th century separate religious spheres lived next to each other, with minimal contact between pillars. In the 1960's the division between pillars disappeared mostly; we can speak of a backlash against polarization in the 60's, although effects remained, particularly in education (Rattansi 2011:19). This de-pillarization led to an increasing importance of individuality. However, the sense of belonging to a group was and

is still desirable, the national identity was an answer for the quest for a common national identity (WWR 2007:27).

Fourth and last source for the growing focus on the national identity in the Netherlands concerns the debate on multiculturalism. In line with multiculturalism, minorities had great freedom and recourses to develop their own network in their 'minority group', including their education (Rattansi 2011:91). But recent events caused a 'backlash against multiculturalism', where Dutch policy was criticized and the retreat from multiculturalism was one of the biggest in Europe (Modood 2013:12). The importance of a defined national identity was fueled further; *'Nothing puts the question 'who are we' as strong as the focus on sustainable proximity deviant others'* (WWR 2007:28)<sup>39</sup>. The already formed critique on the economic status of migrants resulted in a stricter integration policy, in which the responsibility of integration shifted towards the immigrants themselves. This idea gathered force after 9/11 and the assassination of film maker Theo van Gogh and politician Pim Fortuyn. As a result integration became stricter, even to the point that the Netherlands was condemned by the European Council and Human rights watch for violence of the rights of asylum-seekers and immigrants (Rattansi 2011:21). These processes together lead to a focus on *'integration with retention of identity'*; *'Achieving a society in which all members of minority groups in the Netherlands individually and in groups are in a situation of equality and have full opportunities for their development'* (Rattansi 2011:19-20).

In practice this means that migrants from non-western countries integrate through the integration course and examination, but are allowed to retain their identity in the private sphere; *'migrants have the duty to integrate into the country of residence, that country has a duty to integrate them'* (Modood 2013:31<sup>40</sup>). In this sense it is a two way road, but from an individual perspective. The starting point of multiculturalism is different from this integration policy because it recognizes groups, not just individuals at the level of identities, behavior, culture religious practice etc. *'This means that minority groups necessarily cannot be accommodated according to a single plan, and will in different ways change the society into which they are integrated'* (Modood 2013:46). Although a single plan

<sup>39</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Niets zet de vraag 'wie wij zijn' immers zo sterk op scherp als de duurzame nabijheid van afwijkende anderen.

<sup>40</sup> Here Modood describes the argument made by Kymlicka (1995). 'Kymlicka is a supporter of post-immigration multiculturalism and argues that 'the institutions of the larger society should be adapted to provide greater recognition and accommodation of these ethnic identities, for example schools and other public institutions' (Modood 2013:31).

may have been criticized, different minority groups have to integrate according to the same plan, with the same outcome. The next paragraph will examine this outcome and the 'thick' approach on the national identity as an result of the above events.

#### 4.3 Thick integration in a thick national identity

*'Since the end of the 1990s, multiculturalism is being discussed in the Dutch media on an almost daily basis (...) The thick notion of Dutch national identity has become more explicit over the past few years. The result of this exclusive construction of Dutchness is that (...) there is no space for tolerance; what is left is fear and anger'* (Ghorashi 2010:106-110).

As described in the previous paragraph, the four changes in Dutch society have led to a more defined national identity. The uncertainty about nations sovereignty causes an '*anxiety of incompleteness*', in which gaps in society, impurities in the national ethos, have to be diminished (Appadurai 2006:8). In practice, this anxiety has not only led to a backlash against multiculturalism, but also to a more narrow definition of what 'Dutch' is. The emotional integration in Dutch society is amplified. This can be linked to the concepts of a thick national identity, defined by Ghorashi (2003, 2010).

When there is a fixed idea of what (for example) 'Dutch' should be, we can speak of a '*thick national identity*', here there is little latitude for own interpretations or ideas of what this national identity should be. A '*thin construction of a national identity*' gives room for diverse ideas and interpretations for, for example migrants to feel connected to Dutch society. In this sense the national identity is flexible in character and gives room to multiple identities. Ghorashi (2010) amplifies that a 'thin' national identity is desirable, or even necessary for a multicultural society in order to succeed. The stratification of society is in line with this thin national identity.

