Exploring Identity and Belonging: The Experiences of Second-Generation Chinese Immigrants in the Netherlands

Dominic Yau

MSc thesis

International Development Studies

WAGENINGEN
UNIVERSITY & RESEARCH

Exploring Identity and Belonging: The Experiences of Second-Generation Chinese Immigrants in the Netherlands

Course: Thesis Sociology of Development and change

Course Code: SDC80536

Author: Dominic Yau

Student ID: 1116940

Specialization: Politics and Governance of Development

E-mail: dominic.yau@wur.nl / dominic.yau@hotmail.com

Supervisor: Dr. Bram Jansen

Sociology of Development and Change

Wageningen University & Research

October 2023

Photograph on front cover: Mary van der Made-Yuen, director and founder of Chinese school Kai Wah in Amsterdam positions second-generation Chinese students for a photograph in celebration of the 5-year anniversary of the school, in 1986.

Abstract

This study focuses on the experiences of second-generation Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands as they navigate their identity and belonging in Dutch society. As a case study, the Covid-19 pandemic is assessed, where second-generation individuals were faced with increased discrimination. The study explores the impact of parenting behavior, particularly the phenomenon of ''tiger parenting'', which emphasizes academic excellence and success but does not always promote integration into Dutch society. ''Othering'' is introduced to describe the treatment of individuals with immigrant backgrounds as different, resulting in challenges to their sense of belonging. The study highlights the vulnerability of the Chinese community to stereotypes, including the ''model minority'' stereotype, which participants often embraced by striving for societal contributions while avoiding conflicts.

Five distinct identities emerge from the findings: Dutch identity, hybrid identity, Chinese identity, non-nation identity, and ascribed identity. Feelings of belonging play a crucial role in identity formation, with participants primarily feeling connected to the host society. Acceptance or non-acceptance from the host society significantly influences their sense of belonging. The study also delves into participants' future aspirations, highlighting their desire to provide their children with a different upbringing that avoids feelings of difference and promotes integration. Despite varying priorities, this desire resonates with the philosophy of the first-generation.

While participants expressed empathy for the #StopAsianHate protest during the Covid-19 pandemic, they took limited practical action due to a lack of increased ''othering'' and other discriminatory behavior towards them. Living up to the model minority stereotype, participants prefer to avoid conflict and remain in the background. The research underscores the enduring importance of identity and belonging and their relevance to immigrant groups. Understanding these dynamics is vital for fostering an inclusive society.

Keywords: identity, sense of belonging, second-generation immigrants, stereotypes, integration

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to thank Bram Jansen for supervising me through this journey. The fruitful discussions and guidance are the backbone of this thesis. Thank you for granting me the opportunity to explore a topic that is close to my heart. Showing me how to conduct research from an anthropological perspective has enriched this experience, allowing me to make it personal and reflecting on my own identity and belonging at the same time. Thank you to my friends and family for supporting me throughout the process. Special thanks to my climbing and library buddy Anne, for providing me with endless feedback, support and healthy snacks. For listening to my doubts and frustrations from beginning to the end. I want to express special gratitude to my girlfriend Marie-lou, for endless patience and understanding. Thank you for the tremendous motivation, empowerment and energy you give in order to pursue my goals. But most importantly, thank you for helping me to find my own belonging. Thank you to Jornt, for the good vibes between and after my long hours of screen time. I wish to make a gesture of respect to my grandparents, for watching over me from above, 公公、婆婆、我沒有忘記你們。I want to thank all my participants for opening up to me and sharing their experiences. Their narratives are a tribute to our collective heritage.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

Throughout time, Chinese immigrants in Western countries have been commonly stereotyped as ''quiet, non-confrontational and respectful of authority'' (Jess, 2017). However, stereotyping towards Chinese immigrants have also taken up more extreme, xenophobic forms. For example, Caldwell (1971) describes how Chinese immigrants in California, United States of America, turned from heroic labor migrants at their first arrival to a minority group scapegoat. In recent times, discrimination towards Chinese can still be observed, such as during the Covid-19 pandemic. As the Covid-19 virus was first detected in 2019 in Wuhan, China, the virus was promptly referred to as the ''Wuhan virus'', ''China virus'' or ''Chinese virus'' (Su et al., 2020). This discourse resulted in increased discrimination towards people of Chinese, and often Asian descent (Bhanot et al., 2021; Devakumar et al., 2020). However, this was responded to by the Asian community through protests in different Western countries led under the social media term #StopAsianHate. Young people with Asian heritage took part in these protests and made their voices heard. Based on this, it seems that the aforementioned stereotypes of Chinese immigrants as ''quiet'' and ''non-confrontational'' does not completely apply to the younger part of this immigrant group, and a more vocal and activist attitude has come to the surface. In this thesis, I aim to explore how second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands find their sense of belonging and shape their own identity within the Dutch society, where they for example experience increased discrimination during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Recent initiatives such as Asian Raisins, Stop AAPI (Asian American Pacific Islander) Hate and the Dutch documentary Hanky Panky Goodbye are examples of how people of Asian descent make this social issue known to the public. In a 2020 report about ''perceived discrimination in the Netherlands'' from the Social and Cultural planning office, a Dutch governmental institution, people with Chinese or Asian heritage were not included in the statistics (Andriessen et al., 2020), thereby not addressing this as a social issue. However, the publicly funded institute *Kennisplatform Integratie en Samenleven* (Knowledge Platform Integration and Living Together) does acknowledge increased discrimination towards people with Asian heritage since the Covid-19 pandemic and researched this phenomenon during the pandemic (2021). At the same time, the second-generation Chinese Dutch is labeled as the ''model minority'' stereotype, where they are described as ''not complaining, not creating any fuss and hard working'' (Roosendaal, 2004, as cited in Chow et al., 2008).

The Dutch society comprises of numerous cultures coexisting together as a result of the influx of immigrants who settled in the Netherlands. The offspring of these immigrants were born and raised in

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the Netherlands, forming what is known as the ''second-generation'' within migration studies. According to de Haas et al. (2019, p. 284), the second-generation refers to ''native-born persons with both parents foreign-born''. Growing up in a multicultural environment, the second-generation is often bilingual due to exposure to both the host society's culture and their home culture. This multifaceted upbringing of the second-generation can lead to complex forms of identity expression, construction and formation (Somerville, 2008). As the second-generation is still often associated as immigrants, this can trigger intricacy on their sense of belonging and identity shaping. As Hou et al. (2018) already argued, exclusion and experienced discrimination among immigrants leads to lower sense of belonging to the host country.

This study focuses on the second-generation of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. The choice of the Chinese community is due to the fact that they often are confronted with stereotypes. Secondly, I am from Chinese descent myself and I wish to explore how other second-generation Chinese Dutch shape their identity and find their sense of belonging within Dutch society. Moreover, since the migration of the first generation to the Netherlands is relatively recent, the second-generation can clearly be segregated from the first. Although the first Chinese immigrants arrived in the early 20th century (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2011), the majority migrated between 1970 and 1980 (Chinees Cultuurplein, 2022). This is in contrast to immigrants with post-colonial relations with the Netherlands or Non-Western labor immigrants who settled in the Netherlands shortly after World War II, in the 1950s (Prins, 1996). Learning the language of the host society has a close relationship with the socio-economic integration of immigrant groups (Zorlu & Hartog, 2018). The difference between the Chinese and Dutch language may present an obstacle for Chinese immigrants to become proficient in Dutch, which, in turn, could potentially affect the acculturation of the second-generation. This parental milieu, which is often in contrast to the Dutch culture, presents a unique and challenging setting for the second-generation to find their belonging and identity.

Gover et al. (2020) calls the phenomenon where immigrants are not completely accepted in a receiving society as ''othering'' and observed the increase of this during the Covid-19 pandemic. A relevant question to ask is to what extent the second-generation has been subjected to this and how it changes their self-identification and belonging. Self-exclusion, which entails a deliberate choice to detach oneself from a group because there is a low sense of belonging, can be a result of this ''othering''. This can also happen when there is a higher sentiment towards the home culture than to the host culture. Certainly, using the two #StopAsianHate protests, organized in Amsterdam in March and April, 2019, as a case study provides a valuable focal point for understanding the experiences of the second-generation Chinese immigrants. Analyzing the dominant presence of second-generation individuals at

these protests offers a unique lens through which to assess the impact of the pandemic on this specific group. This approach allows for a comprehensive exploration of the challenges faced by second-generation Chinese immigrants, shedding light on the effects of the pandemic on their sense of identity, belonging, and societal integration. By organizing together, they raise awareness to the problem and in such way claim their own space within society.

The concept of identity is widely covered in psychology literature and there is still active debate on its definition. In the most clear and concise way, identity answers the question of ''who am I?'', ''who are we?'' or ''who are you?'' (Schwartz et al., 2011; Weigert, 1986). As such, the concept of identity is about definitions, characteristics and meanings that one gives to itself, but also how one is perceived by others. Identity can be seen as something personal, but is also how people associate themselves with other groups such as, ethnicity, religion, language, sports, occupation and etcetera. As Verkuyten (2005, p. 12) describes identity, it ''is happening in a constantly changing global, national, and local context, identity is an always unfinished project and temporary state''. Therefore, identity can be considered as dynamic and subject to change over time. Belonging, on the other hand, ''can enable us to ask questions about belonging to 'what' rather than, as with identity, who an individual 'is' or who and what they 'identify with''' (Anthias, 2013). Also, as Korteweg (2017) describes it, a strong sense of belonging ''is marked by a deeply felt right to be here (red. the host society)''. Belonging is an essential aspect of identification and serves as a crucial guide in determining people's sense of affiliation to where and what they feel they are part of. Differences between Eastern and Western cultures have been researched extensively on how this results in specific cognitive behavior (Imada et al., 2013; Moriguchi et al., 2012; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004), thereby making it more significant to study a group that has been exposed to norms from both cultures. Second-generation individuals can use this exposure of both cultures to their advantage, but it can also be the cause of the conflict in their identity shaping and not knowing where to belong to.

1.2 Research objectives and research questions

The aim of this research is to explore how second-generation Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands find their sense of belonging and identify themselves within Dutch society.

The diversity of migration studies is extensive, but is often focused on the impact that immigration has on sending and receiving societies. However, this research is focused on individuals with a migrant background and the role that external factors have on their internalization of identity. Identity is highly personal but as people tend to identify themselves with specific groups, the possibility of group

identities such as ethnic minority groups, will also be considered. This importance is stressed by Verkuyten (2005, p. 64), explaining that ''identification establishes the link between the individual and the group. As soon as people identify with their group, that group becomes the basis for thinking, feeling and acting.''

Second-generation immigrants are a much more specified and often less researched group compared to the first-generation. Understanding how this specific group navigate themselves within society is of importance because they are part of the society. Moreover, it is a group looking for integration into society, to find their own belonging and oppose the current state of affairs, as seen in the organization of recent protests against Asian racism, inflicted by the Covid-19 pandemic. By protesting, this group seeks further integration into society and as such, it is also a form of claiming their own space. Protesting and speaking up are a manifestation of this generation's dissatisfaction and therefore also raises the question how they process their own self-identification. The way they identify themselves in society can be a result of how society positions them. The objective is to put the individual at the center and assess how self-identification and belonging is shaped. In order to do this, the following main research question is formulated:

1.3 Research question

How do second-generation Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands self-identify, organize and navigate their belonging in Dutch society?

In this study, self-identification and belonging of the research group are placed at the core. Even though identity is intangible, a person's identification to a certain group or culture can lead to behavioral change (Burke, 2006). In order to answer this question it is necessary to know what important elements play a role in their identity shaping and if applicable, to what kind of behavioral changes this leads. As argued by multiple scholars, identity can be fluid and the possibility that immigrants can have dual identities has been explored by Verkuyten et al. (2019), or ''hybrid identities'' (Stepick et al., 2011) has been coined in order to describe the non-fixed identities immigrants can have. These concepts seem applicable especially for second-generation immigrants, since they are more exposed to the host culture compared to the first-generation (Tang & Merrilees, 2021).

Certain factors can lead to the creation of self-identification, such as someone's upbringing. As second-generation immigrants are exposed to two cultures, the host society's culture and the home culture, they find themselves in a bicultural society. Acts of exclusion, such as the increased discrimination

towards Asian people since the Covid-19 pandemic can have major impacts on identification and is used as a case study in order to explore the impact this has had on the research group. To answer the main research question, the following sub questions have been formulated:

1.4 Sub questions

1. *In what ways do the host society and home culture play a role in belonging and identity shaping?*

In this case, the Netherlands is the host society of the second-generation immigrants. Acculturation into the host society's culture is an important aspect of this. The aim of this question is to find out to what extent they identify, if at all, as Dutch. Growing up in the Netherlands would mean they received education in the Netherlands and have been exposed to Dutch culture from a young age. Assimilation and acculturation are concepts that concentrate on the degree of how immigrants adapt and incorporate into the host society (Scholten et al., 2022, p. 11). These can prove to be valuable in order to detect elements and affiliations of Dutch identity in the research group.

Gaining an understanding of the extent to which the research group identifies with their home culture is crucial in order to comprehensively investigate the impact of both cultures in their upbringing. This will form as a basic understanding of which variables contribute to the formation of their identity. For example, Noels et al. (1996) have argued the necessity of language proficiency in order for immigrants to assimilate to the host society, but proficiency of their mother tongue must also be taken into account. Another example is the complex relationship between parent and child of Chinese immigrant families, that have been stressed by Lin et al., arguing the role of filial piety in immigrant families (2015). Transnationalism can also be part of the home culture, where contact and a network with the country of origin is maintained. This can often be observed with immigrant groups, such as the Turkish and the Moroccan community in the Netherlands, who often return to their country of origin during summer breaks.

2. *How is their identity and belonging in Dutch society affected when they are experiencing discrimination, such as the increased discrimination to Asian people during the Covid-19 pandemic?*

By recollecting participants' past experiences and how this has affected their self-identification, one can assess the impact this has had on individuals. Important experiences of exclusion in the host society must be remarked so that their sense of belonging in the society can be pinpointed. As a case example, the increased discrimination towards Asian people during the Covid-19 pandemic will be

utilized. It may be possible that some participants have not experienced this during the pandemic at all, and therefore it is necessary to stretch the retrospect over their whole life, assessing important events that have been of great impact on the participants.

Discrimination and exclusion can come in different forms. Besides of the Covid-19 example, other cases such as institutional discrimination or how Chinese people are portrayed in media can also be of importance. As described in the problem statement, the second-generation Chinese immigrants have become more vocal, thereby addressing the inequalities they face. Though this is a form of claiming a place in society, discrimination can still exclude people from which may result in a negative sense of belonging. As a result, one can identify with other groups where they attach to more, such as panethnic groups.

3. *How is the integration, identity and belonging of second-generation Chinese immigrants in Dutch society imagined in the future?*

The #StopAsianHate protests can be interpreted as a moment where second-generation Chinese immigrants organized themselves in order to publicly express their viewpoint. By participating in protests, individuals signify their belonging and active integration in society. This sub question opens up the opportunity to visualize the imagined future second-generation Chinese immigrants foresee for themselves in the Netherlands. It is relevant to understand their perspective on what societal changes are necessary in order to foster a greater sense of belonging. Moreover, it is worth exploring whether such form of integration leads to a stronger identification with Dutch society or another form of identification.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will elaborate on the existing and relevant literature, concepts and theories I will adopt during my research. Identity is a concept widely discussed and can be manifested in many ways. I aim to lay out the different sort of identities I find applicable in this research, but will start with a broad conceptualization on the meaning of identity. Similarly, the conceptualization of belonging is also discussed in greater detail. By gaining a precise understanding of the concepts, it becomes clear from which perspective I aim to approach my research. Furthermore, a description is provided on the different actors involved in a person's identity shaping, where I lay extra focus on during the research. Since second-generation Chinese are the target group, I believe integration is closely related to one's shaping of identity and sense of belonging. For that reason, I will apply the acculturation framework of Berry, which can help to understand the approach an individual adopts when integrating in society. The framework can also be a helpful to assess how society positions minority groups in a certain category.

2.2 Conceptualizing identity and its different forms

In social science literature, identity is often distinguished in different categories, such as social identity, ethnic identity, professional identity, gender identity and etcetera. According to Stryker & Burke et al. (1980 & 2009, as cited in Stets & Serpe 2013, p. 34), ''identity is a set of meanings attached to roles individuals occupy in the social structure, groups they identify with and belong to, and unique ways in which they see themselves''. It is possible to have different identities, because a person can identify oneself to certain groups, but a person can also be ascribed to certain identities by others. Buckingham (2008) argues that ''identity is something unique to each of us that we assume is more or less consistent over time. […] on the other hand, identity also implies a relationship with a broader collective or social group of some kind''. This is also supported by Jenkins' (2004, p. 5) description, arguing that ''identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us)''. Therefore, a careful distinction must be made between how a person identifies oneself, and how that person is being identified by others. The negotiability of identity can reach to far extents. For example, the possibility of some governments that allow their citizens to change their sex and name administratively, even though these identities have been ascribed to people from birth. This allows citizens to acquire new identities. As a result, one can conclude that identity is subject to change over time and is not fixed (Behtoui, 2021; Itzigsohn et al., 2005; Schwartz et al., 2011). Remembering that

identity is not fixed seems relevant for second-generation immigrants and this opens the possibility in the emergence of new identities, such as panethnic and hybrid identities.

Identification can be seen as a process that results in identity. It is the adaptation of other people's beliefs, values and standards as one's own (Verkuyten, 2005). Kartosen (2016) argues that ''at the core of identification lies the assumption that people are engaged in developing understandings and articulations of their self''. Self-identification is about the personal understandings of someone's own identity. In other words, this can be described as who someone thinks he or she is. An important aspect in this are the associations a person has towards other people and groups. However, this process also includes the learning of what is *not* part of someone's identity (Giddens, 1991). Ethnic self-identification appears to be of relevance in the context of immigrants, since being in a host society can complicate the question to what ethnicity they think they belong. On the notion of ethnicity, race and nationhood, Brubaker (2002, p. 174) argues this can ''exist only in and through our perceptions, interpretations, representations, categorizations and identifications. They are not things in the world, but perspectives on the world''. This is supported by Verkuyten (2005, p. 75), explaining that ''ethnicity has to do with a subjective belief in common origin, descent, and history''. This refers to the intangibility of ethnicity, but also identity and the actual imagined realities people create for themselves. Thus, when speaking of ethnic self-identification, it is about the level of association a person identifies to an ethnic group.

When researching young Asian Dutch and the formation of their panethnic culture through Asian popular culture, Kartosen (2016) used three cross-cutting aspects that together shape the concept of identification. The application of this concept is highly relevant, since it has previously been applied already by Kartosen in his research on second-generation Asians in the Netherlands. Unlike most identity theories, Kartosen's concept of identification has a focus on immigrants and values the importance of belonging when people are constructing their identity. It places the individual at the center and assumes the individual will identify with groups based on commonalities. Kartosen's concept of identification include ''three cross-cutting aspects: 1) self-categorization, 2) perception of commonality and 3) feelings of belonging''.

Self-categorization refers to ''a formal categorization of oneself as a member of a specific and well-articulated social category based on attributes such as gender, nationality or ethnicity'' (Kartosen, 2016, p. 25). Kartosen elaborates on this and states that this categorization can also be imagined and perceived, making it possible that a Chinese immigrant can self-categorize as Dutch, for example. An important remark must be made on the meaning of being ''Dutch'' and ''Chinese'' are given by

respondents, as this can have different meanings per person. Perception of commonality is about how an individual sees him- or herself in another person or group. In panethnicity, this can for example happen when language, music or physical appearances is the same or similar. Lastly, feelings of belonging refer to what group a person identifies with because he or she feels a sense of belonging to that group. As Kartosen describes, ''it requires an individual to construct the self as connected to, and part of, a collectivity based on shared attributes, and to see the self in terms of what the group is''. When covering all three aspects, it becomes clear that self-identification can only exist when there is (perceived) commonality and belonging to a group. Thus, if one of the aspects is ambiguous, a person does not identify completely with a certain group. However, Kartosen developed this concept based on the assumption that there would be a high level of panethnic affiliation towards Asian popular culture. In this research, the possibility that a person does not completely identify with one group is also taken into account. This can be an explanation on the development of certain concepts in identity theory that open up the possibilities that there can be more than one identity. This will be further discussed in the next paragraphs.

Without completely discarding the aforementioned concept of identification, the possibility that people do not solely identify with one group must be kept open. This in-betweenness, described by Fleischmann & Verkuyten (2016) as dual identity, multiple identification by Verkuyten et al. (2019), or hyphenated identities by Bélanger & Verkuyten (2010), all refer to immigrants who identify both with their home culture as well as with the host culture. While the greater part of immigrant studies focuses on assimilation, acculturation and i(Lieber et al., 2001; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990; Schwartz et al., 2006; Tang & Merrilees, 2021)al., 2006; Tang & Merrilees, 2021), these approaches imply that abandonment of one's home culture is the ''end goal'' and suggest a dichotomy between either identifying oneself with the home culture or host society. Self-identification, dual identity and hyphenated identities move away from this statement and put the focus on how immigrants actively negotiate and construct their identities. Another synonym is the term hybridity (Bhabba, 1994; Hutnyk, 2005; Stepick et al., 2011), referring to identities that are shaped based on the contact made with different cultures (Fay & Haydon, 2017). Being an immigrant can then also be used as an advantage, since one can strategically move between different identities.

2.3 Conceptualizing belonging

When speaking of identification, the (sense of) belonging is a vital component in this. The desire to belong and to be associated with a certain group is the social part of identity. When being part of a group, there is also group pressure and expectations to be met (Giddens, 1991). Examples are the way

one looks, behaves or what language is spoken. This can work two ways; a person meets certain requirements, thus feels a belonging to a group; or a group requires certain standards, thus a person acts accordingly. Verkuyten (2005, p. 68) argues that despite of these in-group expectations, people still ''want to attach themselves to someone or something, want to belong and feel at home in their world''. For immigrants, this need to belong to a group can even lead to broader group-identifications, such as panethnicity. According to Okamoto & Mora (2014), panethnicity is shaped by ''immigrant groups who have entered host societies with regional, national origin, and language differences and, over time, have come together''. It is a form of collective identification of different subgroups or tribes (Cristina Mora, 2017). Often, what brings them together is a shared culture because their ancestry is from the same regional area. Examples are Latino-Hispanics in the United States of America, where multiple nationalities from South-American countries share a collective identification that leads to an increased belonging to identify oneself as ''Latino/a''. Asian parties organized in the Netherlands are also a form of panethnicity, which are focused on and visited by people with an Asian heritage sharing their interests in Asian popular culture in which they feel they belong (Kartosen, 2016). Asian parties are an example of how belonging can be sought in spaces. Other examples are Chinese youth immigrants creating new social spaces where they connect with others, such as social media and playing video games online (Raffaetà et al., 2016). Kartosen also makes an important notion that belonging and identity are not always the same, based on the argument that attachment to cultural groups is not always linked to countries in a territorial sense. He concludes that ''one may culturally identify as Chinese and not Dutch, while at the same time feeling a sense of belonging in the Netherlands and not China''.

As identities can be hybrid, so does belonging. This underlines their interdependence, since identification towards a group is often accompanied by a strong sense of belonging. This hybridity was also observed by Raffaetà et al. (2016), whom during their research on young Chinese in Prato, Italy, concluded that there was a ''refusal to be categorized or pinned down, to insist on belonging as a dynamic practice rather than a fixed achievement, is reflected in these responses that elude stasis: feelings of belonging change according to time and space''. Time and space, as Raffaetà et al. describe, are highly influenced by acceptance levels towards Chinese immigrants by the local community. Additionally, discrimination towards immigrants can lead to a decreased sense of belonging to the host society and potentially result in ''reactive ethnicity'', referring to the attachment to one's home culture and active resistance to adaptation to the host culture due to exclusion caused by discrimination (Schwartz et al., 2010). Similarly, economic success and a sense of belonging to the host society are correlated, as higher levels of economic success tend to lead to a stronger sense of belonging, while poverty tends to result in a lower sense of belonging (Hou et al., 2018). Exclusion of a group can lead

to a feeling of non-belonging to any group, which is imaginable for immigrants who have given up some of their home culture values in order to integrate into a new host society (Anthias, 2002; (2017) Soto Saavedra et al., 2023). When they are then excluded from their host society, they find themselves in-between two cultures where they neither feel a strong sense of belonging to. Based on the literature, it can be concluded that belonging refers to what group and place a person feels attached to, therefore also coined by some as where people feel ''at home'' (Antonsich, 2010; Hou et al., 2018; Korteweg, 2017). It is therefore a more social dynamic practice, while identity seeks more the uniqueness of a person (Stets & Serpe, 2013). Perhaps this is best explained by Anthias (2013), who claims that ''belonging asks about 'to what' and 'with whom' you are a member, 'where' and 'by whom' you are accepted and you feel attached to, rather than who you are''. As a consequence, careful notion must be taken that even though they often contribute useful understanding to one another, identity and belonging are not the same.

As mentioned before, the formation of identity is highly influenced by external factors. It is therefore relevant to highlight the different actors who are of importance in identity formation of second-generation Chinese immigrants. Below follows a description of these actors whom can play a crucial role in the research.

2.4 Relevant actors

Firstly, the host society and its acceptance towards a minority group can play an important part of the sense of belonging of an individual. Obviously, the ''host society'' is a hard to define subject and thus deserves clarification. It is not possible to include everyone and everything from the host society, and neither should the Netherlands be seen as a homogeneous unity. It is rather a combination of social and political discourses towards (Chinese) immigrants, leading to a certain level of acceptance. For example, the reception of immigrants can be highly influenced by which political party has the majority in the government, and is subject to shift. But most importantly, the host society should be defined by how the researched group experiences their presence in the society. It is a matter of exposure and what is deemed to be of importance. There is the possibility that a few experiences of discrimination can already lead to a negative sense of belonging. Though it is a small event in the sense of time, it can be of high impact on the researched group.

The culture that the researched group is exposed to from their parents, is defined as the ''home culture''. A major part that distinguishes cultures are shared norms and values. When the norms and values from someone's home culture differ from the host society, it can lead to complications for a

person in which ones to prioritize. The more the two cultures differ from each other, the harder it can be for immigrants to integrate into the host society. In addition, Lou et al. (2020) have defined the correlation between language proficiency and integration of immigrants, but also addressed the mismatch between policymakers in language education and immigrants learning abilities and competencies. As the Chinese language is very distanced from Dutch, it can make it difficult for Chinese immigrants to master the Dutch language. This in turn can have consequences on the second-generation, since their home culture creates a barrier for them to integrate into the host society. The upbringing that second-generation Chinese enjoy is an important way of how they conceptualize the home culture. As their parents are the first point of reference in the home culture, the upbringing has a significant role in how meanings are given to the home culture.

The second-generation of Chinese immigrants is raised within two different cultures. Even though identity shaping is highly personal and each person does so differently, the fact that this group is bicultural therefore makes it even more interesting. The application of relevant theory can reveal more on how this process takes place at an individual level. The importance of the host society and home culture have been described above, but there might be more variables that are given importance by the researched individual. Indeed, through the perception of how the individual interprets the host society and home culture, one can better comprehend how the process of identification takes place. Therefore, an important actor to take into consideration is the individual self, where the sensemaking of one's identity and belonging takes place.

2.5 Integration

It is inevitable that immigrants come into contact with the culture and practices of the host society. This triggers a process, that has been described as ''acculturation'', meaning the ''culture change that results from continuous, first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups'' (Redfield et al., 1936, as cited in Berry, 1992). Acculturation can be manifested through different forms, based on acceptance from the host society, willingness to acculturate, but also the cultural differences can play a role. It is important for the wellbeing of individuals, since acculturation can foster positive social relations (J. W. Berry, 2005, p. 702). However, throughout this thesis, the term ''integration'' is adopted more frequently when referring to the engagement in the host society and its culture. Reason for this is because integration is the most common term used in the Netherlands when immigrants come in contact with the host society. It implies a certain amount of being part of society, but I believe integration is also the right term because second-generation Chinese are first exposed to their home

culture from their parents. Only later in life, they come in contact with the host society, and therefore need to integrate when engaging with the society.

Berry et al. (2017) uses the acculturation framework in order to understand how individuals seek to acculturate. It is a relevant theory that can help to understand the position and approaches adopted by participants when integrating into the host society. Four strategies are proposed, which depend on two variables; the degree they wish to maintain their heritage culture, and the degree they wish to have contact and engage with the host society. For example, a strong affiliation towards the host society and its culture make it plausible that the participant will also identify as such. Integration is therefore a useful asset in order to understand an individual's identity and belonging. As Berry et al. explain:

> *''Integration is the strategy when there is a desire to maintain heritage culture and identity and at the same time to engage with others outside the own group; assimilation is the strategy when there is little or no desire to maintain heritage culture and identity, and to engage (even merge into) the larger society; separation is the strategy when there is a strong desire to maintain heritage culture and identity, and to avoid engaging the larger society as much as possible; marginalization is the strategy when there is no desire to maintain heritage culture and identity, and also to avoid engaging with the larger society.''*

Through this framework, an understanding of participants' identity and belonging can take place. It is a strategy that each individual adopts for itself. By studying the driving factors such as family relations and acceptance from the host society, one can comprehend why a certain strategy is chosen. Push and pull factors from the external environment can play a role in the strategies adopted. Acculturation allows for individuals to develop their own identity between two cultures. According to Verkuyten (2005, p. 161), the Dutch population, as socially shared beliefs, prefers assimilation from ethnic minority groups in all domains of life. This is similar to Israeli discourse, where immigrants are placed under great pressure to assimilate (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2018, p. 237). This so called perceived assimilation pressure, is also seen in France, where there is a ''colorblind approach to the assimilation of newcomers'' (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022, p. 343). These instances show that assimilation is often seen as an end goal by host societies, expecting immigrants to become similar to the host society and disregard their own culture. In this thesis, Berry's acculturation framework therefore provides us with a useful lens through which a better understanding can arise on self-identity and sense of belonging of second-generation Chinese immigrants, paying particular attention to the intersection of the home culture and host society, and their navigation in it.
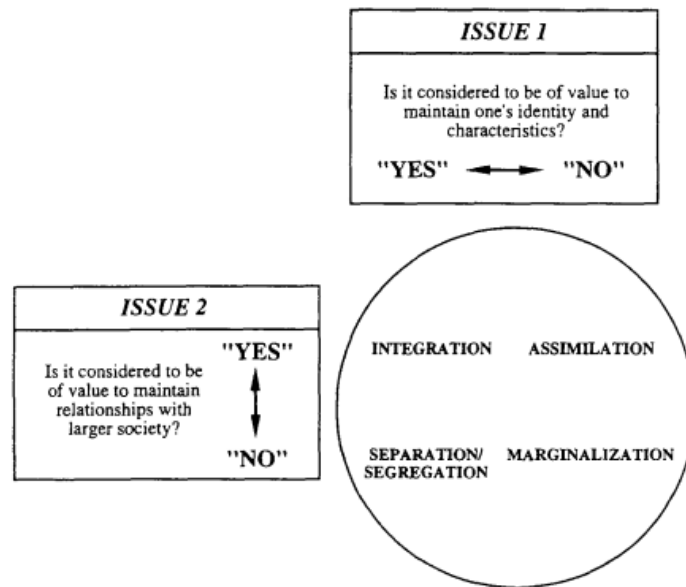
Figure 1: Berry's acculturation framework (1997)

With this thesis, I hope to make a contribution to the existing literature by applying different methods while researching the identity and belonging of my researched group. For example, by using Kartosen's (2016) three cross-cutting aspects on the concept of identification and Berry's (2017) acculturation framework interchangeably, I adopt a hybrid approach in assessing my data. The group of second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands has a relatively small size. Existing literature is therefore more often focused on more dominant minority groups, such as the aforementioned immigrant groups that settled in the Netherlands from post-colonial territories or due to labor migration. Furthermore, research on immigrants' identities has a large focus on first-generation immigrants and is often conducted with a quantitative approach in order to analyze statistics between host society and minority groups. With my research, I hope to make a contribution to the literature by researching a group that is underrepresented in academic research with the help of literature, concepts and theories that have been applied to other groups before.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research design and data collection

In order to answer the aforementioned research questions, a qualitative research methodology has been adopted. By employing a qualitative approach, a deeper and more comprehensive exploration was undertaken to gather data. This choice is particularly relevant to the research questions at hand, as they are aimed towards personal experiences of the participants. The research of identity and belonging requires a flexible approach, given that these concepts can have different forms of understanding for people. Qualitative research enables a personal approach and therefore provide the necessary flexibility to explore the diverse meanings that people attribute to their identity and sense of belonging. Furthermore, experiences of discrimination and racism may bear relevance to the research questions, a more personal approach could therefore lead to a more open attitude for participants to share such experiences, thus increasing the internal validity of the responses.

Data collection was conducted through semi-structured interviews with second-generation Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. Semi-structured interviews are favored as a data collection method when the research aims to gain insight into the individual participant's specific viewpoint, rather than seeking a generalized understanding of a phenomenon (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021). It allows for in-depth follow up questions and a flexible approach that makes the interview more personal. I have visited an event where I have done observations on the first- and second-generation Chinese. This was a funeral I attended of Mary van der Made-Yuen, who was the director and founder of Chinese school Kai Wah in Amsterdam. Numerous first- and second-generation individuals attended the funeral, in which afterwards was an informal reception. These observations enrich the data collection and is a valuable extension. When selecting participants, the ''snowball sampling'' method was applied in order to come in touch with other participants. This method is particularly useful when working with hard-to-reach populations. Therefore, the process involves building a sample through referrals of current participants (O'leary, 2004, p. 110). By asking the first round of participants for recommendations within their own social network of people who might be interested, a cumulative pool of potential participants was established.

An advantage of studying an immigrant population is the presence of organizations and networks that aim to connect individuals sharing the same culture and interests. Engaging with these organizations can provide valuable access to their networks and members. In particular, initiatives such as Yang's Voices Podcast and Asian Raisins, which focus on addressing Chinese/Asian discrimination in the

Netherlands, have the expertise that can be of great value for this thesis. Their input serves as a valuable complement to the data collection of the researched group. Data collection from these organizations was also done through the application of semi-structured interviews, since this seems most suitable for a flexible yet personal approach. All data collection was done in Dutch, which is a common language spoken by second-generation Chinese immigrants.

3.2 Data analysis

Interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees and afterwards transcribed and coded. Throughout interviews, notes were taken on topics considered to be of special importance. This allowed for the researcher to promptly reply on important topics that could lead to follow-up questions. Furthermore, remarkable observations were noted down. Transcription of recorded interviews was done as soon as possible, as the observations made during the interview could be incorporated accordingly. Observations, such as extended pauses or uncertain intonations, can provide valuable contextual information and were incorporated in the transcript. I therefore aimed to transcribe promptly after interviewing. Afterwards, coding was applied to all transcriptions, and from these codes the findings were written.

Interviews were conducted over a course of two months. Because of logistical reasons, some interviews were conducted online through Microsoft Teams. For easier reference, the researched group may be referred to as ''the second-generation'' or ''second-generation individuals'' in the findings. An overview of the participants is included in the appendix.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Interviewing is a qualitative research method that relies on building trust and confidence with the interviewee since participants share their personal experiences. Creating a safe and comfortable environment enables participants to feel at ease. One way I achieved this was to carefully select appropriate venues for the interviews. This was established by letting participants choose their preferred venue. To ensure confidentiality, data is processed anonymously, unless consent is specifically given. This was the case in the interviews with Yang's Voices Podcast and Asian Raisins. It is the responsibility of the researcher to inform participants about the objectives of the research and thereby preparing participants for the interview and avoiding any unexpected surprises. As part of informed consent, voluntary participation is deemed crucial and therefore consent was obtained beforehand. Research is done based on the Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (Algra

et al., 2018), which is applied by all universities in the Netherlands. Participants were given the option to receive a copy of the thesis.

3.4 Positionality

Positionality as a researcher is important to be aware of who you are as a researcher. As the author of this thesis, I must be transparent on my own background. As I am of Chinese descent, I have affiliations with the researched group. The main reason I chose this research topic is because I am sincerely interested in how other second-generation individuals shape their identity and belonging in the Netherlands. It is a topic that I am working on myself in daily life, and knowing I am not the only one, I am curious to hear other people's perspectives. I feel a strong connection to my home culture, and therefore I believe I am the right person to conduct this research. I can relate to the participants because to a large extent, we share the same life experiences. I believe participants are more inclined to open up and share their stories with me, as there can be a perception of commonality since I have the same cultural background, which can lead to mutual understandings. As I analyze the data and examine the research findings, I will actively seek to draw connections with my own personal experiences, aiming to offer an additional layer of examples from a realistic perspective. By doing so, I can make suitable comparisons between participants' experiences and my own. Moreover, this approach will enable me to explore potential variations in how other second-generation Chinese individuals navigate their sense of identity and belonging, and may make it easier to comprehend the entangled reasons of how and why these differences arise.

4. Family and host society pressures

''To flourish without losing your colors. That is the true essence of integration.''

- Mary van der Made-Yuen

The image illustrates the tiger mother type of parenting, adopted by many Chinese parents

4.1 Introduction

The quote at the start of this chapter is from Mary van der Made-Yuen. She was the director of the Chinese school Kai Wah in Amsterdam and was an important figure in the Chinese community in Amsterdam. She helped first-generation Chinese with integrating, and second-generation Chinese to learn Chinese. As a teacher, she valued education and helping others the most. In my early childhood, Mary taught me the basics in Chinese writing. I mostly remember her as a senior woman with a small posture, but with such fierceness and passion for educating the second-generation Chinese. In July 2023, she passed away at age 90. When I went to her funeral, I noticed the large amount of visitors. Among them were first-, second- and third- generation Chinese, and a significant amount of Dutch visitors. Through recollections shared at her funeral, I learned that Mary was a strong proponent that the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands would integrate into the host society. She believed that through acceptance of a new culture, one can find belonging in the Netherlands. The quote at the previous page is a message she wanted the priest to share with the audience at her funeral, and symbolizes the importance of embracing both the Chinese and Dutch culture. Her funeral was not traditionally Chinese, but kept simple and without flowers, as Mary resented flowers because they only have a short life span. Mary helped countless Chinese to find their belonging in the Netherlands without losing their cultural values.

Integration is ''when individuals maintain their culture and are able to accept and adapt to the host's cultures'' (Lee et al., 2010). Also, integration ''involves contact and ide(Lebedeva & Tatiana A., 2016)s'' (Lebedeva & Tatiana A., 2016). It is therefore the most appropriate term to adopt since participants inherit the home culture from their parents through their upbringing, and are exposed to the culture of the host society outside of their ethnic group. As discovered through my research, integration assumes a significant role in the construction of one's identity and belonging, because it enriches personal experiences and fosters positive relationships in the host society. Without any form of integration, immigrants would be isolated from their host society and as a result would find a hard time to find belonging in their new place of residence. Second-generation Chinese are automatically exposed to the host society in daily life, such as school, classmates and work. Through integration, the researched group can find a connection with the host society which can be beneficial for identity formation. According to Giuliani et al., (2018) ''positive adaptation outcomes imply that immigrants are able to navigate between their own heritage culture and the host culture and to integrate them''. The extent to these identities are largely influenced by integration, signifying the role it has on participants.

In this chapter, the goal is to answer my first sub question, which aims to explore to what extent the host society and home culture play a role in belonging and identity shaping. I elaborate on integration which was stimulated by parents, but also to what extent participants were expected to maintain the Chinese cultural identity and values. Hence, the first part is dedicated to their upbringing, parental expectations and the link towards integration. I have chosen to largely concentrate on integration, because the degree of integration is relevant in order to understand one's belonging and identity. The second part of this chapter explores how participants try to integrate into society while being confronted with stereotypes and discrimination from the same society. In this, it relates to the second sub question. In general, the aim of this chapter is to discover how second-generation Chinese navigate their own lives through pressures and expectations from their Chinese home culture, and from the host society. As this chapter is focused on integration, the next chapter is dedicated to identity and belonging, which can be understood better when having elaborated on integration first.

4.2 Integrating with parental expectations

Evidently, all participants were urged by their parents to integrate to some degree, albeit with noticeable differences in motivation. As observed with all participants, there was a high focus on excelling academically. The pursuit of excellence in school can serve as an explanation of the relatively high socio-economic status observed among Chinese immigrants (Gijsberts et al., 2011a). Children are taught to do well in school through which success in life is envisioned. This approach to parenting aligns with the phenomenon of the ''tiger mother'', characterized by ''mothers of Chinese (or other ethnic) origin who are highly controlling and authoritarian, denying their children free time, play dates, and extracurricular activities in order to drive them to high levels of success at any cost'' (Chua, 2011, as cited in Juang et al., 2013). Some scholars have now developed this concept towards ''tiger parenting'', and according to Juang et al., it has similar features to the tiger mother and this is described as ''overly high academic expectations and pressure to succeed, lack of open parent-child communication''. As economically driven immigrants, the first-generation knew the struggle of having financially limited resources. By performing well in school, it is believed that high positioned livelihoods can be obtained which will result in less financial burdens. Participant 13 recalls the following:

> *''It was always nurtured by my father. Yes, you have to study, if you study hard you will get a good job later and then you don't have to work as hard as dad. And I had cousins who were all doing well in school, from there I would also feel pressure. When the advice from school was for me to start in VWO, he was super super proud.''*

Family and host society pressures

I was introduced to participant 13 by participant 14. Unfortunately, planning the interview was obstructed several times and the only suitable option was to conduct the interview online. Her spouse is Australian and together they have two children, resulting in continuous redefining of their identities. Her children are raised with Dutch, Cantonese Chinese, and English language, since she finds it important they inherit their parents' cultural identities. However, she believes her children will most likely self-identify with the host society later in life, because she gears her parenting towards active engagement in the society. In the case of participant 13 her childhood, she was expected to study, obtain an occupation with high wages so she would not have to endure the hard work her father had to do. Her mother was responsible for the caretaking of her and her siblings, and she remembers her upbringing as very strict from the beginning.