Like most other countries in the world, the Netherlands has become more stratified after the upcoming industrial society (Goldthorpe 1960:97). People of various social and economic levels barely interact with people of other social or economic levels. A society is socially stratified when its members are divided into categories which are differentially powerful, esteemed, and rewarded (Berreman 1972:385). These categories are determined by ascribed and achieved forces. *'Regardless of its characteristics in a particular society, stratification has been described as being based on the primary dimensions; class, status, and power, which are expressed respectively as wealth, privilege and the ability to control the*



*loves of people'* (Berreman 1972:385). When asking for thick integration into a thick national identity, you expect immigrants to integrate in all layers of society. Although the stratification, and thus differentiation in society, should naturally lead to a thin national identity.

Although the Netherlands was one of the first countries to adopt multiculturalism, policy towards integration into Dutch society had shifted towards a more thick construction of the national identity, where migrants are perceived to follow and successfully finish the integration course which teaches migrants what the Dutch society entails of. But what does this mean for Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands?

#### 4.4 Integration into?

*'Integration can take place in different domains, simultaneously or not in the same extent. The fields of education and employment are the most important for the acquisition of a full position in society. Schools can therefore be regarded as centers of learning social skills and social inclusion'* (Gijsbert 2011:15-17<sup>41</sup>).

On an educational level, Chinese knowledge migrants have integrated in Dutch society, mostly due to the importance of education within the Chinese knowledge migrants family. The integration through education can be viewed in the concept of the '*conform onderwijs profiel*'<sup>42</sup>, one of the most important factors in judging successful or non-successful integration. On their educational performances, the minority group is compared to the average educational level of the majority group. When these numbers are relatively equal, we can speak of successful integration. Table one in the appendix shows the educational level of Chinese in the Netherlands compared to other ethnic groups, as well as 'native Dutch'. In higher education, Chinese are present in the same level as native Dutch. The different 'conform educational level' seems to be achieved within the first and second generation, which is presented in table two.

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<sup>41</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Integratie kan plaatsvinden in verschillende domeinen, waarbij de participatie in de verschillende sferen niet gelijktijdig of in dezelfde mate hoeft plaats te vinden. De domeinen onderwijs en arbeid zijn het meest van belang voor de verwerving van een volwaardige positie in de samenleving (...) De school kan dan ook beschouwd worden als een leerschool van sociale vaardigheden en sociale integratie.

<sup>42</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Conform educational profile

*'The maintenance of the life-preserving air for nation-states requires a specialized plant. The name for this plant is a national education and communication system. Its only effective keeper and protector is the state'* (Gellner 1974:50).

When we approach integration as related to crime and economic problems, Chinese knowledge migrants do not cause problems (Knotter et al. 2009:132). Also, the financial situations of Chinese knowledge migrants is strong (Gijsbert 2011:78). Parts of integration are viewable among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

First we can see that we can speak of functionalist integration among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. On a functional level Chinese knowledge migrants interact with other people, Dutch or non-Dutch, due to their common goal or common task (WWR 2007:105). The international character of the study or workplace makes this functional integration possible. Also, the previous portrayed flexibility and adaptability within Chinese civilization makes this functionalist integration into work and study sphere possible. The international character diminishes according to informants in the situations of their children, who function in Dutch schools.

Secondly we can see that normative integration is also present among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. Normative identification can be defined by two elements: it is both adaptation to the standard as well as using the norms in different situations (WWR 2007:139). This can be viewed both in the numbers concerning crime among Chinese knowledge migrants, as well as in the adaption in Dutch society and the perceived 'invisibility' of Chinese knowledge migrants. Chinese knowledge migrants adopted and function into the normative rules in Dutch society (Gijsbert 2011:11).

The emotional integration which is portrayed in the rapport *'Identification with the Netherlands'* (WWR 2011<sup>43</sup>) is most difficult to be defined. There are different levels of emotional closeness to Dutch society, also among Chinese knowledge migrants. This leaves integration as a political problem, integration policy has become topic number one. The political report of the parliamentary committee-Block in 2004 shows this emphasis on integration in the political debate. Practically the entire political spectrum concluded from the report that integration had failed. This despite the fact that the report itself concluded something quite different, namely that integration of most immigrants had succeeded, but

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<sup>43</sup> Original title: Identificatie met Nederland

mostly despite the policy concerning integration (WWR 2007:28).

Along with the increasing importance of a thick national identity, the focus of integration shifted towards emphasis on the social-cultural integration of migrants: they are supposed to shift their emotional loyalty to another nation, in this case the Netherlands.