I noticed how participants thought they integrated well into the host society as they linked high academic achievements and high positioned livelihoods with integration. In order to achieve this, active participation in society is believed to be necessary and therefore participants in general think that the second-generation Chinese is well integrated. High academic achievements does not directly mean there is integration towards the host society, but it does mean there is active participation in society. Participant 18 explains how it is inherent to Chinese culture to ''be productive and participate in society. You need to adjust to the bigger whole''. I can therefore understand why participants think they integrate well, because their parents did not only expect them to achieve the highest possible, but also to be meaningful to society. In order to understand the identity formation better, an attempt must be made to segregate integration, and parental expectations. By studying the parental expectations that second-generation Chinese experienced, I learned why participants were urged to integrate. An argument is coined by participant 15 and 8 respectively:

''What plays a role is the urge to proof yourself. Everything that you could not achieve as a parent, your children will have to achieve it for you, so that means the children get a lot of pressure.''

''They would really insist on that I would do my best. […] It was never enough, you always had to achieve the greatest, because my father did not want me to end up working in the restaurant. […] They want you to have a good job, good future and make a lot of money. And respect and status, that is something very Asian. For example, if you are not a doctor or astronaut, you're nothing.''

By attaining high results in school, second-generation individuals would meet their parents' expectations. The usual point of departure is that participants were expected to achieve the highest possible. A part of this expectation can also be to integrate, which can be explained through the aforementioned Chinese cultural believes that you must be ''productive and participate in society'' (participant 18). This is also partially explained in the last citation, by participant 8. In Chinese culture, status and pride have significant importance. By integrating into a new society, higher possibilities of achieving high positioned livelihoods is imagined and therefore, integration is associated as success. At times, I could observe that the parental expectations was not always to integrate, but rather to achieve the highest possible. Second-generation Chinese have to endure a great burden of parental pressure through these expectations (Gijsberts et al., 2011b). I discovered that this pressure leads to complex identity formation, since they have been pushed to participate in society, while it is also expected to maintain Chinese cultural values. The relationship with parents and their upbringing is an important facet in the identity formation of the participants. This is highlighted by participant 11:

''I've lived here my whole life, but I'd still say I am more Hong Kongese than Dutch. Because I was raised traditionally, I think I really am a Hong Kongese, even though I have few Chinese friends.''

I got in contact with participant 11 through participant 8, who have been acquainted with each other since Chinese school. Though the interview was conducted online through Microsoft Teams, he was very talkative and open to share his stories. Before starting the interview, he asked me many questions on how I look at my own identity and belonging. It was very welcoming and a pleasant way to get to know each other, also in a way that was related to the interview. Participant 11 had notions of critique on how his parents expected him to integrate, but realizes it was with good intentions. If he were to have children, he prefers to raise them traditionally Chinese, similar to his own upbringing. I noticed how much his upbringing has shaped him as the person he is today, and how he values his home culture.

When his grades for school were unsatisfactory, participant 11 was sent for additional coaching after regular school. As a child, he was not able to process all the extra classes and it turned out to be counterproductive. He described this behavior from Chinese parents as ''taking care of a plant by giving it too much water. Instead of growing, the plant drowns. This was purely out of love. They wanted me to have an advantage to my classmates in school by following extra classes''. This is an example where the parenting received does not result in better integration of the participant, even though the intention might have been so. Though his parents expected high academic achievements, he believed

this was not the right way to integrate. He discovered other second-generation Chinese around him did not speak Dutch that well, and noticed how it influenced his own Dutch language proficiency negatively. As a result, he decided to surround himself with more Dutch people in order to become more proficient in Dutch. By consciously assessing what would be best for his own integration, he made a deliberate choice to do it differently than how his parents had envisioned.

I came to realize participants would often talk about integration as in something that was measurable, such as their socio-economic status, education, occupation and etcetera. I observed this phenomenon also at times in literature (Day & Badou, 2019; Rijkschroeff, 1998). While these indicators do not guarantee actual integration in the sense of accepting and adapting to the host society's culture, I could see the meaning to integration was often given to indicate their willingness to participate in society. When I asked participants about how they think the second-generation Chinese is integrated, different meanings were given. For instance, participant 11 related integration with his command of the Dutch language, while participant 8 looked at the high numbers of interracial relations fellow second-generation Chinese have in her environment. Though these are indeed examples of integration, I have also observed instances where participants were not able to integrate freely and were faced with limitations because of their strict upbringing. Because of this, it was a barrier for some participants to explore their own identity, whether this would be Dutch or Chinese.

The authoritarian profile of tiger parenting leaves little room for discussion, and the limited freedom they experienced left little possibilities open for identity exploration. I did not detect much resistance was given towards their parents in their youth, which can be explained through filial piety. Filial piety is explained by Liem & Kwan (2000), it ''commands the younger in the family to be respectful and obedient to one's parents and other elderly members related to the family''. The family hierarchy is based on age and therefore, children must obey the authority of their parents. It aligns with collectivistic nature of Chinese culture, where family status and values are of importance. The well-being of the family is more important than the individual (Gijsberts et al., 2011a). This helps to comprehend tiger parenting, where little attention is given to personal well-being of the child, where Qin (2008) draws the correlation to the ''achievement/adjustment paradox'' second-generation Chinese are facing. As such, I noticed the development of personal identity formation was not prioritized by the participants' parents.

The authoritative nature of tiger parenting results in poor psychological and social well-being adjustment of children (Qin, 2008). After the interview, participant 2 explained how this has influenced his well-being and how he is facing his traumatic experiences now at age 47. I got to interview

participant 2 because he is the father of an acquaintance of mine. Though I met him once briefly, he was very open in sharing vivid memories of his childhood and his experiences as a second-generation individual. He invited me to conduct the interview at his home, where we had the time to talk freely about our experiences as second-generation Chinese. Though we have quite some difference in age, I could relate to his experiences since our upbringing shared many similarities. He told me he is confronting the traumatic parts of his upbringing by visiting a psychiatrist now, where he hopes to learn how to deal with the little affection and high expectations he experienced from his parents.

Participant 2 understands his parents' situation, but does accuse them of not integrating properly. With this, he was referring to his parents not adapting to Dutch norms and values in raising children. When he moved to Groningen to study, he felt relieved because the relationship with his parents felt suffocating. Because he never confronted his parents, he hopes to find inner peace now by attending therapy. Why participant 2, similar to other participants, never confronted his parents can be explained through the aforementioned filial piety, where it is expected to obey your parents. I discovered that among some participants, this obedience was at times exercised through domestic violence from their parents. I recognize this from my own upbringing, but was surprised to discover that other participants experienced the same. In these family dynamics, it is apparent that integration was not always a free choice for many participants, but could also be dictated if the parents would require so.

Strict parenting seems to be the norm, but it was not observed in all participants' upbringing, as participants 4, 9 and 14 experienced a lot of freedom in their childhood. It shows that generalizations cannot be made and each upbringing was different to one another. Again, by using the perspective of the tiger parenting phenomenon, it becomes clear that for the majority of participants their priorities were set on specific elements in the upbringing, resulting in a lack of development in other areas. This is highlighted by participant 2, who explains:

> *''Many parents of second-generation Chinese here, they knew poverty. And that is logical, that they say; 'well, my children are not going to suffer what I have suffered, so I want them to be successful in school in order to get a good job and a good salary and etcetera'. A nice car, a pretty car. But then you sacrifice a lot of things. And that is integrating socially.''*

As participant 2 stresses, integrating socially was lacking in his upbringing. This was not being promoted, and he has clear memories of how his freedom was restricted, resulting in less social contact with children of his age. Another example he gave was how Wednesday afternoons in the Netherlands is a free afternoon for primary school children. While all children would watch popular animated

cartoons on television, he had to spend his afternoons at Chinese school. Recordings were not possible and he recalls that he only experienced some animated cartoons through his imaginations and recollections from classmates who had to summarize what happened the next morning. Similar to all other participants who went to Chinese school, this was an expectation enforced by parents. As a result, the story of participant 2 can serve as an example how there was an obstacle for him to integrate because of his upbringing. While his parents expected him to integrate by doing well in school, he missed the social aspect of integrating. Furthermore, he critiques the Chinese parenting in a more general sense and highlights this is doomed to lead to friction in the host society:

"They (the second-generation) have become soldiers, because you (Chinese parents) shape them to become soldiers. They won't become leaders. Because what do leaders do? Leaders speak up and fight for their ideals. Soldiers are good to listen and obey. […] Because of their upbringing, they have been told; 'what you say, what your opinion is, it is not important. Our opinion is important and you should copy that.'"

As academic achievements are key to success for tiger parents, there is little focus on social skills. By belittling children in the household, a fear of developing these skills is created and the metaphor that tiger parenting creates obeying soldiers can then be understood. Many participants described the Chinese culture as "non-confrontational", and one way to do that is to remain in the background and not cause trouble. Participant 10 describes it as; "just work hard, remain in the background and don't make any fuss". Participant 7 described it as; "remain quiet and join the crowd, do not create a fuss. That is how my parents think, do not complicate it". Participant 6 describes it as; "remain modest and keep your problems to yourself". Participant 17 describes it as; "I also noticed I had trouble shaping my opinion in school. I didn't even know what that was. And I am still confronted with this at work". Participant 8 describes it as; "if I was walking on the street and someone yelled 'Ching Chang Chong', I keep my mouth shut and just walk on". All these instances describe the outcomes of their upbringing where they were taught to avoid conflict and remain in the background. Compared to my own upbringing, I can see similarities in the experiences of my participants. Whilst growing up, my parents were authoritative and would expect me to behave in the way they taught me. Any revolt would promptly be replied with more authority, where I would quickly learn it is best not to speak up. As a child, I then realized the easiest way was to avoid the conflict and do as was expected of me. This behavior is then duplicated in adulthood, which explains the non-confrontational nature of many second-generation Chinese.

The parents of participant 9 are of Chinese descent but lived in Indonesia before migrating to the Netherlands. I met participant 9 with the help of participant 2. They have been friends because they used to be neighbors and their children are about the same age. I was invited to his home since I could also interview his spouse, participant 10, afterwards. The mother and sister of participant 10 were also in the living room when I entered, and I was offered Hong Kong style milk tea. I learned the mother of participant 10 lives with them and was given compliments by her on the research I am doing. After a brief chat with everyone, I was able to start the interview. At first, I was uncertain if participant 9 would fit the research group because of his parents' migratory background in Indonesia, but when he explained he has more affiliations towards Chinese culture than to Indonesian culture, I was assured that his input could give a meaningful dynamic in my results. Though he identifies as Dutch, he notices how some of his characteristics can be explained through the Chinese culture that he was raised with. He described how a training program in his work is organized to help employees with a migrant background. He joined this program recently and realized his upbringing led to certain obstacles he was only discovering now, and he is facing challenges to separate his true self and the upbringing he enjoyed:

> *''I was not raised to get up on a high horse and brag, beat myself on the chest and to say I am the best […] I was raised with a certain amount of modesty, but at some point you need to make the switch, leave modesty behind and place yourself on the foreground. I have trouble asking for help and think I can solve issues by myself. This has positive and negative sides. Especially in the beginning, colleagues think it's great because they don't need to look after you. But when I'm facing a challenge above my capabilities, I'm too late with asking for help.''*

It was only through this program where participant 9 realized the effects of his upbringing. By reflecting deeply on his own personality, he discovered that some of his character traits were deeply rooted from his upbringing and formed an obstacle for him to integrate into Dutch work culture. Even though he enjoyed a liberal upbringing which resulted in his identification towards the host society, he discovered he still had trouble integrating the way he imagined. I recognize his yearning for answers, as I had moments in my life where I was questioning the same. I think these questions become especially pronounced when being confronted with certain shortcomings in society, and the readiness to self-reflect. Chinese parenting tends to have a large focus on satisfying parents' wishes, meaning there is little attention for development of certain soft skills, such as communication, creativity and emotional intelligence. While searching for identity and belonging, I came to the conclusion that these shortcomings only arise as such when interacting and integrating with the host society, articulating the

differences between our home culture and the host society. Another example where the upbringing can be seen as an obstacle for integration is shared by participant 17, who explains:

''My mother also said that we are Chinese, and that is why we do it like that. At one point, she demanded we would speak Cantonese with each other. Because we learned Dutch pretty quickly, my mother didn't speak Dutch that well and couldn't understand us anymore. So she said; 'at home we only speak Cantonese' […] it was very contradicting, because our father demanded us to learn Dutch. My sister had another Chinese girl in her class, and he specifically said not to sit next to her.''

I lived in Haarlem for a short period of time. During that time, I frequently visited the Chinese restaurant in the neighborhood and got acquainted with the owner. When I started my data collection, I asked the owner if she knew anyone who would be interested to participate in my research, and she introduced me to participant 17. Participant 17 is married to her Dutch spouse and they have two children. She invited me to conduct the interview at her home, since her two children were off from school due to the summer holiday. I noticed nothing in her house had notions of Chinese culture. During the interview, there were several moments we got distracted, but she was very patient to answer my questions in detail nonetheless. She aims to benefit from her bicultural environment and tries to raise her children in the best way possible, hoping that she can continue to assess objectively in what she wants to adopt from her own upbringing.

As participant 17 did not speak any Dutch on her first day at school because she only learned Cantonese Chinese at home, she had a disadvantage compared to her classmates. While her Dutch progressed rapidly since being exposed to the host society, she was later expected to only speak Cantonese at home. As her mother was mainly responsible for the daily parenting, participant 17 had to accompany her when she was visiting her Chinese friends. As they also had children her age, she played with them and the common language was Cantonese. While her father was trying to stimulate her and her sisters to integrate, she was being held back by her mother. What became apparent was that her mother did not spend much effort to integrate herself, and this reflected in the parenting she gave to participant 17. Her mother would still expect her to do well in secondary school, but also wanted her to continue with Chinese school, even though the study load became too much. It is therefore important to realize that the tiger parenting role her mother used was contradictive to her father's expectations and did not result in a more pleasant childhood. As this was not new to her, she taught herself the best ways to navigate in this environment and in the end was allowed to quit Chinese school by convincing her

father. Though tiger parenting can in some cases result in better integration, it has little focus on the self-esteem of children, as also argued by Wang et al. (2016) and Cheah et al. (2013). In the long term, low self-esteem can result in negative integration into the host society (Verkuyten, 1994). It is therefore important to realize that tiger parenting does not necessarily equal better integration of the second-generation.

The relation between upbringing and integration was also evident in participant 14, but then from the opposite direction. My mother introduced me to participant 14 as they have known each other for many years. Participant 14 is 53 years old and runs a small restaurant with her husband in Breda. My first thought was that she would have a strong Chinese identity because she is acquainted with my mother, but I soon realized she identifies much more as Dutch than I expected. As she discovered, her attachment to the host society's culture was due to how her parents looked at integration. As the youngest of three, she enjoyed much freedom and did not have many obligations, such as helping in her parents' restaurant or go to Chinese school. The aforementioned tiger parenting was not part of her upbringing. As she described, her parents were already misfits in the Chinese community, and felt a strong belonging to the Netherlands. A better understanding arises as participant 14 illustrates when her father was being interviewed about his identity in 1975 and asked when he would remigrate to Hong Kong:

> *''My father responded; 'why should I return? I am Dutch'. […] Now I understand why I always felt Dutch. I was five years old and if my father said this already at that time, then I have been very much raised with this mindset.''*

As this chapter so far has had a large focus on parental expectations, it is also relevant to highlight an example where there was less of it. As participant 14 experienced a childhood filled with freedom in a Dutch environment, her identity has been attuned to her own surrounding, namely Dutch. She was given the liberty to explore and integrate into the Dutch society. Furthermore, she and her family had little to no contact with other Chinese. Her parents had a Chinese restaurant, allowing them to interact with Dutch people. During her childhood, an absence of parental expectations could be observed, resulting in a firm Dutch identity. Through the acculturation framework from Berry et al. (2017), participant 14 would fit in the assimilation strategy, where complete assimilation towards the Dutch culture is observed and there is little or no desire to identify with her Chinese heritage. It shows the large scope of acculturation second-generation individuals find themselves in.

4.3 Navigating host society pressures

As second-generation immigrants, participants can develop strong connections to both Chinese and Dutch identities. Since identity is about one's own perception of being, this struggle becomes particularly pronounced when their physical appearance does not match the dominant appearance of the Dutch population. This mismatch can lead to feelings of difference and exclusion. In his book *De bananengeneratie* (The banana-generation), Wu (2019) discusses the impact of stereotypes and underrepresentation of Chinese in the media. The title in his book refers to second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands, a term used to describe individuals who (to some degree) identify culturally as Dutch but retain physical markers of their Chinese heritage, which can lead to feelings of leading dual lives due to the interplay of these two cultures. By looking at their personal experiences and perceptions, insights can be given in how participants personally negotiate and cope with these identity formations. The intersection of Dutch and Chinese identities, coupled with the physical appearance mismatch, can create feelings of being different or out of place. Participants have shared instances where they felt excluded, subjected to stereotypes and differential treatment based on their heritage. Historical biases, stereotypes, and lack of representation in media can contribute to a sense of not belonging. Amy, chairwoman of Asian Raisins, explains how this effects the second-generation:

> ''*What you see, is that a lot of people dissent from their Chinese part because it is weird or not cool. It just isn't seen as something positive, a lot of people in their youth want nothing more than to have blond hair and blue eyes and have the name Piet, for example […] you don't see any role models around you that look like you, I think it definitely influences how you shape your identity.*''

In her function as chairwoman of Asian Raisins, Amy seeks to create awareness among the public about the effects stereotyping has on second-generation Chinese and other South East Asian ethnicities in the Netherlands. According to Amy, stereotypes are the basis for discrimination towards minority groups. She thinks there is also a responsibility for the second-generation to confront the public discourse and not become the stereotypes they observe. Therefore, I argue the importance of media representation and how role models in media can support second-generation Chinese to shape their identity. Parents may also function as role models, but may not suffice in the context of the host society's culture if participants wish to integrate. As Amy describes, because of stereotypes and lack of role models, second-generation individuals do not want to look different than the dominant appearance of the Dutch population. Especially during childhood I noticed participants were confronted with this fact by other children. In order to create a better sense of belonging and increase the acceptance of the host society, I wanted to explore how stereotypes and a lack of representation

in mass media can be of influence. Among participants, a broader consciousness about stereotypes could be observed, and some were aware that the Chinese diaspora has a responsibility in breaking the common stereotypes of Chinese. Participant 8 imagines how staying in the Chinese community only emphasizes existing stereotypes:

''If you live up to the stereotypes and don't break free from it, you will keep them (the stereotypes) […] Our stereotype is our pitfall at the same time. People think you are intelligent or good in math. There are minority groups that often have a harder time being accepted compared to Asians.''

Participant 8 feels a strong sense of belonging to the host society, but embraces her home culture. She has a daughter and tries to pass on her home culture, but is also aware about the difficulty. Because her husband is Dutch, she hopes to empower her daughter by raising her with the best from both cultures and for that reason, does not want the Chinese diaspora to maintain current stereotypes. In her quote, participant 8 was talking about family relations and the consequences it may have when second-generation individuals take over their parents' restaurants. She warns that staying in the Chinese community and taking over parents' restaurants will result in the preservation of certain stereotypes. Nevertheless, she observes that the second-generation is doing well by analyzing the career choices being made, which are often different than their parents and thus sees the potential to break free from historical stereotypes.

It became clear that participant 8 believes that breaking the stigma of current stereotypes can lead to broader acceptance towards Chinese in the Netherlands. I could also observe this from other participants, where there was a tendency to lead the lives they imagine for themselves and therefore move away from the stereotypical images. Especially when having children, they want to combine the upbringing with Dutch and Chinese culture, consciously deciding what they believe is best from both cultures. However, when stereotypes are closely linked to culture, these may still be confirmed through the behavior of second-generation Chinese. Such as participant 15, admitting that she confirms the stereotype that Chinese work hard by doing the same at her current occupation, describing it as ''strong work ethics''. Nevertheless, she hopes that the host society does not see her as the stereotype but rather as the individual as she is. Participant 4 describes how he perceived representation of Chinese in the media when growing up:

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''There were just no good Chinese role models and if there were, then it would always be stereotypes. There were Bruce Lee, Jackie Chan, and that was it. There were just no role models I could look up to.''

I got in touch with participant 4 since he is the younger brother of an old classmate of mine in Chinese school. We met in a quiet café in Amsterdam, where we could have a casual conversation before starting the interview. We shared many similarities, such as the lack of role models while growing up and having to go to Chinese school because our parents demanded so. Being raised in Amsterdam, participant 4 was often surrounded with other cultures and therefore he thinks children did not pick on him in school. However, due to the lack of Chinese representation in the media, he did not have any role models to look up to which complicated the question of his identity. Media figures as role models for children is even more important than real life acquaintances (Duck, 1990). This highlights the relevance for this research even more and shows that influences from the host society reach to such extent that media also plays a role. It signifies that identity formation of Chinese Dutch is complex, because when participants cannot identify with role models in the media and rather only see stereotypes, it becomes difficult for them to shape their own identity.