In communicating with Xia, who has been living in the Netherlands for more than ten years, it feels like speaking to a Chinese person. She does not really speak Dutch, although she understands most of it. She is polite and helpful and in her communication comparable to other informants who have been living here for just a year. Also Xia herself mentions she often feels more Chinese than Dutch, although she likes the Dutch way of life. She also mentions that her Chinese friends all think that she is 'more' Dutch, compared to them. This example shows the different standpoints when looking at emotional integration; what we might consider as a lack of emotional integration, might be the opposite for Chinese knowledge migrants themselves.

Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands are integrating in their working and study environment and we can speak of functional integration. On a normative level, Chinese knowledge migrants integrate fully in Dutch society. On an emotional level, Chinese knowledge migrants have not shifted their loyalty to the Dutch context. But when talking to persons within the group, there is a range of variety in emotional bond with the Netherlands. The lack of speaking the Dutch language is not a problem in the international environment, but in the private life of Chinese knowledge migrants who have already settled down this is a serious problem, Dutch society has something to gain. Although we can see these different layers of integration, the Dutch society is asking for more 'thick' integration into a 'thick' national identity. In the case of Chinese knowledge migrants this call is answered, unlikely and unnecessary. Chinese knowledge migrants are integrating in a part of society. We can thus speak of a thin integration into Dutch society among Chinese knowledge migrants, in line with the stratified society in the era of globalization.

## Conclusion

Looking back at the research period, informants were willing to help me in any way they could. In just a few weeks, I already had a lot of contacts, and through 'snowballing' this network of Chinese knowledge migrants got bigger and bigger. The kindness and politeness of the informants made it a very pleasant research.

*'The duty-based morality of Confucianism entails the obligation to practice benevolence to others. A person's moral performance is evaluated in terms of willingness to help others'* (Bedford & Kuo Hwang 2003:135).

This concluding chapter looks back at the information provided in this thesis. In the discussion I will comment previous written materials concerning Chinese knowledge migrants. This discussion will also provide an answer to what all the information means for knowledge migration in the era of globalization for both society, as well as policy. In the last paragraph I will give my insight in necessary or interesting future research on integration policy towards Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands.

### 1. Looking back

Among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, there is great diversity visible. Different regions of origin have led to different cultural elements in, for example language. Talking about Chinese knowledge migrants as a group is in this case difficult, although there are some similarities visible. Reasons for studying in the Netherlands are hardly a conscious decision. The knowledge about the Netherlands beforehand is limited. Studying abroad was more import for informants than the final destination. When entering the Netherlands, a lot of difference becomes visible; language, university life and manners is perceived as different and difficult to deal with. This leads to feeling comfortable in the Netherlands, although China is more like home. There seem to be a strong bond with China, which can be explained through the concept of transnationalism (Guernizo 1998; Pieke 2004). In Chapter two this concept is described, but soon the strong bond with China is not related to the bond with China as a nation, but to different civilizations. The learning strategy described by D. Raven (2014) can explain the deep differences between civilizations, in this case the Western and Sinitic civilization. In the Sinitic civilization we can speak of model emulation, where hierarchy and the 'smoothness' in relations is essential. This model emulation can be

described through the Confucius concept of Xiao, which informants describe as most important heritage from Chinese civilization. The obedience to hierarchy and the importance of harmony in society, described through Xiao, provides a coping mechanism for Chinese knowledge migrants to adapt in a different society. So, as presented in this thesis, Sinitic civilization socializes through the idea that one person is inherent a part of the family, and ultimately a member of a harmonious society (Raven 2014). The individual protects the unity, within the family as well as in society. The smoothness and flexibility portrayed in the concept of flexible citizenship (Ong 1999) one's character is essential, which is described in Chapter three. Of course there are multiple other concepts in Confucianism which contributed to a person's being-in the world, but the concepts described in this thesis are perceived as most important for Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. The adaption of this group of migrants into Dutch society can be viewed in both empiricism as well as in the statistics; crime rates are low, problems are solved within the own community. Chinese knowledge migrants seem to go around trees, instead of cutting the trees. But the perceived absence of emotional integration among Chinese migrants, ultimately leads to the question of integration. In recent times, the emphasis on the Dutch national identity has increased, which has led to a 'thick national identity' (Ghorashi 2010). When looking at Chinese knowledge migrants it becomes clear that integration is more than a shift of loyalty. Both normative as well as functionally this group is integrating in Dutch society. The lack of ability to speak the Dutch language is for both informants as well as the Dutch society a problem that has to be addressed. But when looking at children of these Chinese knowledge migrants, this language problem is resolved within one generation. This leap between the Chinese knowledge migrants and their children seems to be due to both Dutch education, as well as the importance of education within Chinese families, through 'the great learning'. These elements together form a strong basis for integration which can be achieved through the families themselves. All this being said, integration policies seems to be a political issue. Chinese knowledge migrants' integration in a 'thick national identity' is not necessary and not even desirable. But what are other conclusions we can take with us after reading this thesis?