As participant 4 elaborates, he was rather confronted with stereotypes of Chinese and through these portrayals, had to make sense of his own positioning in society since the stereotypes do not portray a positive image of Chinese but often is portrayed in a belittling and befooling way. Consequently, it becomes difficult to think of your own descent with pride and an aversion towards Chinese culture and identity can be the result. In daily life, I notice the lack of media representation of Chinese myself and can therefore understand the dilemma participant 4 was facing. Whilst growing up, I would then often turn to Hong Kong media in order to find commonality. This was at times also stimulated by my parents, since it was also the media they consumed. I noticed there were no role models for me in Chinese media either, since none of them had an immigrant background.

In my research, I noticed participants would often refer to ''the Chinese community'', entailing the group of Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands. While there is no such thing as one Chinese community in the Netherlands, participants would refer to this community in the light of other Chinese people they know and this could also include their own kin. This group was also at times metaphorically referred to as ''a bubble'' because it was seen as something protective and secluded. With many participants, I detected some sort of affiliations towards this community which might be best described as a ''safe haven'', a network where they can find belonging, recognition and support from others. However, participants were able to recognize that holding close relation towards the Chinese

community could complicate their integration. One insight from Oscar is shared, who hosts the Yang's Voices Podcast, aiming to give second-generation individuals a voice. His insight helps to understand why some individuals maintain close contact with the Chinese community:

> *''Belonging, for me, is that you feel at home in the Netherlands in the broadest sense. That is why I believe we (the second-generation) are not there yet. […] some Chinese Dutch don't feel belonging in the bigger society and that is why they are forced go to the Chinese community, to find their safe space.''*

From this angle, the complex position second-generation individuals can find themselves in becomes apparent and an explanation is given why some prefer to stay close to the community. It shows that feelings of not belonging can result in obstacles to integrate freely, and the less acceptance there is from the host society, the more likely individuals seek refuge and are, albeit metaphorically, pushed to their home culture. In the acculturation framework of Berry (1992), four strategies are proposed in levels of acculturation. Within the separation strategy, individuals of a minority group remain close to their home culture, without much interaction with the host society. In my research, I only detected that participant 18 preferred the separation strategy. For all others, I noticed a strong preference to integrate and participate in the host society to some degree. Based on my findings, I understand how this can also be induced by factors of non-acceptance from the host society, resulting in the feeling of non-belonging that Oscar refers to. I understand the argument from Oscar, since I recognize the feeling of non-belonging in the host society. Sometimes, I am confronted with subtle instances where people from the host society emphasize that I look different, such as approaching me in English instead of Dutch. Or when being questioned if I eat dog meat, because some people have the illusion that all people of Chinese descent do so. Being reminded of being different, it can be a salience for second-generation Chinese Dutch to have a Chinese community where they are not confronted with these instances. Nevertheless, other ethnic minorities face more serious acts of exclusion because of other stereotypes. This is also supported by participant 7, explaining:

> *''Chinese often face micro aggressions. It is not such overt racism as you see with people of Moroccan or Turkish descent.''*

In their research findings of experienced discrimination of East-Asian migrant groups in the Netherlands, Broekroelofs & Poerwoatmodjo (2021) discovered that some of the participants of the research group adopts different coping strategies, such as avoiding certain places and adaptation (try to behave ''Dutch'' and speak Dutch without an accent). Furthermore, they discovered that active

confrontation against discrimination was only applied by second-generation individuals in their research. A more extreme finding is that all of their participants are being confronted with negative comments on a weekly to monthly basis. In my data collection, I found similarities on the ground of the coping strategies, but by and large I did not detect discrimination on such high frequency. Discrimination was most often experienced in their childhood. As participant 6 and participant 15 describe respectively:

''I was in a class with only white children. [...] yes, you would notice that directly. And besides, children are just assholes, if I can say it like that. They bully you, especially when you look different compared to the rest of the class. It made me an easy scapegoat.''

About secondary school: *''It was an elite school, the whole school was white. For six years long I was the only student with a migrant background. [...] So if you didn't want to stand out, you're in bad luck, because you stand out for sure. [...] That was the first time I experienced discrimination. I had to repeat that school year. That year was very tough and I really isolated myself. I wasn't claiming my spot, rather the opposite.''*

These recollections are told in retrospect but are still clear memories that participants were able to describe in detail, showing their significance and the impact they had on their process of integration and well-being. The argument of looking different plays a role that led to these experiences. This is one of the challenges that second-generation individuals may face, no matter how well integrated, they can always be confronted with the fact that they ''look different''. I conducted the interview with participant 6 at his work in Utrecht. He reserved a quiet office so we would not be disturbed. During the interview, I noticed he experienced bullying at school and how this effected his perception on the host society later in life. Fortunately, he is positive about his working environment which helped him to accept his belonging in the host society. Participant 15 remembers how her primary school had children of other cultural backgrounds, but how this was not the case in secondary school. She described how students from her secondary school came from wealthy families and were raised more intellectually, resulting in her feeling disadvantaged towards the rest. Participant 15 elaborated on how she became an easy target as she not only looked different, but also had a different background. She does not experience discrimination to this extent in her adult life, but it did complicate her identity formation during adolescence. Participant 11 also faced difficulties in school because of his descent:

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''I can describe it better now, but I think I was not aware of it then that I was a target. And because I watched martial arts movies, I picked up some moves so I was able to defend myself […] Yes, I literally had to defend myself.''

Participant 11 shared his experiences in school in a casual manner, but the events show the severity of the matter. Only through defending himself physically, he was able to show other children in school he should be left in peace. Though he then did not realize he got in trouble because of his descent, he can now analyze it better. He explained how he wanted to integrate by not spending too much time with other second-generation Chinese, fearing this would influence his command of the Dutch language. I became aware that participant 11 had the desire to integrate, but did not always know how he could change the way he was perceived by the host society. He sometimes still faces discrimination through jokes about his ethnicity and physique, but it does not bother him too much anymore. He takes pride in his cultural background and is convinced that there will never be total acceptance from the host society and supports this by arguing; ''we may be raised here, but we will always be different''. From my own experience, I never experienced such accounts of discrimination as participant 11 did and therefore find it hard to relate to his arguments. However, I can imagine that when faced with these confrontations, the perception of one's identity becomes distanced to the host society, because participant 11 clearly felt he was not accepted as an equal human being.

It is because of these events that explains why second-generation Chinese can still feel affiliated towards the Chinese community. This in-betweenness can be the reason why participants identify with both cultures and an assimilation strategy was only detected with participant 1, 9 and 14. Amon participants, no signs of complete aversion towards the host society was detected and as mentioned earlier, most significant forms of discrimination were experienced during childhood. I did observe among participants that these past experiences created an awareness of their preferred surrounding, meaning their everyday life at work and the place they choose to live. Participant 5 for example, explained he prefers to live in a big city because he knows beforehand that in small villages, people are less open minded towards Chinese. I thought it was remarkable that I question the stereotypes he was facing, only to realize he also had clear prejudices towards the host society.

Participant 5 is an old colleague of mine. Because he is homosexual, I found it even more interesting to include him in my list of participants since he once told me he had a difficult time to announce this to his parents. Because his partner is also from Chinese descent, he believes living in an urban environment suits them best. By avoiding to live in small villages, he tries to create an environment in which he believes he faces the least amount of non-acceptance. A similar remark was made by

participant 10, who prefers the multicultural neighborhood she lives in because it makes it easier for her children to blend in, hoping they have an easier time navigating their own identity and belonging. She believes that it would have been different for them if they were to live in a small village as she experienced when she was growing up. When I was growing up, the number of children with an immigrant background in my environment was minimal, and I think this increased the attention I got because I looked different than other children. However, when studying in Amsterdam, this was significantly less because of the multicultural environment. I therefore understand why participants prefer to live in a more multicultural setting because it can be comforting to not be the only one with an immigrant background.

I noticed most participants were confronted with non-acceptance during childhood. It is important to mention that the Chinese diaspora in the Netherlands has a relative positive image among the Dutch population. In comparison to other minorities such as Moroccans and Polish, the Chinese group is viewed most positive (Gijsberts et al., 2011a, p. 162). This can best be understood through the lens of ''model minority'', referring to ''ethnic minorities who are more likely to attain higher success in academics, have a better economic advantage, family stability, and low crime involvement than other minority groups'' (Chou, 2008, as cited in (Lam & Vang, 2012, p. 1). It is a stereotype that was first linked to Asian immigrant groups in the United States, suggesting they are ''homogenous, intelligent, submissive to societal norms and emphasizes heavily in education and have been successful'' (Lam & Vang, 2012, p. 2), while Fong (2017) describes it as ''quiet, non-confrontational and respectful of authority''. According to Rijkschroeff (1998, p. 204), the phenomenon of model minority developed around the 1960s in order to describe Chinese-Americans, but he is concerned with the social issues concerning Chinese immigrants, such as discrimination, insufficient language proficiency and lack in education and skills. However, he emphasizes the distinction between the first- and second-generation, where the second-generation has overcome these issues to a large degree. Despite this, I still discovered a strong preference to avoid conflict. Through this behavior and the model minority stereotype, Chinese immigrants become an easy scapegoat in the host society.

Discrimination in later stages of participants' lives was often not prevalent. Arguments for this could be the aforementioned surrounding they place themselves in, but it also has to do about integration and adaptation to the Dutch environment. Participant 11 tells that ''the second-generation has been able to make so many steps because a lot of Chinese step out of their bubble. So I think the surrounding you place yourself in is an important factor''. However, it is never a given that discrimination does not take place when integrated well. To illustrate, participant 11 first mentioned he did not experience discrimination any longer, only some jokes about his descent occasionally. When I explained that

discrimination can also be manifested through jokes, he only then realized he was still being confronted with discrimination. Minimizing the impact and happening of these events can be related to their upbringing, where participants were taught to be non-confrontational and remain in the background. Nevertheless, the instances where participants were confronted with their ethnic and cultural background can best be described as ''othering'', where the ''foundation is constructed on the imbalance of power, as with much in the realm of oppressive and discriminatory behaviors. Essentially, ''ohtering'' can be understood as a social method of identifying individuals thought to be different from one's self or culture […] which creates an atmosphere of 'us' versus 'them''' (Epps & Furman, 2016). Through ''othering'', people with an immigrant background have a hard time finding belonging and total acceptance in the host society. Participants would face this kind of ''othering'' often in the form of comments from strangers. As participant 1, participant 9 and participant 13 describe respectively:

> When being seen as Chinese: *''That's interesting that people see me as such and count me in as a Chinese person, while I don't see myself as such […] at some point you kind of get used to it, which is also fucked, but that is how it goes.''*

> *''Every now and then when I'm cycling, I hear; 'hey, poepchinees', or that sort of things.''*

> *''Sometimes there's Dutch kids walking by, saying; 'ching chang chong'. But only kids do this, adults don't.''*

As seen from these instances, ''othering'' happens through comments and remarks participants hear from strangers. Participant 13, for example, is confronted by ''othering'' from children. Participant 2 finds a correlation between integration and the amount of ''othering'' one can face:

> *''I think it is about the command of the Dutch language […] it could be that people think; 'oh, it's a Chinese customer'. But then I talk back and then I also see from their expression and the way they reply; 'oke, it's a local.'''*

This is similar to the findings from Broekroelofsen & Poerwoatmodjo (2021), where participants overcompensate by behaving in an exemplary manner and speak Dutch without an accent in order to show they are well integrated. By integrating, participants believe they do not have to face discriminatory experiences any longer. Participant 2 elaborates that it is because he likes to conform himself to the society, and therefore he is friendly and helpful towards others. In his philosophy, I see

similarities in the description of the ''model minority''. I understand the willingness to conform to the model minority, because it is not the worst position to have in a society. However, when faced with these examples of ''othering'' and the second-generation accepts this without confronting the host society, it is likely to reoccur in the future. More inclusive experiences were also reported. For example, participant 4 is often asked to model for photoshoots from his employer, where his photos are being used on the company webpage in order to show they adopt an inclusive policy.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated the impact of tiger parenting on participants' integration experiences. Tiger parenting, characterized by strict emphasis on academic success, places immense pressure on individuals, potentially harming their self-esteem and hindering social integration. My data demonstrates that participants raised under tiger parenting often struggle with social integration due to its high focus on academic achievements. I discovered that parental attitudes toward integration, such as prioritizing cultural education over social interactions, further affect participants' ability to integrate into Dutch society. Furthermore, occasions of domestic violence was observed, revealing that resistance from second-generation individuals is limited due to the authoritative nature of tiger parenting. The upbringing of the second generation, emphasizing conflict avoidance and collectivism, also contributes to this response. Participants look at their own and fellow second-generation integration process as a success, but different meanings were given on the definition of integration. A distinction must be made, that participants wish to integrate, but not assimilate into the host society. They value their home culture and see a benefit in maintaining affiliation to both cultures. By fitting the profile of the ''model minority'', the second-generation tries to be part of society in a conforming way. However, the stereotype of model minority is also a barrier for complete acceptance and integration, leaving the second-generation with continuous negotiation with one's own identity and belonging. This makes the Chinese diaspora an easy scapegoat, as the Chinese culture entails avoiding conflict and maintain harmony.

In the remainder of this chapter, I have presented the pressures participants face from the host society. This is manifested in several ways, such as stereotyping, ''othering'' and discrimination. Underrepresentation in mass media is evident due to the absence of role models during their childhood, which may lead to lower self-esteem among second-generation individuals. Constant reminders emphasizing their difference compared to the general Dutch population can serve as a pushing factor for the second-generation to seek refuge and support from the Chinese community. Discrimination was experienced more often in school as a child, participants are now rather victims of

''othering'', which is expressed by strangers through negative comments or jokes. As participants do not want to cause trouble, they do not speak up to defend themselves. Rather, an adaptative strategy is applied where compliance is sought by behaving accordingly and speaking Dutch without an accent. Instead of facing direct confrontation, their preferred strategy is to avoid trouble, which is also seen in the environment they place themselves in. For example, by staying in a multicultural and urban environment, the general thought is that there is more acceptance towards them.

5. Identity and belonging

''A dog being raised by lions, is still a dog. It does not suddenly become a lion.''

- Participant 11

The illustration shows the fictional character Tarzan being surrounded by gorillas, a species he grew up with but soon is confronted with the fact that he is different from them.

5.1 Introduction

The quote from the previous page is from participant 11 and upon analyzing, it reminded me of the tale of Tarzan as I could detect resemblance. As Tarzan is raised by gorillas in the jungle, he behaves as such, since there is no human interaction. Though he is aware that he physically looks different than the others, it is the only reality he knows. Other apes think he is an odd one and treat him differently. A more prominent identity crisis develops when he meets Jane, falls in love and comes in touch with civilization. Similar to second-generation Chinese, Tarzan is eager to discover his identity and belonging. When applying participant 11's thought to the tale of Tarzan, participant 11 would argue Tarzan can never be a gorilla since he is born as a human.

As the first chapter was focused on integration, this chapter explores how participants navigate their identity and belonging. Results from the previous chapter are used in order to show how it has impacted identity formation and the sense of belonging. Identity is presented from the participants' perspective, and therefore is focused on their perception of being. However, one identity discussed is the ascribed identity, which concerns from the perspective of how others perceive and identify the researched group. This is done through detailed analysis of the data, where I highlighted important events on how participants were treated by other people. It is an identity that I present based on my own analyses, and not based on what participants self-identified with. As a result, I discuss five types of identities; hybrid identity, Dutch identity, Chinese identity, non-nation identity and ascribed identity. These are identities I discovered that were the most prominent throughout the scope of my participants, and admittedly not all of them were anticipated on throughout my literature review. Particularly the non-nation identity and ascribed identity became prominent when I was conducting my research. Nevertheless, I believe these types of identities can be found within other second-generation immigrant groups in the Netherlands, where the Chinese identity would then be replaced with another home culture. However, I am uncertain which identities will be most prevalent within other groups. As I argue in this chapter, second-generation Chinese conform to a large extent to the model minority stereotype. For most other immigrant groups, this stereotype is not applicable. For example, my participants did not feel marginalized by the host society, something that might be more prevalent among other ethnic groups.

Belonging is discussed at the end of the chapter. Along this topic, I will also include examples of non-belonging, referring to moments where participants felt they did not belong to a certain group or place. The phenomenon of non-belonging works antagonist to belonging, because it focuses on moments, places or groups where participants did not feel a sense of belonging. It can help to understand the

complete picture of an individual's sense of belonging. Identity and belonging are concepts that are included in all three sub questions. It will share most relevance to the first sub question, as the information of the previous chapter is utilized in order to come to an understanding of participants' identity and belonging.

5.2 Hybrid identity

Immigrants' identities have various concepts describing the bicultural exposures they experience, such as dual identity (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016), multiple identification (Verkuyten et al., 2019) or hyphenated identities (Bélanger & Verkuyten, 2010). However, ''the concept of hybridity emphasizes how subsequent migrant generations are often adept at mixing and borrowing cultural beliefs and practices'' (Raffaetà et al., 2016, p. 423). And as Raffaetà et al. continue, this hybridity is employed strategically. From all these different concepts, hybrid identity is the most appropriate term to use, since it also implies a certain amount of fluidity (Day & Badou, 2019). Participants who identified with a hybrid identity looked at their identity formation as a process and something that is not fixed. I believe this is due to the fact that there is attachment towards both cultures, but also an amount of indecisiveness that can play a role. As I experience myself, I prefer to self-identify as hybrid, since I remain with the question what my identity is. By being hybrid, I do not exclude one culture over the other.

When perceiving identity as a process, age can also be of importance, where adolescence is known for intense identity exploration (Kidwell & Dunham, 1995). For example, 46 year old participant 10 acknowledged her identity exploration was more at ease the older she gets. On the contrary, 18 year old participant 1 was more inconsistent in her identity, sharing that she feels less Dutch now compared to last year. I am acquainted with participant 1 because we are both member of the same climbing and mountaineering association in Wageningen. We got to sit outdoors whilst conducting the interview, making it a pleasant environment as it was my first interview. While she grew up, she was in close contact with the Chinese community because of her parents, which included going to Chinese school and playing with other children with a Chinese descent. However, as she reached adulthood and moved to Wageningen to study, she started to identify more as Dutch. Currently, she self-identifies predominantly as Dutch rather than Chinese, but she still finds herself doubting from time to time when she realizes she has characteristics of Chinese culture in her behavior.

With many participants, I tried asking them to ascribe a percentage to their Chinese and Dutch identities. It was a direct question and participants did not always have a prompt answer ready, but it

allowed for them to pinpoint to which culture they feel more attached to. In quite some instances, participants said ''50/50'' as an answer, which can best be described as the hybrid identity they like to place themselves in. As participant 5, 10 and 17 describe respectively:

> ''I find it hard to give it a ratio, but I think I'm half half and I can adapt to it whenever it suits me […] I don't have to exclusively choose the Dutch culture or the Chinese culture. I can combine it.''

> ''Now I am 46 years old I notice I am more at ease […] I am who I am, half half, and I think there are plenty of others just like me. So I don't want to choose one over the other.''

> ''I think my identity is 50/50, and I can be flexible in it.''

Before moving to Utrecht, participant 5 lived in Rotterdam where he had many friends from Chinese descent. When he moved to Utrecht, he realized the population in the city was not that diverse as in Rotterdam. He had to adjust his Chinese identity more towards his Dutch identity, also because he has many Dutch colleagues at work. He tries to combine both cultures and adapt to the situation at hand. For that reason, he describes his identity as both Chinese and Dutch. He does not want to exclude one identity from the other, because he finds strength in being both. I could see this was a practical example when hybrid identities are being deployed, and he found strength in his hybridity at work. If he would be confronted by his colleagues about his ethnic background, he shrugs it off and can make a joke about it. I could tell this would position him partly in a victim role, but by joking about it, he is able to balance this towards a nice relationship with his colleagues. He admitted his colleagues know clearly what is acceptable to say about his ethnic background and to what extent it is appreciated to make jokes about it, and I could tell this was a pleasant environment for him to work in.

Hybrid identities have a fluidity that is not fixed. Second-generation immigrants are exposed to two cultures and participants know how to utilize both in order to achieve the best results. Similar to a chameleon, they adapt to their surroundings. Whenever they are with Dutch colleagues for example, they utilize their Dutch identity. And when they are amongst family, their Chinese identity is more prevalent. This hybrid identity is also used abroad. Some participants used their Chinese identity when they visit China, and in this sense adapt their behavior more to local customs. Participant 6 saw his identity in a larger perspective and said his double nationality allowed him to legally be in other places in the world and was aware that this could be of influence how people would treat him based on his nationality. Participant 17 would for instance prefer to identify as Chinese on vacation when she sees

Dutch tourists behaving in extravagant manners. She also prefers her Chinese identity during social gatherings, where food is more central. She is happy that she can offer her children both perspectives, but is shocked to realize she sometimes copies her parents' behavior in parenting. Through constant reflection, she hopes to redefine her hybrid identity. Though shaped and influenced by many factors, it is clear that identity has a personal part and is partly acquired by the individual in question.