## 2. What this all means

By using qualitative methods like participant observation, Anthropologists develop relationships with the people in the field, to identify ourselves with the 'group' we are studying. Qualitative research works best when there is true rapport between the researcher and members of this group (DeWalt, DeWalt 2011:213); *'Rapport pure and simple, consist of establishing lines of communication between the anthropologist and his (sic) informants in order for the former to collect data that then allows him (sic) to understand the culture under study'* (Nader 1986<sup>44</sup>). In the most obvious ways, it allows us to understand nonverbal communication, to anticipate and understand responses. Rapport shapes the way we interact with others and, in a more fundamental way, it shapes the way we interpret what we observe (DeWalt, DeWalt 2011:11). So establishing rapport is seen as both the tool as well as the goal of participant observation, and ultimately successful fieldwork (DeWalt, DeWalt 2011:47). Building rapport also means that the Anthropologist has to be flexible, to keep relationships smooth. In this sense, the role of the anthropologist in his/her field of study is comparable with the smoothness in Chinese relationships with other people. Through this smoothness, harmony is essential in Chinese networking. One could argue that striving for smoothness when talking with informants could lead to the absence of 'hard truth' or honesty. Here I would disagree. The pleased relationships with informants and the open network where I had the opportunity to function and participate in, says everything about Chinese being in the world.

*'Beyond culture is not another culture, but another individual. We do not encounter an Other or a They. We meet an individual, someone with a sense of individuality like ourselves. This individual unsettles, awakens our own individuality, and compels us to write differently'* (Guadeloupe 2009:81). One could argue that the power of the individual is deleted from this thesis, that this thesis is essentializing by looking at civilization differences instead of individual differences. Although individual characteristics and agency matter, individuals choices and ideas are also defined by how they are parented and educated. Socialization within the family as well as society are characterized by cultural differences. When I would only focus on the individual differences and characteristics, I had to stay on a micro level, which *'oversimplifies the clearly observed cultural and social diversities they*

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<sup>44</sup> in DeWalt & DeWalt 2011:47

*distort the experiences of many people'* (Raven 2014<sup>45</sup>). Analyzing larger categories and frameworks does not deny the importance of the micro-level, but explains differences and difficulties. This has effect on a macro level, but it influences the micro level as well. In this research I have seen the presence of an ancient philosophy among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, linked to a civilization, not only to a nation or transnationalism. We need to acknowledge the differences in civilization when looking at integration policy, because culture, and thus civilizations, does matter.

Although there is a shifting attitude towards a more 'thick' Dutch national identity, Chinese knowledge migrants portray a coping mechanism, highly successful in the era of globalization. In this sense we can learn from this group of knowledge migrants who adapt to most important elements of integration, but who are flexible and who see the world full of opportunities. They show us that the increasing mobility of people and goods causes the thick integration to be worthless. We need to change the attitude towards integration, and ultimately who we are as a Dutch nation. The impulsion of thick integration onto migrants, is denying the new era of globalization which we has already included us. Mobility demands flexibility, which demands mobility and ultimately thin integration into a thin national identity. New approaches in a lot of European countries regarding integration seem to have been replacing multiculturalism, with the emphasis on minorities who failed to integrate. But in society it is not definable who is completely integrated, and integrated into what? Scientist and society failed to answer this question, but through this thesis I want to amplify that if Dutch society wants to be successful in this knowledge based economy in the era of movement, we can learn from this group Chinese knowledge migrants. Meeting and interacting in public places and learning from others, without demanding emotional integration, can and will lead to a harmonious society.

### 3. Future research

*"I made the choice to see the world, but my parents did not wanted me to go, they were concerned. You could say that PhD's are different, not really Chinese. Going abroad at this age causes a bad position to get married. My parents also think the chance to find a good husband here is smaller. Now that I am here for a while, they are supportive but still concerned"* (Lin).

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<sup>45</sup> June 2014 unpublished MS page 43

The latter quotation shows my struggle and question; who have I actually been talking to? The group of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands made the conscious decision to go abroad for their study, but what does this say about them as individuals? Some informants mention that they might be more brave than people staying in China, other see no differences between them and Chinese living in China. Also, most informants are studying in the Netherlands due to the CSC, which is only reserved for the smartest students of the best Universities in China, which also influences answers and observations. Although I cannot tell what the influence of these factors are, discussing these issues with informants have led to more information about this group, concerning the diversity within the group, and in relation to Chinese society. This thesis could be a starting point for further research concerning Chinese knowledge migrants, for example when it comes to 'the new rich';

*"The rich send their children to Europe when they are not really successful in China, to not lose face. The people in China are aware of this but still see it as a status symbol when someone is studying abroad. My father, as a teacher working in the Netherlands, often received offers where a rich father approached him with money to approve the supervision of a Chinese student. Even students who get good grades in China have to give money to the teachers to be allowed in good universities" (Hui).*

Hui shows how to make a further distinction within the group of knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. She sees a difference between the immigrants who come here because their parents are rich and people who come here because of hard work and good grades. When we talk about students who came here due to their parents, we are talking mostly about Bachelor or Master students. All the PhD's I spoke to mention that they came here for educational reasons first. But there are other motivations which are interesting to look at in future research.

*"Most of my friends here are here for academic reasons, including me. A better life style is the next step. I have two homosexual friends in China, and they are really longing for the Netherlands, because of the lifestyle. So that could be a reason to study here as well" (An).*

Homosexuals from China seem to move to western countries more and more (Gijsbert 2011:143), which is an interesting group to focus on in future research. Next to sexuality, there are also gender complexities that are important to investigate in further research;



*"There is a special word for PhD who have no partner; non. Because they are seen also unmarried, ugly, nerdy. There is also a word especially for PhD-women; left women. This describes women over 30, highly educated and single. These kind of women are seen as being left, no one wants to marry them. I hear it everywhere. Sometimes my friend use it as a joke. When you start your PhD you are not very young, and doing your PhD takes a lot of time. When you have the time to do your PhD you must be ugly. Because when you are beautiful, you wouldn't have the time to do your PhD" (An).*

The concept of gender has not been emphasized deeply in this thesis, but it seems to be clear that there are difficulties concerning gender stereotypes for Chinese who go abroad. It would be interesting to look at the concept of gender more intensively within this group of young migrants.

When looking at theoretical concepts, this thesis has shown that we need to find more handles to approach the differences in civilizations. The concept like transnationalism is stuck in the division of the world in nations. Chinese knowledge migrants themselves show that we need to look beyond nations. Although I have no substitution which describes the bond between Chinese knowledge migrants and 'home', further research should contribute to finding these new handles. Al together, this research has not only fueled my interest in Chinese civilization, it also helped me understanding how knowledge migration works and how we should look at movement of people and their knowledge.

*'To love and care for other people is benevolence, to understand other people is righteousness' (Confucius from the Heart - Yu Dan 2006:30).*

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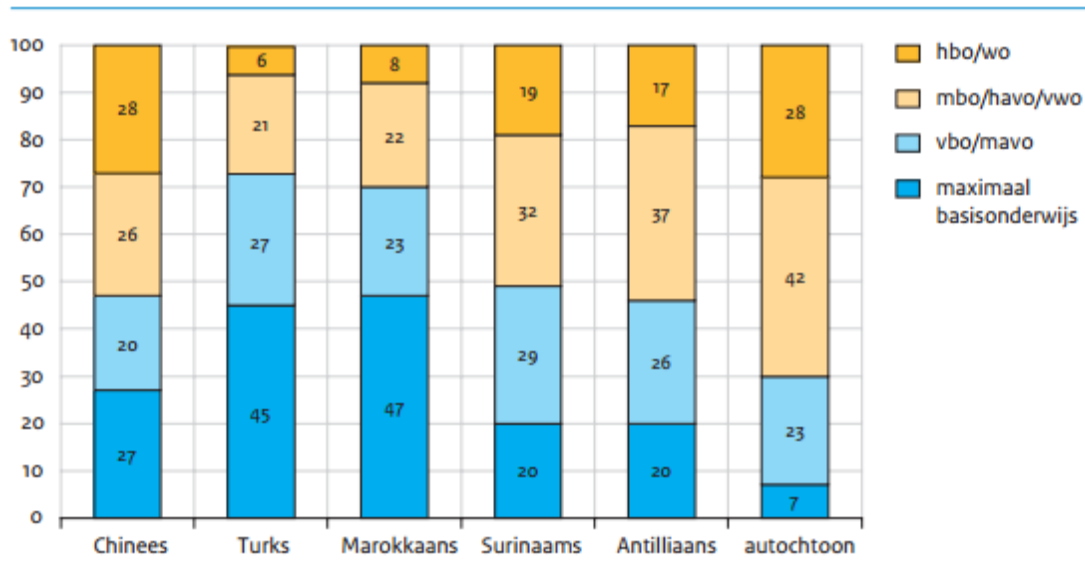
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## Appendix 1: Abstract