As described in the conceptual framework, pressure to assimilate can be a discourse and perceived as such by people with an immigrant background. This pressure is shared by participants, but they did not recognize this has made them to assimilate. Participants with a hybrid identity wanted to remain hybrid but also acknowledged it would be subject to shift to the Dutch culture. The reason for this is due to their surroundings and exposure to Dutch culture. They see it more as something natural that occurs since this is the flexibility that defines hybridity. Furthermore, participants were able to talk about their identity as it was something they claimed. Their whole lives, they had to navigate between two cultures. As adults, there now is the common believe that it is only righteous that they can choose their own identity. By acquiring one's identity, I could tell a large process beforehand has taken place.

Through the concept of identification (Kartosen, 2016), three cross-cutting aspects are included: 1) self-categorization, 2) perception of commonality and 3) feelings of belonging. In all cases, self-categorization implied an active choice in which group participants want to place them in. For hybrid identities, individuals seek to be associated with both cultures and therefore categorize themselves in both groups. Perception of commonality is closely related to self-categorization. ''An individual can perceive the self as sharing distinct attributes with another person or group. This requires an individual to see the self in others'' (Kartosen). From hybrid identities, this is explained through different surroundings participants engage themselves in. They are in close contact with Dutch and Chinese cultures, and therefore see a perception in commonality in both of them. Kartosen's third cross-cutting aspect on belonging is discussed at the end of this chapter. In relation to Berry's acculturation framework, the hybrid identity fits well in the integration strategy since both cultures are given meaning and coexist along each other.

5.3 Dutch identity

From participant 1, 9 and 14, strong affiliations were measured towards a Dutch identity. Relating this to Berry's acculturation framework, they would be positioned at the assimilation strategy. However, as they assimilated, it does not mean they had negative connotations towards Chinese culture. They still had meaningful family relations and participant 1 and 14 are still proficient in speaking Chinese.

Identity and belonging

Amoong all three participants, besides of family, there were no other Chinese in their network, which can also be the reason why there is no affiliation with Chinese culture. And as participant 14 describes:

> *''I really was raised like a kaaskop, knowing that I had dark hair. But I had blond hair, blue hair, all sorts of colors as a teenager. I've never felt different. It was an eyeopener for me there in Hong Kong that I really did not belong there, and I was grateful to be where I'm from.''*

Participant 14 was raised being the youngest of her two siblings whom were born and partly raised in Hong Kong, but she was born in Breda. After living in Asia for 14 years, she has now remigrated to the Netherlands and runs a modern restaurant and convenience store with her spouse. I was invited to their restaurant for conducting the interview. While I was waiting, participant 14 was occupied with helping customers, and I got the feeling people from the neighborhood thought of the place like a community center where you could come to have an informal chat with your friends. It was a pleasant environment and I could see participant 14 enjoyed being a host and small talking with her customers. When conducting the interview, we sat outside where she shared many details on her identity and belonging. She described how she had a much easier childhood being the youngest, as she did not have to help in her parents' restaurant like her older siblings. Also, high parental expectations were absent and she was free to develop her own identity. There was no tiger parenting, focusing on high academic achievements and controlling behavior from her parents. Lastly, I did not detect any non-acceptance she experienced from the host society. Participant 1 and 9 experienced the same sort of upbringing, both being the youngest at home and a lot of freedom to develop one's own identity. The Dutch identity of participant 14 was only reaffirmed when she went to Hong Kong for the first time at age 20. She recollects the following:

> *''My parents did not return for 30 years, for me it was the first time and we all thought it was terrible. We all had a culture shock, my mother had skin allergies and couldn't stand the warm climate. I thought everything was terrible, it was too crowded, too chaotic […] I saw old people begging on the street, old grannies cleaning tables at the McDonalds and I had a difficult time seeing this. It was a nasty society and maybe that's why I pushed my descent away.''*

Later in her life, she lived in Hong Kong and other Asian countries for a total of 14 years. When asked if this did not ignite a part of her Chinese identity, she explained it was the opposite. The longer she lived in Asia, the more she embraced her Dutch identity. Of all the Asian countries she has lived in, she thought Hong Kong was the worst. Only after meeting her Swiss husband who embraces Chinese culture more than she does, she became less resistant to her descent. Kartosen's (2016) concept of

identification can be applied again in order to understand her identification process. As self-categorization, she categorizes herself with the Dutch identity. This is her free choice, but decides that this suits her more. In her perception of commonality, she did not find much commonality with the local population in Hong Kong. As a result, she would actively look for Dutch people. When growing up, she did not have any contact with other Chinese besides her family. She found commonality with the Dutch people and also used to color her hair in order to look less Chinese.

Participant 9 has always identified as Dutch, but he has had questions in his life and sought answers. As he describes his identity and process:

> *''Currently, Dutch. It never has been different but I have wondered where I am actually from […] I made a trip to China alone. It was amazing, but there I came to the conclusion, I am also not Chinese besides my looks. This trip is what really shaped me. Yes, I have the right to that opinion, but practically speaking, I'm Dutch. This was my journey to came to that realization.''*

Because he does not speak Chinese, he argued he was not able to find perception of commonality when he traveled to China. He did enjoy it to be surrounded by people who physically have similar features, but could not find a connection with them and therefore does not self-categorize as such. As a child, he lived in Curaçao for a couple of years. Looking back, he thought of himself as a Dutch person, temporarily migrating to Curaçao. He believes his Dutch identity is shaped because he was surrounded by a lot of Dutch people when growing up. Though he has a lot of relatives, there never was any pressure to remain affiliated to Chinese culture. Because he was raised with a lot of freedom, he also did not inherit many cultural beliefs from them. His parents had a good command of the Dutch language and therefore only Dutch was spoken at home. His parents never shared much about the family history and their reasons to migrate. This, eventually, led to his own journey to China with the aim to explore his own ethnic background. During his travels, he came to the conclusion he is not Chinese and he can now confirm his Dutch identity. After the interview, he remembered a few facets that he incorporated from his upbringing that can be traced back to his home culture. Firstly, he values food and the culture around it and sees it as something that is shared with people around him. Secondly, he values close family relations, an example is his mother-in-law living with him. Lastly, he found respect towards people who are senior to you important and expects from his children to be compliant to his authority in the way he had to do so too when growing up.

Participant 1 was raised with more Chinese culture around her, had to go to Chinese school and her parents were close to the Chinese community. Later in her upbringing, she did not experience strict

parenting and besides from her direct family, was not in much contact with others from the Chinese community. She explains how she sometimes questions her Dutch identity:

''I did not realize there was such a strong Dutch culture, like eating a cheese sandwich for lunch. I sometimes do it, but I still prefer to have warm meals for lunch. Maybe I'm not that Dutch as I think I was [...] I think I'll only feel more Dutch because I live here and have my life here.''

Even though she identifies as Dutch, participant 1 admits she sometimes feels guilty she does not maintain her command of Chinese language. Similar to participant 9, she gives a lot of meaning to food and in that regard, questions her Dutch identity sometimes. However, as the majority of her relatives live in China, she never established a close relationship with them. Over the years, her mother became more oriented towards Dutch culture and identity, and this might also explain the meanings participant 1 gives to her Dutch identity. Some similarities between participants 1, 9 and 14 are pronounced, such as the lack of connection with other Chinese when growing up. It is not that they had an aversion towards people of Chinese descent, but they simply were not there in their surroundings. Furthermore, I noticed they were always the youngest in the household and did not face major parental expectations. Lastly, they did not experience serious acts of discrimination, and therefore pressures from the host society were low. I was also the youngest in the household when growing up, and I can confirm I enjoyed an easier upbringing than my older brother. He had to endure the highest expectations, and to some extent it was expected that he would watch over me. I can imagine how being the youngest in the household can result in lower affection towards the home culture, since there is less demand from parents to do so. This liberty is what gave participants 1, 9 and 14 the opportunity to explore their own identity as they wished and since they were dominantly surrounded by influences from the host society, they adapted their identity accordingly.

5.4 Chinese identity

Throughout all participants, there were two participants who identified as predominantly Chinese. Since 2019, participant 18 has been living in Beijing, China. His motivation was to discover if he could find more connection to the Chinese culture and migrated to China to start his bachelor program. In his first month, he was mainly observing the interaction and language used among students. Because he learned Mandarin Chinese from his parents, it was a different application of language when communicating with fellow students. After a month of observing, he engaged more with students and through this strategy, evolved his own command of Mandarin Chinese. After spending four years in China he now identifies as Chinese. I noticed he introduced himself with his Dutch and Chinese name,

signifying the meaning he gave to his Chinese identity. He elaborated on it by admitting he is redefining his own identity, and since he is feeling predominantly Chinese, prefers to include his Chinese name at introductions. All second-generation Chinese Dutch I know have a Western/English first name, followed with their Chinese name. Commonly, the Chinese name is not used in the host society. By introducing himself with his Chinese name, participant 18 is consciously tapping into the Chinese identity he was ascribed to at birth already.

Participant 18 is the older brother of participant 1. After interviewing participant 1, she suggested to introduce her brother to participate in my research. While participant 1 identifies as Dutch, her brother is the opposite. Participant 18 emphasizes that it was a voluntarily choice to live in China, and did not experience major push factors from the host society. He explains how he was closely raised with the Chinese community, with Chinese culture and practices, and how he felt closely connected to it. His upbringing is similar to participant 1, but as the older brother, I detected he had more responsibilities. For example, when their parents discovered his command of the Dutch language was lacking behind in school, he was only allowed to speak Dutch with her younger sister so that she would be better prepared prior to entering school. His parents expected him to do well in school, but he did not have a hard time meeting these demands as he never had to put much effort in studying. I noticed how he made a deliberate consideration of both Chinese and Dutch culture, and how he chose to explore the Chinese culture because he felt more connection to it. It also came to my attention that he had no negative experiences throughout his upbringing because he could easily meet his parents' expectations. It is in a complete different perspective than for example participant 2, who experienced his upbringing in a much more negative way. Participant 18 however, informed me he did not have negative experiences from his parents' upbringing or from the host society.

In the acculturation framework of Berry, participant 18 has adopted the ''separation strategy'', since the choice has been made to stay close to the home culture and move away from the host society. As Berry describes (1992), the separation strategy has a positive and a negative side, because there is preference for one culture over the other. Nevertheless, participant 18 still finds occasions where he can apply a more ''Dutch approach'' in some social settings. He does this by ''being stubborn'', meaning that in a discussion he can choose to hold tight to his arguments instead of pleasing others. In Chinese culture, it is generally more accepted to find consensus but by adopting a bit of stubbornness, he can move a discussion to his side without being too rude. Nevertheless, he never longs for connection to other Dutch people and admits he might even try to avoid them. As he has acquired the Chinese culture throughout the past four years, he identifies as such and finds most comfort among Chinese. When asked if he experienced a culture shock, he recalls he only experienced this when revisiting the

Netherlands after spending a period of two years in China. He recollects that he arrived at the customs in the airport, and forgot how to greet in Dutch. He was amazed at how he had assimilated to the Chinese culture and was astounded to realize that he had forgotten how to speak Dutch for a moment. I discovered that from the perspective of Berry's acculturation framework, he fits within the separation strategy. However, looking from the perspective of acculturation towards Chinese culture, he has adopted the ''assimilation strategy'' for he has abandoned the Dutch culture and has fully submerged himself in Chinese culture.

While integrating, participant 18 never experienced negative responses in China. Fellow students were rather curious about his background and so far has had a positive experience connecting with his home culture. His father remigrated to China, and he has many opportunities to visit his father and relatives during vacations. During the past four years, participant 18 has been able to build a solid transnational network, and will start his master degree this year. He realizes China is a big country, and sees a large difference between Beijing and his father's place of residence. He does feel a strong sense of belonging whenever he visits his father and relatives, but has an open attitude towards opportunities that can arise in the future. Compared to other participants, I discovered participant 18 has the strongest abilities to live and adapt in two cultures. Even though he identifies more with one than the other, he has experienced both and can easily acculturate to both.

Participant 11 self-identifies as Chinese/Hong Kongese. As he describes it:

> ''I don't have many Chinese friends, but it's in my blood and genes, I'm fully Chinese. I was raised very traditionally as Chinese Hong Kongese. That's just how I feel. […] We may be raised here, but we'll always be different.''

As I was conducting the interview, participant 11 stroke me as a well-integrated individual. He talked about integration as a crucial aspect of the second-generation. It therefore somehow surprised me that he self-identifies as Chinese. He gave much meaning to his upbringing and mentioned several times he was ''raised traditionally''. I noticed he encountered numerous examples of ''othering'' behavior in his life, though it has become less in adulthood. The case of participant 11 shows the long lasting impact ''othering'' can have on one's perception of self-identification. He does not think he is the only one who's different, he talks about the whole second-generation Chinese Dutch in his quote. Later in the interview, it became more obvious why he identifies as such through examples he gave. To illustrate, he was raised in a strict manner where domestic violence occurred. He does not completely discard this upbringing, since it has shaped him to be the person he is today. If he were to

be a parent, he admitted to incorporate notions of domestic violence too. He believes domestic violence can be important to teach children the boundaries of what is allowed. Another example is his way of thinking, where he acknowledged to apply Chinese working culture and ethics. I understand what he means with Chinese working ethics, which is characterized with respect to authority and hard work. However, only after my data analysis I can relate the experiences of participant 10, 13 and 14, who all have lived and worked in China for a period of time. All of them were horrified by the working culture, while all of their parents used to have Chinese restaurants and are somewhat familiar with Chinese working ethics from home. I therefore am uncertain how ''Chinese'' participant 11's actual working mentality is, and if it's not been adapted towards Dutch culture unconsciously.

Nevertheless, his self-identification is a reminder of an individual's ability to acquire an identity. It demonstrates the importance of Brubaker's (2002, p. 174) argument that identities ''exist only in and through our perceptions, interpretations, representations, categorizations and identifications. They are not things in the world, but perspectives on the world''. It is a claim he makes on his perception of self, where I noticed he takes pride in his cultural background. His frame of reference for the home culture is inherited from his parents through his upbringing. Through his own understanding of the culture, he identifies and also prefers to behave as such. I understand his self-identification, because the physical markers of his ethnic background distinguish him from the general population. Additionally, I recognize his belief that he will ''always be different''. This ongoing process of negotiation and adaptation is integral to the quest for one's societal belonging. The sentiment of being set apart becomes particularly pronounced when individuals encounter instances of discrimination. The non-acceptance participant 11 experiences ultimately leads him to algin more closely with his traditional upbringing, which he is most familiar with.

5.5 Non-nation identity

When starting my research, I was focused on exploring identities within the scope of cultural and ethnic identities. This was also my approach during the interviews, but was surprised when participants 7 and 15 did not identify with either and preferred to position their identities in a more personal manner. Participant 7 likes to think of her identity as:

> ''Not in the context of nationality or ethnicity, honestly. This is probably because I was part of a group in my student years and none of them were really occupied with this topic. [...] I think my identity is mostly subcultural and I identify most with alternative left-wing oriented people.''

I met participant 7 through a friend who asked around in her network for possible participants. For participant 7, her time as a student shaped her identity most, where she developed affiliations with subcultures. Being aware that she is Dutch in her behavior, she does not want to identify with a national culture. This can be explained through her social network, where her friends often do not give meaning to national identities. Rather, she likes to identify among subcultures, since her ethnicity is not of importance. For logistical purposes, I conducted the interview with participant 7 through Microsoft Teams, but nevertheless she was very open to share her identity formation. She explained how she always had an interest in arts. She did not receive support from her parents and therefore chose not to study arts. This was different with her younger sister, whom did receive support and eventually started to study arts. Nevertheless, participant 7 found a study that suited her interest and it was during this period that she found a network of people where she felt a sense of belonging, described by her as ''alternative subculture, focused on alternative music, and a bit activistic''. She knows she has notions of Dutch and Chinese culture, but does not recognize herself as such.

Participant 15 had a different reasoning for her non-nation identity. She explained how she experienced her adolescence and how this has impacted her identity formation:

> *''When I'm among Dutch people, I feel Chinese. But when I'm among Chinese people, I feel Dutch. So I didn't fit into any group. I could not identify myself as Chinese among Chinese, and among Dutch people, it was obvious I am not Dutch. Now, I am who I am and that is not defined as Chinese or Dutch.''*

At age 39, she reflects on her identity formation and was aware it has been an extensive process for her. Through constant negotiation and redefining of her identity, she has now come to the conclusion she belongs in the Netherlands, but does not want to identify with a national or ethnic identity. Through her extensive process, I could observe it is an identity she has acquired for herself, but it can also be seen as an ascribed identity. Because she has experienced moments of ''othering'' and non-belonging, she has a hard time to identify with either the home culture or the host society's. During her visit to Hong Kong, she came to the conclusion she does not belong there either, as she has acculturated to the Dutch culture and had a difficult time communicating with the local population. She is not surprised that she is confronted with identity negotiations as she questions the ''Chineseness'' of her parents. After living in the Netherlands for several decades, she thinks her parents' command of Chinese language has also decreased and they have acculturated to Dutch culture significantly. She believes they experienced the most severe ''cultural conflict'' as first-

generation immigrants and this has influenced her upbringing, automatically inheriting the challenges of living in two cultures.

In the examples of participant 7 and 15, I noticed they were content with their self-identification. However, when applying Kartosen's concept of identification (2016), the ''perception of commonality'' is hard to assess in their cases. Neither of the participants felt a strong enough connection to either their home culture or the host society, thus prefer not to identify with either. It is an identity they have acquired for themselves, but at the same has been shaped by how their identity has been ascribed by others, meaning the non-belonging, low level of acceptance and low perception of commonality experienced. At first, I was surprised to come across this description of self-identification in my results, but after thorough analysis it makes sense. I noticed how their affection towards both the home culture and host society was neutral, which explains why they do not identify with either. By not identifying with a culture, they have the liberty to be who they want to be, free of expectations to behave according to a specific culture. It is a phenomenon that can occur among second-generation individuals, as they find themselves in a bicultural environment.

When I try to assess their identity with Berry's acculturation framework (1997), they would fit into the marginalization strategy. According to Berry et al. (2017), marginalized individuals ''have the poorest outcomes, the lowest levels of life satisfaction and mental health, as well as social, economic and educational attainment and wellbeing''. The marginalized strategy refers to low identification and belonging towards both host society and home culture. My results do not show such extremes, and it must be emphasized that both participants were content and satisfied with their position in society. Also, the marginalized strategy assumes a low sense of belonging. However, in my research, both participants felt they do have a strong sense of belonging to the host society, but do not identify as such. To describe them as marginalized does not do justice on their individual journey towards their identity, focuses too much on identity being ascribed by others and does not accentuate the voluntary basis of their own acquired identity.

5.6 Ascribed identity

During my research, I discovered another form of identity. The ascribed identity was not recognized openly by my participants, but I could detect past events in their social surroundings were of great influence on their identity formation. Ascribed identity is when ''others disregard the achieved identity and continue to assign an identity through recognition to that individual'' (Palmer, 2007). The achieved identity has formerly been discussed as the ''acquired identity'', which is the identity individuals desire

to be, seek recognition for and claim to. Parental expectations, as discussed in the previous chapter, were at times demanding on the course of participants' lives. For example, when participant 7 announced to her parents she wanted to study arts, she did not receive any support and was urged to study something else. As I recognize, Chinese parents think of studying as a way to become financially secure later in life. Participant 7 eventually chose a different study, while her younger sister later did get support to study arts. It shows a significant life choice has been made based on how her parents expected her life should be. A more extreme example is from participant 16, who describes:

> *''Best example is music education, it was always a requirement at home. It was a requirement to play certain music from a young age. I studied at the conservatory, but that was not my free will.''*

His parents expected him to become a successful musician and dictated him to pursue a degree at the conservatory, while his desire was to study something else. Participant 16 explained how he did not want to become a musician, but nevertheless still finished his degree to satisfy his parents. For the host society, the Chinese diaspora may be seen as the successful model minority because of their high socio-economic status, which is another form of an ascribed identity. Especially looking at the second-generation Chinese Dutch, few are unemployed while many have studied a university degree and obtain a high position occupation (Gijsberts et al., 2011b). However, after interviewing participants, I discovered this ''success'' comes with great pressure. In the case of participant 16, he did not want to become a musician and later started a second bachelor program. It was his way to shape his own identity, but surprisingly he never confronted his parents that he resented the conservatory. Academic achievements hold a high priority for tiger parents, and therefore most participants had to go to Chinese school on Saturdays. This is also a form of ascribing the Chinese identity to the second-generation, as they are required to inherit the culture. Through this strict parenting, many participants acknowledged they (would) raise their own children differently.

Ascribed identity generally also happens from the host society, such as the aforementioned model minority. As the name of model minority already implies, the immigrant group is the minority compared to the dominant host society. I believe the phenomenon of the model minority distinguishes the Chinese diaspora from other immigrant groups, because it is a stereotype that impacts my research group in a specific way. For example, being a model minority may result in a lack of attention towards this minority group, since the public's perception is that there are no social issues to be addressed. As an outcome, it can be a forgotten group in policymaking and excluded from society (van Veen, 1999).

In the Netherlands, most research on identity formation of immigrant groups and its second-generations are focused on people from post-colonial territories (Bosma, 2012; Khusen, 2005; Verkuyten & Brug, 2002), Turkish (Vedder & Virta, 2005; Verkuyten, 1990) and Moroccan descent (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Ketner et al., 2004), which are the three largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2016). One distinguishing factor between these groups and the Chinese diaspora lies in the primary reasons for their migration to the host society. They were often motivated by (post-)colonial relationships or government-initiated labor migration. Consequently, these circumstances resulted to other specific stereotypes. For instance, *"de schoonmaakturk"* (the cleaning Turk) to describe people of Turkish descent who arrived in the Netherlands to do unskilled labor, or racist stereotypes towards people from colonial territories with a history of slavery. In contrast, the Chinese immigrant group arrived in smaller numbers, often via transnational connections and without government support (Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 74). Within this context, the Chinese community often provided mutual support, fostering resilience as they embarked on building new lives in the host society. As a result, the Chinese diaspora is known to be self-reliant which contributes to the stereotype of model minority. This sets them apart from stereotypes that other immigrant groups are facing, which can be explained through the different point of departure and position in society.

Paired with the passive behavior and non-confrontationality when problems arise, which is a typical characteristic from Chinese culture, the model minority is also the group that causes the least amount of trouble for the host society. For the second-generation Chinese Dutch, it seems they want to conform to the model minority by looking at their high socio-economic status, but I noticed my participants also realized the detrimental effects it can have. For example, when being confronted with stereotypes and discrimination, there seems to be a barrier to speak up and defend oneself. My participants are trying to overcome this, which can be recognized by their large ability for critical self-reflection. The question of identity and belonging is highly relevant to other immigrant groups, but the model minority is an extra dimension that is not applicable to all groups. Hence, I argue that the second-generation Chinese Dutch has notable differences and therefore my results cannot represent other minority groups. I can imagine how for example within Turkish and Moroccan communities, religion plays an important role which can result in a religious identity, something that is not applicable in my research.

From immigrant groups it is expected to either integrate, or in some cases, assimilate towards the host society (Verkuyten, 1994, p. 114). But when it is an immigrant group that is not desired by the host society, they may not be accepted and thus become marginalized. From my findings, and with support

of the model minority concept, it is evident that second-generation Chinese are not marginalized and the perception towards them is relatively positive. This is also concluded by Gijsberts et al. (2011a, p. 161), who researched the positive image the Chinese diaspora has in the Netherlands compared to other minority groups. Nevertheless, the dominant host society can exercise power over the minority group, thereby ascribing them towards a certain identity. As discussed in the previous chapter, participants experience stereotyping and ''othering'' in their lives, meaning they are frequently reminded that they are not the same. A concrete example is demonstrated by participant 11 who identified as Chinese. Through numerous cases of experiencing ''othering'', he is certain he will never be perceived as equal. Therefore, this feeling of non-acceptance has led him to turn towards his Chinese identity. The fact that some participants did not fully identify as Dutch, is also influenced by the fact that they are not always ascribed as such by the host society. During the Covid-19 pandemic, this was highlighted yet again, where the Chinese diaspora was confronted with more discrimination and as such, are ascribed an ''othering'' identity. This will be discussed in more detail in my last chapter.

5.7 Belonging

So far, I have discussed my findings on integration and the different identities I have come across where belonging has occasionally been mentioned. I will focus more on belonging in this part, since it is a meaningful component of identity and more importantly, where I discovered the researched group seemed to have less trouble in defining it. Nevertheless, for most participants, it was a turbulent process in order to derive to the point where they are today. Kartosen's third cross-cutting aspect of his concept of identification can be applied here, namely ''feelings of belonging'' (2016) . Together with his two other cross-cutting aspects, self-categorization and perception of commonality, which have been discussed in the former part of this chapter, it can be understood how an individual shapes his/her own identity. As seen in this context, belonging is an integral part of identification. Anthias (2013) explains that ''belonging asks about 'to what' and 'with whom' you are a member, 'where' and 'by whom' you are accepted and you feel attached to''. With this notion, it is possible that immigrants feel a strong sense of belonging in the host society (where), while still identifying with their home culture (with whom). My approach was more focused on discovering belonging in the Netherlands, or elsewhere. The question of ''where do you feel most at home?'' was often adopted, thereby questioning to what place they feel most comfortable and at ease. I will start with instances where participants felt little to strong sense of belonging towards their home culture and their parents' country of origin. As participant 16 describes:

Identity and belonging

"Even though I have family in Hong Kong, the Netherlands feels more like home. But there is always that little percentage where the Netherlands does not feel like home. I think more people of our generation think this way."

I was introduced to participant 16 by participant 3 and interviewed him online with Microsoft Teams. Unfortunately, the background noises of his surroundings made it hard to understand him and ask suitable follow up questions. Participant 16 is 33 years old and lives in Rotterdam, has two children and his spouse is also second-generation Chinese. Since he and his spouse have relatives in Hong Kong, they often spend vacations there and therefore have a strong transnational network. He does prefer to live in the Netherlands, describing his sense of belonging as 80%, since he can be close to his own parents and it is also the place where he has constructed his life. It is the place he knows best, but still he sometimes considers the possibility to live in China, or maybe somewhere else in Asia. Nevertheless, he is realistic and is content with feeling 80% belonging in the host society. He emphasizes that where he feels the strongest belonging to, he identifies with most. Because he has children now, he wants to raise them with the benefits of two cultures, thereby not preferring one over the other. Even though I have a strong sense of belonging to the host society too, I sometimes also imagine how it would be to live in Hong Kong, which always has a nostalgic feeling to it. As second-generation Chinese, I think there is always this bit of curiosity to discover, but the realization that the host society is the most familiar place is what keeps most of the second-generation in the host society. I understand the thought of participant 16 but also see the complicated barrier he faces to migrate now he has children. With participant 16, I did not detect any affiliations with other second-generation immigrants of Asian countries, which is similar to findings of all participants. The panethnic Asianness Kartosen (2016) researched in the Netherlands did not come to the surface through my results. Often, participants would mediate their identity between their home culture and the host society, where cultures from other Asian countries did not have a role to the extent that it would be part of their identity.

Another example of sense of belonging to China, is from participant 18. Since he has lived in China since age 18, he feels a strong sense of belonging to his home culture. His hybrid identity enabled him to consciously choose which culture he preferred most. His choice to move to China, was because he had positive experiences with education in Chinese. He enjoyed the hierarchy and respect towards teachers and imagined it would suit him better. When he started his bachelor program, he wanted to discover if he would truly find more positive sense of belonging in China. As I spoke to him, he seemed satisfied with his choice but would at times miss his family in the Netherlands. He did not miss the Netherlands as a country, but wants to keep his opportunities open for in the future. I realized his transnational network has empowered him, and he is now able to live and acculturate in two different

societies. I was also curious to know how he looked towards the second-generation Chinese Dutch in general, and to what level they still fit into Chine culture. As he observed, he thinks most of them are ''bananas'', implying the high level of acculturation towards the host society while still retaining physical markers of their ethnic background. Maybe this can also explain why participants felt a stronger sense of belonging to the host society, as this is the place they know best and have lived in their whole life. Another explanation why participants felt a strong sense of belonging to the host society, is through the constant negotiation and acculturation in their lives, they now feel it is only righteous to claim they belong. They did not have to do this for their home culture or their parents' place of birth, because they do not live there. Participants shared how they experienced visiting China, and the strong sense of not-belonging they experienced there seemed even more prevalent. An example is given by participant 10, who did an internship in Hong Kong. At first, she had a strong connection to Hong Kong and at first thought she belongs there, since she did not feel complete belonging in the Netherlands. She explains her internship as follows:

> ''It was a reality check to discover, how do I fit in this culture? At that moment I did discover it was not made for me, I really don't want to work there. It was fun for a few months, but life is tough there and then I realized I'm more Dutch than I thought I was […] They looked at me as a foreigner. Even worse, I was being discriminated there too.''

Though participant 10 shared instances where she faced discrimination in the host society, it seemed she endured it in more extreme forms during her time in Hong Kong. Colleagues would make comments on how she looked different, and how she behaves too Western. Apart from that, the working culture was different than she is used to, and she prefers the Dutch working culture over the Chinese. As second-generation Chinese, participants have a conceptualization of their home culture from what they know and have been exposed to, which is dominantly taught from their parents. Their frame of reference usually does not reach the extent where they can make a comparison between Dutch and Chinese working culture. Chinese culture can mean so much more and participant 10 experienced this in practice and learned that the Chinese working culture is not what she wants to identify with. She explains the host society feels like home for her now, and she wishes to remain because her two children are born and raised here. She explained how her Hong Kong identity card needs to be renewed, but she only does so in order to satisfy the wishes of her mother.

> ''I really don't have the need to return. I do it for her (her mother), she has done great effort so that me and my brother would get the ID card […] I'm married, have two children, if shit hits the fan I'm not going to flee on my own.''

Holding two nationalities is favored by more Chinese parents, which I have observed in my daily life also. In Hong Kong, it is more complicated to acquire an identity card when born elsewhere. To maintain the right to it, regular renewals every few years is required which can only be done physically. Among first-generation Chinese, holding onto their original nationality has both symbolic and practical reasons. It can serve as a backup plan, for when life in the Netherlands does not turn out to be as imagined. Therefore, they wish for their children to preserve their Chinese nationality. In the case of participant 10, she holds onto it to satisfy her mother's wishes, but does not feel the longing to belong in Hong Kong. She is content with her situation at present, surrounded in a multicultural environment which she thinks is safe for her children. She is aware that this might be different if they were to live in a small rural town, and therefore prefers to live in an urban and multicultural environment. Though she feels a strong sense of belonging to the host society, she does not identify fully as such and neither does she wishes to. She described her identity as ''50/50'', because she does not want to choose one over the other. It is a relative example that belonging and identity can be different to each other.

This is more apparent from participant 11, who describes his identity as Hong Kongese because he was raised ''traditionally'', meaning with Chinese culture and values. Still, he feels a strong sense of belonging to the host society because this is where he was raised and formed his whole life. When I questioned his Dutch identity, he would stress that no matter what, he is different. This is where the quote at the start of this chapter was from:

''A dog being raised by lions, is still a dog. It does not suddenly become a lion.''

He meant to describe that even if he was raised by Dutch parents, where he would still retain physical markers of his ethnic background and therefore remain different. It shows his belief that no matter to what degree he integrates to the host society, he would still be different. Yet again, this is an example where the influences from the host society impact an individual to such extent that their belonging and identity are manifested in opposite directions. In the case of participant 11, he feels different because his perception is that he is seen as different. I comprehend the difficulties, since participant 11 shared the negative experiences he was confronted with during childhood, but find it surprising how large the impact is on his adult life. I noticed how he takes pride in his Chinese identity and is able to embrace his physical markers from his ethnic background. Since he could not find acceptance and was faced with ''othering'', he identifies as Chinese. However, he feels a strong sense of belonging to the host society because his family lives here and it is the place he is most familiar with. Through claiming his place through belonging, he shows he is part of the host society even though not

identifying as such. I find this a strong argument to show that he does not let himself be marginalized and a creative way to still be part of the society without the desire to identify as such.

The amount of acceptance from the host society perceived by the individual seems to have a long lasting impact on participants' belonging. Participant 14, for example, always had identified as Dutch, but has lived abroad for many years to discover if she could find belonging elsewhere. After 14 years of living abroad, it was her spouse who convinced her to return to the Netherlands. Around 6 years after returning to the Netherlands, she can happily say her belonging is now congruent with her Dutch identity. She lives close to her mother, close to where she grew up and has her own restaurant in the same street as where her parents had their restaurant. Different to participant 11, she did not face any discrimination or ''othering'' while growing up. Also, she enjoyed much freedom from her parents while growing up. In a place where she feels accepted, it is a logical explanation that she found her belonging in the host society after all.

To finalize, some participants question the sense of belonging of their parents, noticing they have acculturated to the host society significantly. In the case of participant 1 and 18, who are siblings, their mother lives in the Netherlands, and their father lives in China. Throughout the interview of participant 18, it became clear that their mother preferred to acculturate more towards the host society, while their father missed the home culture too much and had the desire to remigrate. In this situation, they had different influences from each parent, giving them easier access and opportunities to explore both cultures. A similar observation was made with participant 14, describing that her parents never had the idea to remigrate, and found their belonging in the Netherlands many years ago. They had little contact with the Chinese community and as participant 14 describes, ''Chinese people think my parents are weird and don't understand them''. The second-generation finds itself in a position where there is the luxury to choose between two cultures, but it might also inflict confusion in sensemaking of what place and culture to belong to. I did not detect much resistance towards one's own home culture among participants, but there is the willingness to be different than the first-generation, explained through the hybrid identity formations most participants embrace.

5.8 Conclusion

I discovered five types of identities among my participants, namely the hybrid identity, Dutch identity, Chinese identity, non-nation identity and ascribed identities. The diversity of them highlights the wide range of possibilities second-generation Chinese can identify with. A hybrid identity implies identification with both Dutch and Chinese, where participants do not want to choose one over the

other. The hybridity allows them to remain flexible, adapt to the situation at hand, and adopt what they believe is valuable. Participants use their hybrid identity strategically, depending on the situation, both domestically and abroad. A dominantly Dutch identity was claimed by three participants. All three participants share commonalities, including limited contact with others from the Chinese community during their upbringing, being the youngest in their households, and experiencing relatively low pressures from the host society.

Two participants showed the complete opposite within the scope of identity, and described their identity as Chinese. Two sorts of identities were discussed which I did not expect at the start of my research and illustrates the limitation of the predefined categories offered by my literature review, namely the non-nation identity and the ascribed identity. Two participants did not wish to identify with a nation, ethnicity, or culture. Both participants struggled to find a strong perception of commonality with either their home culture or the host society, which can be distinguished as the marginalization strategy from Berry's acculturation framework. In the course of my research, the concept of ascribed identity emerged to be of importance. None of the participants described their identity as such, but through extensive analysis I can observe instances where their identities were ascribed to by their social surroundings. Through stereotyping, the model minority and ''othering'', the second-generation is reminded that they are a minority and therefore different compared to the host society's culture.

The discussion of belonging centers around Kartosen's third aspect of identification, ''feelings of belonging''. Belonging is presented as an integral part of identity formation, focusing on membership, acceptance, and attachment to specific groups or places. The role of acceptance from the host society is highlighted as a crucial factor influencing participants' sense of belonging. Some participants faced discrimination and "othering" both in the host society and in their parents' country of origin, impacting their feelings of belonging. I did not detect strong affiliations towards a panethnic culture, where connection with other Asian immigrant groups is sought. Much analysis has been done on how my participants shaped their identity and belonging, and I noticed much reference was made to their parents. Lastly, I argue identity and belonging are not always symmetric to each other. Throughout my research, I discovered participants could feel a sense of belonging to a certain place, but identify with a different culture.

6. Covid-19 and the future

''We never really spoke up, so I think it was good that we finally did with the protest.''

- Participant 10

The illustration shows participants at the #StopAsianHate protest in Amsterdam, 2021

6.1 Introduction

While the quote from participant 10 praises the participants of the #StopAsianHate protests for speaking up, the image ironically shows a group of participants quietly protesting with self-made signs. On the day of the protest, it was raining and the number of people allowed to demonstrate was limited due to the restrictions imposed by the government. During the protests, participants remained distanced to each other and the mouth masks they wore resulted in a quiet protest. This gives the photos afterwards a dramatic and serious atmosphere, making it look different compared to other mass protests.

In this last chapter, I focus mainly on the Covid-19 pandemic and the imagined future of the second-generation. During the Covid-19 pandemic, more discrimination towards people of Chinese and East-Asian descent was reported (Fiere & van Bon, 2020). The pandemic is used as an example where the Chinese diaspora faced discrimination and ''othering'' from the host society. From the previous findings discussed, I explore how participants navigate their identity and belonging, where a large focus was on their daily interaction with their home culture and host society. The aim is to explore how the pandemic has affected their identity and belonging in the host society. Furthermore, I want to discover how the researched group imagines their own future and the future of the second-generation in general. As a group that has been born and raised in the host society, I am curious to know how they predict their own identity and belonging. To allow for more creative imagination, I often phrased the questions concerning the third-generation. Some participants have children, which allowed for a more realistic dialogue. This chapter is focused to answer my second and third sub question.

I interviewed two organizations that aim to increase Chinese media representation and combat discrimination against the Chinese, and also East-Asian diaspora. Asian Raisins is an organization formed at the peak of the pandemic. Until present, they are still fighting for the same cause, but have grown significantly and now have become an active negotiation and lobbying partner to governmental institutions. Yang's Voices Podcast is hosted by Oscar and he invites guests in order to interview them in an informal way. These two organizations are in close contact with the Chinese community, and can help to understand what is done from the community to become part of the host society, and how resistance is exercised to claim a place in society.

6.2 Covid-19 and the aftermath

During my data collection process, I observed that the participants faced very little discrimination during the Covid-19 pandemic. This could be due to the fact that all of the participants reside in

culturally diverse cities, where there is a higher level of acceptance and familiarity with people from other cultures. Despite this, the participants expressed strong support and solidarity towards the #StopAsianHate protest, but did not take much practical action. The #StopAsianHate movement originates from the United States of America (Lyu et al., 2023), where more extreme forms of hate towards people of Asian descent occurred, which was also inflicted by politicians (Gover et al., 2020; Stop AAPI Hate, 2022). The urge for my participants to join the protest was low due to the fact that they perceived minimal change in their circumstances compared to the pre-pandemic period. Additionally, the overall increased discrimination in the Netherlands was less critical than in the United States of America, diminishing the urge to speak up. Two #StopAsianHate protests were organized on the Museum square of Amsterdam in March and April 2021. The direct reason for the first protest was inflicted by the terrorist attack directed towards people of Asian descent in Atlanta, United States of America, resulting in 8 casualties (Martine Kamara & van Dalsum, 2021). The protest got a lot of media attention because people of Asian descent do not often organize protests. Participant 16 shared his perception on the #StopAsianHate protest, which is as follows:

"I was somehow surprised it happened (the #StopAsianHate protests), because we tend to stay in the background. I was surprised, but think it's good they speak up. But I didn't feel the need and didn't feel compelled to participate myself."

Participant 16 did not experience any negative behavior towards him during the pandemic. This finding is consistent with many other participants that I interviewed. It may explain why they did not join the protest or participate in discussions in general, as they do not see themselves as victims. However, as participant 16 mentioned, the Chinese community tends to stay in the background, and I believe this behavior can be observed in my participants as well. Most participants preferred to avoid conflicts, remain in the background, and conform to the requirements of the host society. When examining Berry's acculturation framework, the majority of the participants fit into the "integration strategy" and the "assimilation strategy". These strategies seek harmony with the host society, making it controversial to exercise resistance. The accumulation of these strategies, along with the aforementioned arguments, can explain why participants did not participate in the public debate against discrimination towards the Chinese community. In previous chapters, I explained how participants prefer to position themselves in environments where they feel safest and where they can find the most acceptance from the host society. I observed how this safe environment for some is where they positioned themselves during the pandemic. For example, participant 5 recounts:

''I did not experience discrimination during the pandemic. The reason why is because I rarely left my home, and then I'm not confronted with these things. And secondly, I was able to work from home, still with the same people.''

Due to the government's imposed restrictions on movements at the time, it was strongly advised to stay at home as much as possible. Participant 5's experience highlights that staying at home reduces the chances of facing discrimination as there is less exposure to society. Participant 5 also mentioned that he limited his social circle to his colleagues. I had a similar experience during the pandemic where I did not experience an increase in discriminatory behavior towards me. However, identical to participant 5, I also remained indoors as much as possible and tried to do as much as possible from home. I tried to do groceries outside of peak hours in order to avoid contact with others. These were all measurements that were in line with the government's advisories, but it also reduced my chances of being confronted to discrimination. When I asked how it was for participant 5 to travel by public transport, he acknowledged he did not take public transport at that time due to the fear of contracting the virus. Similarly, participant 2 had a comparable experience that can be used as a relevant example:

''At the time of the lockdown I was still living in the city center of Amsterdam. Especially the city center is multicultural and the city takes its pride in that regard. You don't see people look up if there are colored people on the street.''

Again, this serves as an example of how one individual was able to maintain a sense of safety and comfort within his environment. Specifically, Participant 2 acknowledged that he was not subjected to discrimination while living in the city center and was able to blend in with his surroundings. He did note, however, that due to the pandemic, the second-generation of immigrants has become more vocal and confrontational. Although he sympathizes with the #StopAsianHate protests, participant 2 believes that it is up to each individual to decide how much they want to be involved in it. For himself, he did not feel compelled to join this movement because he believes that the second-generation needs to show their very best on a daily basis in order to achieve acceptance. He understands that if he were to misbehave, this would reflect on others from the Chinese community. By actively integrating and achieving fluency in the Dutch language, he believes that one can find greater acceptance in the host society. This strategy has worked well for him, but he recognizes that it may not be as effective for others. For this reason, many participants continue to hold onto their hybrid identity. During events such as the Covid-19 pandemic, when there is suddenly less acceptance from the host society, there is a possibility to turn to the Chinese community and find commonality there. Two participants joined the #StopAsianHate protest. One of them was Amy, chairwoman from Asian Raisins. She was involved

in the organization of the protest. Participant 6 joined the protest on his own because he felt empowered by the idea to protest as a group. He explains:

''I think you don't hear much from Chinese in the media about discrimination and racism. That's why I thought it was very good and that was the reason I joined.''