This thesis is a qualitative analysis of the lives of Chinese knowledge migrants today in the Netherlands. As being a relatively new and young group within the Dutch context, insight of the migration group gives information about overseas Chinese and the debate surrounding migration. One of the concepts that is debated is transnationalism. In previous studies this concept has been described as the bond between mainland China and overseas Chinese in, for example, the Netherlands. Here this strong bond is examined through the eyes of Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands, which resulted in the conclusion that the deep bond between Chinese knowledge migrants and China has to be explained not through national differences, but through the differences in civilizations. Civilizations socialize their children in different ways, where we can speak of different learning strategies. For Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands concepts like *Xiao* are essential in Chinese learning strategies, in line with model emulation. *Xiao* emphasizes the harmony in society through hierarchies, valuable for Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. This socialization mechanism leads to great flexibility, for internal as well as overseas migration. This is where a second anthropological concept comes into play, that of flexible citizenship. Flexible citizenship describes the fluid lifestyle of Chinese migrants where migrants go where their opportunities are greatest. This thesis argues that this is not a new concept, in Chinese civilization the concept of flexibility is very visible, which makes it easy for Chinese to adapt into a new society, which is also visible among Chinese knowledge migrants in the Netherlands. Although this is the case, full integration among first generation Chinese in the Netherlands is not perceived as present. The Dutch policy towards integration has shifted from a 'thin' national identity, where the definition of where migrants should integrate into stays unanswered, to a more 'thick' national identity, where emotional loyalty to Dutch society is advocated. Policy towards integration has become more strict, what integration should be is more defined. This opposite to Chinese knowledge migrants' attitude who integrate in a part of society, not the Netherlands as a whole. The emphasis on education and adaptation, makes themselves and their children highly successful. This all entails that culture, or civilization, does matter when looking at integration policies and the lives of migrants in the Netherlands. This thesis argues that we can learn from Chinese knowledge migrants; by achieving a harmonious society with its thin national identity.

## Appendix 2: Tables

Table One



Source; Educational level among 15-64 years old and their ethnical background (Gijsberts et al. 2011:48)<sup>46</sup>

Table Two

	1 <sup>e</sup> generatie, migratie voor 1990	1 <sup>e</sup> generatie, migratie 1990-1999	1 <sup>e</sup> generatie, migratie vanaf 2000	2 <sup>e</sup> generatie
max. bao	36	35	16	8
vbo/mavo	24	19	14	16
mbo/havo/vwo	26	21	23	38
hbo/wo	14	25	47	38
<b>totaal</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source; finished educational level first and second generation Chinese (Gijsberts et al. 2011:48)<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Chinese Nederlanders: scp (sing'09); overige migrantengroepen: scp (sim'06); autochtone Nederlanders: cbs (ebb'09)

<sup>47</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Gerealiseerd opleidingsniveau van niet-schoolgaande 15-64-jarigen van Chinese herkomst, naar generatie, 2009 (in procenten) scp (sing'09)

Table Three

	wwb (bijstand)	ww	arbeidsongeschiktheid/wia
Chinees	5,9	0,8	1,2
Turks	8,3	2,5	10,5
Marokkaans	12,1	2,1	7,8
Surinaams	6,9	2,3	7,5
Antilliaans	9,3	2,5	4,3
autochtoon	1,6	1,5	7,0

Source; Financial benefit in different ethnic groups in 2009 (Gijsbert 2011:84)<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Free translation from Dutch: Personen met een uitkering naar etnische herkomst, bevolking 15-64 jaar, 2009 (in procenten) cbs (StatLine), ontleend aan tabel 5.2 van Dagevos 2009