Participant 6 shared he experienced insults from strangers during the pandemic. When hearing about the protest, he felt this was the right moment and opportunity for him to become actively engaged. What makes participant 6 stand out from other participants was that he indicated to have experienced more negative behavior towards him during the pandemic, which resulted in the motivation to take part of the protest. He learned that there are people who want to listen to each other because they face similar experiences. For him, the protest showed the power a group can have when organized together and social issues only get attention when it is escalated to a higher level. It was pleasant to see how he could find unity among a group and share his experiences with. Unfortunately, he was slightly more pessimistic when I asked him on the long term changes of the impact. He felt the media attention has lost its momentum and slowly things are turning back to how it used to be. His opinion is that the bigger minority groups in the Netherlands, such as the Moroccan and Turkish, should take the lead in anti-discrimination discourses, arguing the Chinese community is too small to make a real impact. Observing this, I noticed how the general characteristics of Chinese culture often described by participants, to ''remain in the background'' and ''avoid conflicts'', can also be recognized in their evasion of the #StopAsianHate protests. Indeed, it also encourages to question again the integration process of the second-generation. Participant 7 observes the following:

''In general, Chinese Dutch are absent in the anti-racist discourse.''

With this saying, the second-generation is also conforming to the model minority stereotype by staying away from conflicts with the host society. It is congruent with the opinion of participant 6 his, where other minority groups should set the tone. Participant 7 acknowledges that she thinks the Chinese community faces ''micro aggressions'', and that other minority groups in the host society are treated worse. When faced with micro aggressions, second-generation Chinese might think the severity of the issue is not significant enough to face the confrontation, which can also be reinforced by the desire to remain in the background. I believe the second-generation Chinese still has large steps to make in claiming their place in society by facing the confrontation. However, the #StopAsianHate protest is a suitable initiative and I could see it has left a positive impression on my participants. As mentioned earlier, my participants did not face severe discrimination during the pandemic, which explains their

absence in the protest because they did not feel compelled to do so. Only participant 6 was confronted with insults, while other participants experienced no to little remarks about increased discrimination during the pandemic. With this result, it is no surprise that the pandemic and the subsequent protest had little impact on the belonging and identity of the researched group. Nevertheless, I observed there was much support for the cause and in some instances, participants made a comparison with the first-generation. As participant 13 describes:

''I think the second-generation would face the confrontation more easily. I think because of the language barrier, the first-generation had trouble to do the same. […] The second-generation doesn't accept this and like most Dutch people, are more direct.''

However, much of my data shows second-generation individuals still prefer to be non-confrontational and remain in the background. I think the #StopAsianHate protest was for many participants an empowering image, where it could be seen that there is a possibility to unite and confront the host society. Even though the debate has quiet down and lost its media attention, the protest can be symbolized as an act of integration. By organizing together alongside other Asian minority groups, the second-generation claims its space in the host society. Indeed, compared to the first-generation, this is a major step towards inclusiveness and claim for acceptance in society.

6.3 The future

Much of the findings presented so far were from a retrospect view. In this section, I will lay the focus on the future. It is relevant to ask how second-generation Chinese foresee their own future, as it can help to understand the way they perceive their own identity and belonging. Apart from participant 18, all other participants imagined their own future in the host society. Main reasons for this is because they have constructed their whole lives in the host society and it is the place they are most familiar with. Even though it can be hard to navigate their position in society at times, they have integrated to such extent that this is where they feel they belong. A quote form participant 15 can be helpful in understanding this, recollecting her first visit to Hong Kong:

''If I looked to other people, I did not recognize myself. I knew I looked foreign, only by looking at my clothes, how I wear my make-up, my posture. They were all smaller, thinner. It did not feel like home, I couldn't really blend in.''

For her, Hong Kong is the place where her father is from and in that regard she felt nostalgic to the place. However, she also experienced a culture shock when visiting Hong Kong because of the language barrier and social etiquette. For example, whenever she would accidently bump into someone on the crowded streets, she would apologize. The people she apologized to looked confused, because in normal etiquette people would continue their journey as if nothing happened. Furthermore, she had a hard time communicating in Cantonese Chinese, admitting she was not able to understand her own relatives. This insight is an example why participants foresee their future in the host society, because they come to realize they are more distant to their home culture. Furthermore, some participants experience discrimination from their own home culture, such as when participant 10 lived in Hong Kong for a while. While she was still questioning her belonging in the host society because she did not feel total acceptance, she found even less acceptance in Hong Kong. This resulted in a strong feeling of non-belonging towards her home culture.

Other observations I made were from participants who described their identity as hybrid. When asked about their identity in the future, they think it would shift more towards a Dutch identity. All participants were adults and they expected the older they would get, the less contact they will have with their home culture. Their strongest connection towards the home culture was when they were growing up, which they were taught primarily by their parents. Now having reached adulthood, they expect to integrate further within the host society. However, participants with a hybrid identity did not wish to assimilate to the host society and remain some sort of hybridity. However, since their exposure to their home culture is becoming less, a shift is expected to occur. By brainstorming on the future generation, participants had the opportunity to actively think about how they would raise their own children. This allowed them to assess their own upbringing and actively think what aspects they would discard or maintain. I discovered integration was a recurring theme in this matter. To illustrate, participant 8 shares the following thought:

> ''My husband is Dutch and others (second-generation) often also have Dutch partners. So it's mixing, and that's normal of course. […] I expect to stay here for many years, so I think I'll eventually identify more with the white surrounding because that is the surrounding I am in. I foresee that my children will come home with a Dutch partner or another ethnicity. It will thin out the Chinese bloodline.''

In the case of participant 8, she explicitly acknowledged her sense of belonging in the host society. I was introduced to participant 8 with the help of Asian Raisins. I conducted the interview at her home. She works part time because her daughter is two years old and she prefers to spend as much time with

her as possible. At the time of the interview, she was due to give birth to her second daughter in a few months' time. Her two year old daughter was adorable and just learning to speak, and I noticed she was using both Chinese and Dutch language in her speech. Participant 8 taught her to address me as ''uncle'' in Chinese, a common way to respectfully address elders that are not straight relatives of yours. By studying the quote, it becomes evident that she anticipates a convergence of her identity with her establishes sense of belonging within the host society. Since her spouse is Dutch, she does not think her children will deal with the same identification process as she did. Despite this, she will still attempt to raise them with values of her home culture but does not approve of having extremely high expectations, which she experienced during her own upbringing. I could see that she made a deliberate choice in adopting the positive and discarding the negative from her childhood. This is the benefit of being raised in a bicultural environment, where individuals can decide for themselves what works for them and with what culture they like to identify with.

While the findings presented has occasionally been described with certain negative connotations by the participants, the majority of the participants still self-identify as hybrid. This suggests that there are still features from the home culture that are meaningful for them. I noticed participants want to distant their own children from the aforementioned tiger parenting. Many participants would like to give their children more freedom, stimulate dialogue and promote hobbies that the children like. The strict hierarchy between parent and child becomes blur, which seems impossible to imagine in a tiger parenting environment. I found an example from participant 17 noticeable:

> ''You don't want to be different and shape your own opinion. And feelings, also very hard to express. I'm still learning to talk about feelings […] I'm doing that differently with my children and it is easier for them and we can make fun. Then I think, I wish I had that when growing up.''

Participant 17 described how she was faced with the highest expectations because she is the eldest of her siblings. She embraces her hybrid identity but believes the upbringing she enjoyed had some shortcomings, which are mentioned in the quote. Her spouse is Dutch and together they try to raise their children with a mixture of both cultures. When participant 17 was growing up, she and her younger sisters never wanted to be different, and at times resented their home culture. For that reason, I could see that she wanted her children to integrate more freely and not be different than other children. As a child, she also experienced parental violence whenever she would misbehave. Along with other participants who shared this same characteristic in their upbringing, she does not want to incorporate that in her parenting. Only one participant admitted he would incorporate parental violence in his parenting if he were to have children, but stresses he will always try to explain

the significance of the matter and the context. One remarkable example I would like to highlight is from participant 2:

''I don't want to put my children in a corner. I want them to mingle and integrate in school even though they look different. […] I want my children to go through life with high self-esteem. The moment you forbid them things, it has direct influence on their self-esteem. […] Now I'm a father, I'm compensating, maybe overcompensating, because I want to give them the shortcomings from my own upbringing.''

It bears resemblance with remarks I observed throughout my data collection on the upbringing participants enjoyed themselves. Participants were aware their parents had gone through a difficult journey when immigrating to the host society. Coming from a background with limited resources, the first-generation wanted their offspring to have what they did not have when growing up, such as wealth, education and in some instances, food. It explains the high focus on academic achievements, because the general believe is that this leads the way to high positioned livelihoods, filling the void of the shortcomings they experienced. I notice the second-generation is acting from the same philosophy and intent. To illustrate, participant 2 wants to give his children freedom; participant 18 wants to be a fun parent; participant 16 wants to give his children emotional and intellectual space; participant 6 wants to show them affection; and participant 10 wants to spend more time with her children. Through detailed analysis of the data, I noticed these are all examples they think was absent when growing up. In a conversation I had with participant 4 after the interview, he said he does not blame his parents for anything because they were also only copying the upbringing they once enjoyed. However, a similar remark can be made for the second-generation. Although they think to distance themselves and be different than the first-generation, the way of thinking shares the same point of departure; giving their children the things they did not have. By doing so, the second-generation aims to be different than the first-generation by incorporating elements from the host society's culture. Ironically, it shares close resemblance at the same time.

By parenting their children in a way that is more geared towards the host society, participants expect the third-generation to have an easier identification process. As participant 5 described, there will be more interracial partnerships leading to future generations with mixed ethnicities. In this way, it is expected that there is less conflict in finding ones identity. However, I would like to apply caution to this prediction because individuals with mixed ethnic heritage can still face identity negotiation. According to Tsai (2022), mixed heritage individuals experience ''denial, objectification, racial imposter syndrome, and anxiety''. Mixed heritage can therefore also lead to feelings of non-belonging, as they

can face difficulties to self-identify with both cultural groups. However, integration towards the host society can be easier when second-generation Chinese adopt a hybrid or Dutch parenting strategy. This way, there will be less cultural friction and it will become easier for the third-generation to integrate. Few participants made the comparison with acceptance from the host society at present, and from when they were growing up. Thereby, they believe there now is more acceptance towards other cultures in the host society, making it easier for the third-generation to integrate.

6.4 Asian Raisins and Yang's Voices Podcast

In the remainder of this chapter I will focus on the two organizations I concluded in my research, namely Asian Raisins and Yang's Voices Podcast. Both organizations represent Chinese and other Asian ethnicities' voices. Asian Raisins was founded at the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic and their primary goal at the time was to protest against discrimination inflicted by the pandemic. However, they have extended their goals and now aim to fight against deeply rooted stereotypes and discrimination in the Netherlands. Asian Raisins tries to create awareness of this and hopes to reach a more inclusive society. Yang's Voices Podcast is run by host and creator Oscar, where each informal podcast episode is dedicated to interview his guest. Through these interviews, he aims to portray his guests each as a unique individual and by doing so, hopes to take away common stereotypes. Both organizations try to give the second-generation a voice in society, break common stereotypes, increase media representation for the group, and seek more acceptance in society. Their interviews are a support to the findings presented so far, increasing the validity of my research. I will highlight the most important highlights from the interviews I conducted with them, with the aim to discuss similarities and differences with my findings.

I was intrigued by Oscar's passion for his podcast. When I interviewed him, I discovered he has a fulltime job next to his podcast. Each episode requires a lot of planning and editing, but it gives him positive energy. In his leisure time, he follows the development of the second-generation in the host society closely and is in touch with many second-generation individuals. I noticed the mixture of his guests' cultural backgrounds, and how many similarities other Asian second-generations share with my target group. It seems that all second-generation individuals are occupied with the question of identity and belonging, making this research field relevant for many other minority groups in the Netherlands. I met Oscar in a café on a warm afternoon. I reached out to him through e-mail and he was extremely enthusiastic to participate in my research. Before starting, we had an interesting chat on the second-generation Chinese. I learned Oscar migrated to the Netherlands at age 9, which technically would not count as second-generation. However, as he emphasized, his mindset is more in

line with second-generation Chinese and therefore he identifies as such. Unfortunately, the café was a little noisy which complicated transcribing, but I am utterly satisfied content-wise. I had an interesting talk with Oscar when we tried to look at the differences between the first- and second-generation Chinese. Oscar mentioned:

‘’What I often see is that we (the second-generation) try to distant ourselves from our parents. In the sense of, ‘I don’t want to be like my parents, even though they have the greatest wisdom, Chinese sayings and the journey they have gone through’. Many of us want to lead our own lives.’’

This result is not much of a surprise when looking at the different environment the second-generation grows up in. The acculturation process with the host society leads to cultural values that can shift for the second-generation. When reflecting on the high parental expectations imposed on them, some individuals do not want to associate themselves with that part of the culture anymore and prefer the pursuit of individual freedom that is often more supported in the host society. It also explains the finding where I argued that participants want to raise their own children differently. Most participants do not think their upbringing was the best method to adopt within the host society, and therefore seek to live the life they imagine for themselves. Oscar mentions the questions, doubts and disapproval the first-generation sometimes have on this matter, but tries to look at it positively. He mentions the high socio-economic status many second-generation individuals have, which is something the first-generation can be proud of. He emphasizes that there is no complete disgust towards the home culture, but that it is inevitable that there will be some bumps on the road when looking at the integration process the second-generation has been through. Furthermore, he believes integration is the way to increase acceptance within the host society but remains critical on stereotypes and discrimination towards other cultures. With more acceptance, it will be easier for people with an immigrant background to find belonging in a host society.

Oscar made an argument which I did not detect with such emphasis among other participants. He was very clear on the mental challenges second-generation individuals can face, and urged to be transparent in this and look for help among each other. By seeking dialogue and sharing experiences, support and rapport can be offered and given to each other. I recognize this from Chinese culture, where there seems to be a taboo on acknowledging and talking about one’s problem (Chiu, 2004; Ho & Crookall, 1995). This was also often mentioned by my participants, who admitted that they find it difficult to express themselves at times. Throughout my data, I came across instances where participants experienced difficulties in expressing emotions, forming opinions, admitting help from

others and speak up for yourself. According to Oscar, it is deeply rooted in Chinese culture to remain introvert, oppress emotions and not talk openly about your problems. He highlights:

''You can't solve a problem without understanding the problem first. The more we engage in these activities, the better we can tackle the problem at the core. And we can't do this on our own […] As Chinese Dutch, we can only grow by looking different towards things than our parents did. Dare to speak up and ask for help. And, I'm sure that when you do, you will find so many other people dealing with the same.''

The problem Oscar refers to has to do with identity formation and belonging as second-generation immigrants. In some aspect, it shares the same philosophy that many first-generation Chinese adopted, which was to help each other out. However, the taboo that lies on asking for help and acknowledging a problem, is a stigma that should change according to Oscar. It is through this support and rapport that the second-generation can unite as a community and speak up against the ''othering'', stereotyping and discrimination they are confronted with. Even though it shares some similarities with the separation strategy from Berry's acculturation framework, characterized by close contact with the home culture and little contact with the host culture, it can also be seen as a form of integration. By actively tackling a problem together, more acceptance from the host society is demanded and a place is claimed in society. By engaging in the debate, further participation in the society is the result. Oscar highlights the second-generation cannot do nothing. Because if they do, the stereotypes will not change. He explains:

''We cannot lean back as a community. Because if we do, they will walk over us, 100%. That's why it's so important we join the discussion and put ourselves in the spotlight. […] It's bad when people associate us with politics in China. That's why we need to mitigate this way of thinking, by manifesting ourselves.''

It is clear that Oscar thinks the second-generation should take responsibility and join the public debate. He is aware that it is natural to think of people in stereotypes and prejudices, but troubles the fact that people in the host society sometimes behave accordingly. This is the basis of discrimination and therefore Oscar hopes to portray his guests in the podcast as unique individuals. I noticed Oscar did not urge for assimilation towards the host society, because he also stressed the importance of the Chinese community and family. He thinks the hybridity that the second-generation enjoys should be seen as something valuable, since there is the possibility to navigate between two cultures. He hopes the Covid-19 pandemic is a starting point for the second-generation to unite and speak up. The

interview with Oscar bears much resemblance with my other findings presented. However, his strong urge to find support and rapport among each other as a community is not detected on a high frequency among my participants. I noticed my participants did not sought much contact with other Chinese Dutch. If they did, it was because of the perceptions of commonality, but I did not detect the necessity to engage in dialogue with each other to talk about the problems they were facing in their identity and belonging process.

I interviewed Amy, chairwoman of Asian Raisins, online through Microsoft Teams. She is one of the founding members of the foundation, which was established at the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic. Starting out as a Facebook group, the initiative gained a large number of members in a short period of time. It served as a platform where people with a Chinese or Asian descent could share their experiences in the host society. All of the work from Asian Raisins is done on a voluntary basis, which she acknowledged can be difficult to combine in their daily lives. Through this interview, I learned that Amy used the term ''OZOA people'' (Oost en Zuid-Oost Aziatische), which is an acronym for people with an East and South-East Asian background. Since its establishment, Asian Raisins had to readjust its goals several times, including their group of representation. Though they are against all forms of discrimination, they soon realized it is not feasible to represent everyone. This led to the definition of ''OZOA people'', which is now their scope of representation. Amy explained how Asian Raisins managed to get media attention because of its relevance with the pandemic at the time. Their media coverage quickly built momentum which helped them to spread their message. Surprisingly, Amy discussed the model minority phenomenon too, which can help to understand Asian Raisin's mission:

> *''The model minority creates possibilities for us, making it look like we're equals to the host society, while it is a barrier at the same time. You see many of us are highly educated and have nice jobs, but we rarely fulfill leadership roles. The stereotype of the hard working Asian doesn't always pay off, because it doesn't symbolize creativity or leadership. So if you look at the cultural sector, we are underrepresented because there are not that many actors or actresses.''*

This model minority, according to Amy, is a basic fundament for subtle discrimination that OZOA individuals can be exposed to. Amy mentions in her quote that the model minority can be a barrier too, which can be explained because stereotypes can be based on cultural characteristics. When second-generation individuals live up to them, they confirm the existence of certain stereotypes too. It can be a vicious circle, where one variable fuels another variable and vice versa. Amy explained how the model minority is different from other forms of discrimination, which is the reason why Asian Raisins had to redefine their group of representation. Amy was cautious that the model minority leads

to a blind spot in the host society, causing people to underestimate the harm it can do. For instance, she emphasized the lack of government-funded research addressing discrimination against OZOA minority groups within the host society. This absence of official acknowledgment increases the challenges of Asian Raisins because it may appear as though they are grappling with a non-existent problem. I came to this same realization when looking for literature, noticing that most of the research of second-generation Chinese comes from other Western countries, such as the United States of America, Canada and Australia. The most recent study on the Chinese diaspora conducted by the Social and Cultural Planning Office dates back to 2011. The Social and Cultural Planning Office is a governmental agency dedicated to researching the social aspects of various policy domains. In this outdated report, the Chinese community is portrayed as a minority group that integrates well into the host society and experiences minimal discrimination, already being characterized as a model minority by the authors (Gijsberts et al., 2011a). Most other research on the second-generation Chinese Dutch adopt a quantitative research approach (Huijnk et al., 2015; Linder et al., 2011; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1996), making the individual stories of my research group untold.

This lack of governmental acknowledged research leads to under highlighted attention of the problem in the host society. In the years after the SCP publication, many changes have occurred. Except for the Covid-19 pandemic, China has been more present in geopolitical discourse. This concern was at some points also coined by participants, who feared for escalations between China and Western countries. Due to the rise of China on the geopolitical stage, Amy described how people sometimes think Asian Raisins is controlled and funded by the Chinese government. However untrue, it shows there are some conceptions where the host society relates the Chinese diaspora with politics in China. It is a similar occurrence with the Covid-19 pandemic, where the Chinese community became a scapegoat in the host society because it was believed that the virus originated from China. Amy explains the importance of media framing in these instances:

''Geopolitical developments have strong influences on the perception towards the Chinese community. [...] It is about how the media frames it. They can decide that when speaking about Corona, to not only show pictures of Chinese. Separate the Chinese government from the Chinese people. [...] I don't think China will have an amazing relationship with European countries all of a sudden, but I do see it positive because there is such a big difference between our generation and our parents. For the first time, we dare to speak up.''

Amy is aware that media framings can result in certain behavior towards Chinese, and therefore fears geopolitical escalations could have detrimental consequences for the Chinese community. For this

reason, she thinks it is important second-generation Chinese let their voices be heard. It is similar to the argument of Oscar, urging for more participation from second-generation individuals in anti-discrimination discourses. I noticed how a certain amount of responsibility is ascribed to the second-generation, something I did not clearly observe among my participants. Many participants were aware that their behavior could reflect on others from the Chinese community, but they did not take much responsibility to actively speak up against discrimination. For instance, one participant thought it was the responsibility of bigger immigrant groups to speak up and pave the way for smaller minority groups, while another was convinced that Chinese immigrants have integrated well enough and found it unnecessary to become activistic. It is through events such as the Covid-19 pandemic where more unity and solidarity could be observed among participants. Outside of that, they seemed to be more individualistic in their journey towards finding their place in society. Though they sympathize with the missions of Asian Raisins and Yang's Voices Podcast, they seem to withdraw of being in the spotlights themselves. This is where Amy and Oscar try to be cautious for, that taking a passive place in society can lead to continuation of stereotypes. It seems that participants are occupied to internalize their own identity and belonging, that there is little focus on the macro impact they can have in the larger society. According to Amy, identity and belonging for the second-generation Chinese is difficult. She explains this as follows:

> *''People don't feel completely attached to their Chinese background, because you are not Chinese enough because your command of Chinese language is not good enough or you don't know what to wear on a specific holiday. You are also not Dutch enough because you don't look like it. So you're being kicked out of both groups.''*

This quote resonates with many instances from my data collection and it becomes clear that my findings are acknowledged by Asian Raisins. However, this result is not discovered in the Social and Cultural Planning Office report from 2011 and therefore highlights the importance of identity and belonging. The many hybrid identities encountered in my data demonstrates how second-generation individuals position themselves ''in the middle''. This means there is distance, but not complete abandonment to their home culture. The same can be said about the host society's culture, which for many participants still does not feel as their own culture. For this reason, the #StopAsianHate protest was about belonging rather than identity. By claiming they are part of society, the protest was aimed to foster acceptance from the host society (Asian Raisins, 2021).

According to Amy, the Chinese community is not the only minority group facing similar experiences and therefore refers to ''OZOA people''. Nevertheless, the lack of research on this group is worrisome

for Asian Raisins. Amy made a comparison with other Western countries, where there is more government funded social research and acknowledgement of the issue is more evolved. Therefore, she hopes to see more research on this group in the Netherlands, preferably funded by the government. Through research, more attention is given on the issue which can lead to more awareness and acceptance in the host society. Lastly, Amy highlights that the Covid-19 pandemic was not the moment where OZOA people were first confronted with non-acceptance, but that it has been present long before that already. Therefore, she can now assess the pandemic from a positive perspective, since dramatic events tend to lead to increase media attention. The results of my thesis seem to share many similarities with the activities of Asian Raisins and Yang's Voices Podcast. The absence of second-generation Chinese in the media and public discourse has led to an invisible minority group. Through our activities, the narratives are told from this specific group, showing the host society that we are all part of the society and not just the stereotypes.

6.3 Conclcusion

In this chapter, I discuss the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, the future that participants imagine for themselves, and the results from the interviews conducted with Asian Raisins and Yang's Voices Podcast. Though I discovered empathy with the #StopAsianHate protests from participants, there was little practical action that derived from the pandemic. This can be attributed to the fact that my participants did not perceive a high increase of ''othering'' towards them. Participants tend to stay in the background and avoid conflicts, which explains their absence in the public discourse around #StopAsianHate. However, some participants felt empowered by the protest, reinforcing their belief in integration, leading to a stronger claim for societal inclusion. The #StopAsianHate protest served as an example of this mindset shift among participants. In discussing their future identity and belonging, most participants, except one, expressed a sense of belonging to the host society. Hence, some participants think their future identity is likely to shift more towards a Dutch identity, which is also explained due to the fact that there is less exposure to their home culture since reaching adulthood. They expect that their hybridity will be more pronounced and less complicated the more they integrate into the host society. The bicultural upbringing is viewed as advantageous, allowing them to selectively adopt cultural aspects. Participants reject the tiger parenting style they experienced, aiming to raise their children with a parenting approach aligned with host society values. They aspire to provide their children with opportunities they lacked, reflecting a shared philosophy with the first-generation: giving their children what they themselves missed in their upbringing.

In the remainder of the chapter, I present my findings from the interviews conducted with Asian Raisins and Yang's Voices Podcast. Oscar, host and creator of Yang's Voices Podcast, made a comparison between the first- and second-generation Chinese. In his own environment, he sees that many second-generation Chinese want to distant themselves from their parents and wish to lead their own lives, distancing themselves from the tiger parenting they experienced. He emphasized the importance of sharing ones problems with others from the Chinese community, since this can be a helpful strategy to find support from each other. Ultimately, Oscar wishes that the second-generation becomes even more active in the public debate in order to display that the Chinese diaspora is more than the stereotypes known to the public. As the chairwoman of Asian Raisins, Amy has been involved in the organization since its establishment. According to her, the model minority can be a barrier for minority groups, since it withholds individuals to be anything outside of the stereotype. Also, it creates the feeling that discrimination towards this group does not exist, which is why she wishes that the second-generation speaks up against any forms of discrimination or stereotypes. She mentioned how a lack of government-funded research results in absence of acknowledgement of the problem. Amy called the scope of representation group of Asian Raisins ''OZOA people'', which is an acronym for individuals with an East and South-East Asian descent. Similar to Oscar, Amy urges for active participation from second-generation individuals to speak up against any form of discrimination in order to claim a space in society.

7. Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter I provide a concise overview of my research findings. Firstly, I would like to emphasize the qualitative nature of my research and the small number of participants included compared to quantitative methods. While my method does not allow for broad generalizations, it explores individual challenges in navigating identity and belonging among my research group. For clarity purposes, I restate my research question presented in my first chapter which I aim to answer in this section:

How do second-generation Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands self-identify, organize and navigate their belonging in Dutch society?

I argued the relevance of parenting behavior on identity outcomes where I discuss the phenomenon of ''tiger parenting'', referring to the protective and yet authoritative upbringing that is common among Chinese families. Tiger parenting prioritizes academic excellence and success in various life aspects. However, I argue how tiger parenting does not always stimulate integration into Dutch society, despite participants' beliefs. They often think of integration based on factors like high-status livelihoods, higher education, or employment, with the common belief that achieving a high socio-economic status signifies successful integration. Furthermore, I demonstrate how the participants' upbringing results in a lack of social integration, since the tiger parenting does not motivate expression of opinions, emotions and questioning. This upbringing, focused on obedience and performance, can lead to challenges when confronting cultural differences in the host society.

Integrating is complicated when participants face stereotyping and discrimination, reinforcing their sense of being different from the host society. This is best described as ''othering'', meaning the treatment of people with an immigrant background as different. Participants have a hard time being totally accepted, encountering ''othering'' through jokes being made about their ethnic background, callouts by strangers and bullying. I detected an awareness among my participants that staying close within the Chinese community, at times referred to as a ''bubble'', does not help to remove common stereotypes. Hence, they seek active engagement with the host society.

However, I introduced the ''model minority'' stereotype which seems relevant for second-generation Chinese. This stereotype characterizes ethnic minorities as more likely to excel academically, achieve economic stability, maintain family cohesion, and have low involvement in crime compared to other minority groups. I recognized this among my participants, since they found it important to contribute

to the society, while at the same time prefer to avoid conflicts. It makes the Chinese community vulnerable for scapegoating, as seen during the Covid-19 pandemic. By strategically placing themselves in environments where they feel safest, my participants become conscious on how to avoid common stereotypes. Examples are manifestations of overcompensating behavior by speaking the Dutch language flawlessly and conforming to host society norms. I believe the phenomenon of model minority is an accurate description of the second-generation Chinese Dutch, which helps to explain why many of them still have difficulties in speaking up for themselves.

Berry's acculturation framework describes four strategies minority groups can apply; assimilation, integration, marginalization and separation. I found this framework relevant since I discovered the importance that acculturation holds on participants' identity and belonging. The majority adopted an integration strategy, which is characterized by maintenance of the home culture and engagement with the host society at the same time. I detected an assimilation strategy in three cases, which is characterized by strong identification with the host society and little or no desire to maintain affiliation with the home culture. Two participants applied the separation strategy and two participants adopted the marginalization strategy. Though the latter two strategies are commonly known to perceive more discrimination and are related to low levels of life satisfaction and mental health, I disagree with the proposed statement from the literature since my data does not indicate notions of this among my participants. Rather, their narratives demonstrate the voluntarily basis in adopting these strategies. Berry's acculturation framework has helped me in analyzing the different identities I came across in my data.

Based on my findings, I have come up with five identities I deem relevant, namely; Dutch identity, hybrid identity, Chinese identity, non-nation identity and ascribed identity. I believe this scope of identities may also apply to other immigrant groups in the Netherlands, with the home culture aspect changing accordingly. However, no ratios can be determined and there is potential for additional identities, such as religious identities among individuals of Moroccan and Turkish descent. I applied Kartosen's concept of identification in the assessment of the different identities, which entails three cross-cutting aspects; self-categorization, perception of commonality and feelings of belonging. In my fieldwork, I did not detect any notions of a panethnic identity. Primarily, accounts of hybrid identity was self-categorized most often which can be explained through the perception of commonality found in both cultures. Hybridity allows flexibility in identity adaptation, with individuals choosing aspects that suited them best, facilitating fluidity in switching between two cultures.

The Dutch identity was prevalent among three participants, where I observed numerous similarities. All of them were the youngest in the household when growing up, faced a liberal upbringing where high expectations from parents was absent, and did not face noticeable negative experiences from the host society. From an early age, they had the liberty to integrate and explore their identity, without any restrictions to maintain the home culture. They have little contact with the Chinese community and have a stronger perception of commonality with the host society. The Chinese identity was encountered among two participants who embraced close cultural affiliations inherited from their parents. I noticed one participant who self-identified as Chinese experienced ''othering'' in his childhood, which convinced him he would never be completely accepted by the host society. This non-acceptance has made him to identify as Chinese.

During my research, I observed the influence of ascribed identity, although not openly acknowledged by participants. Ascribed identity occurs when others assign an identity to an individual despite their achieved identity. I noticed how parental and societal influences played a significant role in shaping their identities. For instance, many participants attended Chinese school after regular classes, reinforcing their Chinese identity. Host society "othering" pushed immigrants toward certain identities, such as the model minority. In one case, a participant who identified as Chinese had experienced "othering" in the past that led him to reject a Dutch identity in favor of his Chinese identity. Among two participants, I detected an identity I can best describe as ''non-nation identity'', rejecting cultural or national affiliations. I did not expect to come across this form of identification, but it is the most accurate definition to describe their identity. However, categorizing them as marginalized, as per Berry's acculturation framework, oversimplifies their complex identity journeys. Their identities were voluntarily chosen rather than imposed and they both showed contentedness in their position.

Feelings of belonging were crucial in identity formation and it is also the third cross-cutting aspect of Kartosen's concept of identification. Most participants feel a strong sense of belonging to the host society because it is the place they know best, where they were born and raised. Acceptance (or non-acceptance) from the host society had a lasting impact on participants' sense of belonging, regardless of their chosen identities. They foresee their own future in the place where they are now and through constant negotiation aim to strengthen their belonging. One participant felt deeply connected to his Chinese heritage and migrated to China, highlighting his strong sense of belonging to that culture. It supports Kartosen's argument that identity and belonging do not have to be the same. Several participants questioned the belonging of their parents and the first-generation in general due to the fact they settled in the host society several decades ago. As one participant explained, her parents had

a strong sense of belonging towards the host society and she believes this has influenced her perception to a great extent, conceivably unconscious.

I gained valuable insights by asking participants about their and the second-generation's future, especially in terms of raising their own (hypothetical) children differently compared to their own upbringing. Most participants envisioned their future in the host society, emphasizing a shift toward Dutch culture for those with hybrid identities. They expressed a desire for a more liberal and open approach to parenting so their children will not feel different and have a smoother integration. An important outcome I discovered was that the participants had a common desire to provide their children with what they believed were lacking during their own upbringing. Even though different elements are prioritized, it shares close resemblance with the philosophy of the first-generation; to provide their children with what they themselves lacked during their own upbringing.

The #StopAsianHate protest during the Covid-19 protest gained empathy from participants, but little practical action was taken due to the lack of perceived ''othering'' and other negative behavior towards them. The urban environment and isolation during the pandemic may have contributed to this lack of exposure. Participants did not feel compelled to speak up and preferred to remain in the background and avoid conflicts. It appeared a more individual approach is adopted in shaping and negotiating identity and belonging. However, many felt empowered by the protest, believing second-generation Chinese are well integrated into host society.

I interviewed Oscar, host and creator of Yang's Voices Podcast, who aims to increase media representation for the Chinese and Asian community, hoping to take away common stereotypes. He urged for the second-generation to talk openly with others from the community about problems related to integration, identity and belonging. He approves the #StopAsianHate protests and hopes second-generation individuals will continue to speak up, fearing that negative stereotypes would otherwise continue to exist. Another interview was conducted with Amy, chairwoman of Asian Raisins. The organization represents ''OZOA people'' (Oost en Zuid-Oost Aziatische), which is an acronym for people with an East and South-East Asian descent. OZOA people often face similar ''othering'' behavior towards them. According to Amy, this group lacks acknowledgement from the public about its social issues. The lack of government initiated and funded research leads to little attention to this group in policymaking and eventually, exclusion to society. She hopes OZOA people will actively speak up against any form of discrimination, in order to claim a place in society.

When looking at my participants, they did not perceive a strong difference between a pre- and post-Covid-19 society, which is what I initially was set out to explore. Nevertheless, the importance of identity and belonging has been demonstrated. For myself, it was an eye-opening experience to explore the narratives from other second-generation individuals. I discovered many similarities with myself, such as the hybrid identity adopted and the tiger parenting phenomenon. I experienced a sense of solidarity with the participants, rooted from the same background we share. For immigrant groups, the subject bears social importance, since a better understanding can be made in how a group perceives itself in the host society and how the acculturation process is taking place. The many immigrant groups in the Netherlands each have their own background and narrative. Especially for second-generation individuals, I believe there is a strong willingness to be part of society, no matter what he or she self-identifies with. My research did not make many comparisons with other immigrant groups in the Netherlands due to a large focus on my target group. On several occasions however, I did detect that the model minority stereotype ascribed to the second-generation Chinese is a different stereotype compared to the treatment of other immigrant groups.

If the aim is to shape an inclusive society, qualitative research on immigrant groups can help the acculturation process since an attempt is made to understand one another, which is another dimension compared to statistical data from quantitative research. Through interchangeable application of several concepts and theories, I researched a group that is underrepresented in the literature. For example, Berry's acculturation framework has been adopted, but no existing literature has applied this to second-generation Chinese Dutch before. In this framework, I discovered several generalizations that were flawed and could not be applied to my participants directly. Such as the marginalization strategy, implying low self-esteem and mental health of the individual, did not apply to my participants. Also, the majority of the literature has a focus on first-generation immigrants, which is where my research can make a contribution and add knowledge from an often forgotten group; the second-generation. Lastly, I would like to emphasize the model minority stereotype second-generation Chinese are often confronted with, which highlights the expectations imposed on them from the host society and their home culture. In this environment, my participants often claim a hybrid identity, where they have the possibility to adopt what they deem meaningful from both cultures. The stereotypes are notions of ''othering'', obstructing the second-generation to completely be accepted within society.

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Appendices

Appendix A: General topic list interviews

Before the interview:

- Explain the objective of the research

- Elaborate on my own background and my reasons to do this research

- Inform on indicated duration of the interview

- Ask for consent to record the interview. Explain how privacy and data is respected and protected

Identity and belonging:

- How did you experience being raised in a bicultural environment?

- When going to primary school, to what extent did you feel different than other classmates?

- Explore childhood, relationships with parents, and relationships with host society

- How did you cope with integration throughout your life?

- How would you describe your own identity?

- How would you describe being ''Dutch'' and ''Chinese''?

- Experienced discrimination/exclusion

- What is your opinion on the integration of second-generation Chinese?

- Belonging; where do you feel you belong to most?

- To what nationality do you feel you belong to most?

- How do you usually answer the question ''where are you from'' and why?

- Explore imagined identity and belonging in the future

- Focus on: cultural differences, explore relations with family and society, identity and belonging as a process (how was it and how is it now), transnationalism,

Covid-19

- Explain about Covid-19 protest and the increased discrimination during that period

- When the Covid-19 pandemic occurred, did you experience any forms of discrimination?

- Explore the affiliations with the protest and #StopAsianHate

- To what extent has your identity and belonging changed now the pandemic is over?

- Do you notice any differences on the perception of Chinese after the pandemic?

- When faced with discrimination, do you respond to that or just let it be? Has this changed after Covid-19?

- Focus on: pre and post covid society, experiences of discrimination during Covid-19, unity with the protest

Topic list Oscar Yang – Yang's voices podcast

Introductie:

- Doel van het onderzoek uitleggen
- Uitleggen over mijn eigen achtergrond
- Uitleggen wat er gedaan wordt met de data. Vraag om toestemming om op te nemen

Yang's voices podcast:

- Ontstaan van podcast/doel van de podcast
- Doelgroep van podcast (luisteraars en gasten)
- Welke sociale vraagstukken wil de podcast zich op wil richten?

Tweede generatie:

- Zorgt discriminatie/vooroordelen naar Chinese Nederlanders voor een sterkere Chinese identiteit?
- Hoe wordt de identiteit van de tweede generatie beïnvloedt door de opvoeding?
- Hoe is de tweede generatie geïntegreerd ten opzichte van de eerste generatie?
- Rol ouders/familie-kind relatie met betrekking tot identiteit
- Rol van hoe de samenleving naar tweede generatie kijkt
- Hoe is de tweede generatie anders dan de eerste?
- Toekomst identiteit/belonging/integratie tweede generatie. Meer assimilatie, of meer Chinees?
- Hybride identiteiten

Covid-19:

- Ontwikkelingen sinds Covid-19
- Veranderingen/resultaten sinds Covid-19
- Eigen ervaringen mbt Covid-19 en discriminatie
- Hoe denk je dat er in de toekomst naar mensen met een Chinese achtergrond wordt gekeken? Denk aan invloeden van Covid-19, politieke relaties etc.

Topic list Amy - Asiain Raisins

Introductie:

- Doel van het onderzoek uitleggen

- Uitleggen over mijn eigen achtergrond

- Uitleggen wat er gedaan wordt met de data. Vraag om toestemming om op te nemen

Asian Raisins:

- Ontstaan van Asian Raisins

- Doel van Asian Raisins

- Doelgroep van Asian Raisins

- Mijlpijlen van Asian Raisins

Tweede generatie:

- Hoe verschilt de eerste generatie Chinezen met de tweede generatie?

- Waarom is de tweede generatie zo erg bezig met het claimen van een plek in de samenleving, terwijl de eerste generatie hierin vrijwel afwezig is?

- Hoe is de tweede generatie geïntegreerd in de Nederlandse samenleving?

- Stereotypen, vooroordelen en de invloed op de tweede generatie

- Relatie Chinezen met andere Aziatische bevolkingsgroepen

- Aziatische Panetniciteit in Nederland

- Aziatische community; slecht voor integratie? Of noodzaak tegen discriminatie?

- Identiteitsvorming in Nederland. Obstakels, tweestrijd tussen culturele achtergrond vs. NL cultuur

- Integratie tweede generatie in Nederland. Succesverhaal of zijn er verbeterpunten?

- Wat zijn verschillen en overeenkomsten met andere minderheidsgroepen?

Covid-19:

- Hoe werd Covid-19 ervaren door de tweede generatie?

- Discriminatie in Nederland: Verleden, ontwikkelingen, toekomst

- Stop Asian Hate protest

- Veranderingen ná Covid-19, in het voordeel of juist nadeel van Chinezen/Aziaten?

- Invloed discriminatie op identiteit

Verder:

Appendices

- Toekomst identiteit, belonging en integratie van de tweede generatie.
- Hoe ziet de toekomst eruit voor de derde generatie?
- Hoe ziet de toekomst eruit voor Asian Raisins? Samenwerking andere partijen?
- Wat kan de tweede generatie zelf doen om een fijnere belonging voor zichzelf te creëren?

Appendix B: Participant overview

Participant	sex	age	residence	setting	date	organization
P1	F	18	Eindhoven/Wageningen	In-person	13-6	
P2	M	47	Amsterdam	In-person	14-6	
P3	M	29	Maastricht/Rotterdam	In-person	14-6	Yang's Voices Podcast
P4	M	31	Amsterdam	In-person	1-7	
P5	M	35	Rotterdam/Utrecht	In-person	3-7	
P6	M	33	Amersfoort	In-person	7-7	
P7	F	30	Utrecht	Microsoft Teams	11-7	
P8	F	33	Zwollle	In-person	21-7	
P9	M	46	Amstelveen	In-person	23-7	
P10	F	46	St. Oedenrode/Amstelveen	In-person	23-7	
P11	M	33	Apeldoorn	Microsoft Teams	27-7	
P12	F	30	Utrecht	Microsoft Teams	24-7	Chair Asian Raisins
P13	F	46	Arnhem	Microsoft Teams	27-7	
P14	F	53	Breda	In-person	28-7	
P15	F	39	Alkmaar	Microsoft Teams	1-8	
P16	M	32	Ridderkerk/Rotterdam	Microsoft Teams	8-8	
P17	F	44	Haarlem	In-person	11-8	
P18	M	22	Eindhoven/Beijing	Microsoft Teams	16-8	