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The 'Italian Dream'

Chinese Migrants in an Italian Alpine Village, in
Northern Italy. Social and Cultural Challenges.

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There are Chinese people wherever the ocean waves touch
(Min Zhou)

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前言

如今，我们见证越来越多人们决定从自己的国家移民的新闻，以寻找更丰富的生活环境。我们目睹了如此多的新闻，但是我们从未问过发生这些事情的主要原因。中国人口也曾经历过许多移民时期，然而，很少有人探究过这一事件背后的原因。

中国人口从古代开始就在中国以外的地方扎根：对中国以外世界的第一次探索是在第一个皇朝时期。这些探索，主要是为了经济目的，对后来的人口非常重要，因为他们逐渐地开始探索更远的领土，甚至到欧洲。

从 19 世纪开始，这些移民潮急剧增加，促使越来越多的中国人离开中国，迁往其他地方。第一批移民的中国人 在法国、英国和荷兰定居。在那里形成了第一批移民社区。从 20 世纪初开始，随着战争的爆发，许多中国人来到欧洲，为当时正在作战的军队提供帮助。随着两场战争的进行，移居欧洲的中国人决定留在那里，建立了第一批中国移民社区。这些社区将成为后来决定离开中国前往欧洲的中国人的真正接待中心。

法国和英国并不是中国人口决定移居的唯一国家。事实上，随着战争的结束，许多中国人决定移居意大利，特别是移居到大型城市中心，在那里他们将开始工作，首先是做街头小贩，然后逐渐地开设自己的生意。米兰和普拉托城市成为他们迁移路线的主要核心。

然而，许多中国人决定搬到威尼托，特别是由于 70 年代初和 80 年代的经济繁荣，他们搬到主要的工业中心，在特雷维索和贝卢诺地区。事实上，在后一个地区，特别是在 Lozzo di Cadore 镇，许多中国移民在眼镜行业找到了工作，因此决定留在那里生活。

本论文试图描述中国移民的历史，从古代开始到现在，然后重点讨论移民到意大利的情况。该研究试图深入研究导致许多中国人离开中国，移居意大利，然后到 Lozzo di Cadore 的原因。为此，我利用 «问卷网» 进行了问卷调查。本问卷调查被分发给居住在或曾经居住在 Lozzo 的中国人口，以了解他们做出这种选择的原因。在问卷调查之前，我鼓励人们通过访谈来回答问题，并试图建立一种信任和友谊的关系。这将有利于问卷的填写。

我决定研究这个问题，因为这是我非常关心的一个问题。事实上，从 21 世纪初开始，第一批中国人，即第一代移民的孩子，来到了我的学校。因为他们我间接地接触到了中国文化和语言，然后导致我想在大学里学习中国文化。直到现在，我从来没有问过自己是什么让他们离开中国来到意大利生活，所以我相信这项研究可以成为我和许多人更深入地了解这种与我们如此不同的文化的一种方式。

为了研究目的，本问卷被分发给第一代移民和后来的第二代中国移民。我认为记录这两代人口的意见和经验很重要，因为第一代中国人是在成年后移民的，主要是为了寻找工作，而第二代人经历了不同的中国移民。这是因为他们在年轻时就移民了，所以他们是直接见证了自己父母在语言和文化融合方面的困难。

他们的回答，虽然反映了成年人的情况，但说明了他们父母所经历的困难情况。在回答中，他们让我们看到并强调了他们父母再决定从中国移民后的情况。

第一代移民必须回答的问卷调查有以下问题：

1. 您的姓名
2. 您的性别
3. 您在哪个省及城市出生的？
4. 您的最高学历（含目前在读）是？
5. 您的年龄是？
6. 来意大利之前，您住在中国多长时间了？
7. 在中国时，您做什么工作？您和谁住在一起？
8. 您在中国的期间结婚了还是有孩子？
9. 您来意大利的第一次是哪一年？
10. 您为什么决定搬到意大利？
11. 您怎么发现 Lozzo di Cadore 的地方，为什么决定搬到那里？
12. 您和自己家人一起搬到意大利还是您一个人搬到？
13. 对您来看，离开中国到意大利开始新生活有什么样的困难？请告诉我您的意见。
14. 到 Lozzo di Cadore 时，您前面的最大困难是什么？
15. 您那时候已经会说意大利吗？
16. 您认为已经很好地融入了 Lozzo 的口中吗？
17. Lozzo 人口让您感到安慰还是让您排除？
18. 您在 Lozzo 怎么能找到工作？
19. 您在工作时，在什么行业工作？
20. 您的工作让您满意吗？
21. 您还住在 Lozzo 吗？
22. 您为什么搬家？
23. 现在您住在哪儿？
24. 现在您做什么工作？
25. 您认为现在从中国搬来比以前更容易吗？为什么？
26. 如果不是因为促使您搬家的原因，您还会住在 Lozzo 吗？请告诉我您的意见。
27. 对您来说，在您决定住的地方有一个华人社会区是重要的还是您认为它是次要的？
28. （如果没有大流行病）您希望回去中国吗？
29. 如果有别的你想表示的话，请写一下。

第二代移民必须回答的问卷调查有以下问题:

1. 你的姓名
2. 你的性别
3. 你在哪个省及城市出生的?
4. 你的最高学历(含目前正在读)是?
5. 你的年龄是?
6. 为什么你的家人决定搬到意大利?
7. 你的家庭搬到意大利时,你是跟他们一起的还是你留在中国?
8. 你在中国时,住在哪儿并做什么?
9. 你搬到意大利多少年以后?
10. 来到意大利的时候,你多年了?
11. 搬到意大利让你什么感觉?离开你的亲人和朋友有没有困难?请告诉我你的经历。
12. 到 Lozzo di Cadore 时,你前面的最大困难是什么?
13. 你已经会说意大利语吗?
14. 你认为你在 Lozzo 上小学时与意大利孩子融入得怎么样?
15. 中学毕业后,你继续学习(大学)还是开始工作?
16. 你还住在 Lozzo 吗?
17. 现在你住在哪儿?
18. 你的家人跟你来吗?
19. 你为什么搬家?
20. 现在你做什么工作?
21. 从搬来后,你的生活发生了哪些变化?
22. 如果不是因为促使你搬家的原因,你还会住在 Lozzo 吗?请告诉我你的意见。
23. 对你来说,在你决定住的地方有一个华人社会区是重要的还是你认为它是次要的?
24. (如果没有大流行病)你希望回去中国吗?
25. 如果有别的你想表示的话,请写一下。

Introduction

Nowadays we constantly read information and news about people or entire populations who decide to leave their homeland and move to another country. There may be many reasons for that; however, our constant exposure to such information no longer even allows us to wonder what the reasons that forced them to make this decision may be.

The same can also be said considering the Chinese population, which nowadays has as many as 40 million Chinese defined as 'overseas Chinese' (海外华人 *hǎiwài huárén*), that indicate the number of Chinese living outside Chinese borders.

The number of overseas Chinese began to grow considerably again beginning in 1979, the year in which China and in particular the government of Deng Xiaoping took back the reins of the country and launched a process of opening-up reforms that, within 30 years, transformed China into one of the most economically influential countries in the world.

This year represented a turning point with the previous Maoist period that had forced China to close in and had forbidden the population to move, in and out of it.

Although the country's growth occurred rapidly, bringing to a high development of the urban centers, it simultaneously centralized the country's wealth in the areas most likely to be the productive core of China's economy, such as the southern provinces, specifically in the area around the city of Shenzhen, or the large urban centers, namely Beijing and Shanghai. This favored, not only an economic and urban development, but also contributed to exacerbating differences among the population, which slowly came to be affected by the gap between the countryside and the urban areas.

While a large part of it was getting richer, many were also getting poorer: not only the large urban centers, but especially the peripheral and more inland areas were suffering the consequences of this rapid development that China was having, forcing more and more people to decide to move.

The opening up of China encouraged the movement of the Chinese population, who, driven by expectations, left the poverty they were experiencing in search of a more prosperous and rich future.

Starting in the 1980s, and then also in the following decades, overseas Chinese increased significantly, initially reaching tens of millions, and were mostly concentrated in northern and western Europe, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands, where the first European Chinese migrant communities began to form.

The first flows of migrants appeared also in Italy and for the first time our country was taken into consideration among the migration destinations. Overseas Chinese identified Italy as the country where they could settle, open new businesses, and start a new life. Starting from the first decades of the nineteenth century, the first Chinese settled in Italy; however, these migratory routes to Italy intensified considerably in the 1980s. At first, the first migrant generations composed of mainly adults moved to the north of Italy, specifically to Milan, where through contacts with Chinese already present there, they started their first activities, which allowed them to gradually make their way into the Italian economy. Later, these first generations started to call their children back to Italy, who joined them through family reunification.

An increasing number of Chinese decided to move further, also reaching the Veneto region, that was having a rapid economic development in the eyewear sector, especially in the province of Belluno. From the 1970s, the Cadore area, in the province of Belluno, initiated the eyewear production, and within a short time, the province became the core of eyewear factories not only at regional level but also at national one. This led to the need for labor, which materialized in the Chinese population that moved from the big cities to the small towns of the Veneto region.

Even though we witnessed and saw many times Chinese communities in big cities or small villages, no one expressed the wish to investigate the reasons why they felt in some way forced to leave their century-old culture and country to move to another one, where everything was new and unknown.

My intent is to try to give an answer to a question that for a long time I never considered. The inspiration for this work was given to me by the large Chinese presence in my small town, Lozzo di Cadore, and in particular by the contact I have had since childhood with the Chinese children who attended schools with me.

This research will therefore first try to outline the Chinese migration phenomenon from the earliest dynasties to the present. This long process has covered both internal migrations, within the Chinese territory, and then especially outward migrations, trying to focus mainly on the motivations that have contributed to these phenomena.

After having analyzed the migration phenomenon from a historiographical point of view, the research will take a more delineated and personal direction, thus considering Chinese migration in Veneto and in my village. In order to better deep into this topic, the responses to a questionnaire provided to the first- and second-generation Chinese population will be analyzed. The intent of this interaction is to better outline the motivations

and obstacles that the Chinese living in Lozzo had faced when they chose to migrate from China.

The research was conducted through a qualitative analysis of the responses obtained through the use of the Chinese digital platform Wenjuanwang (问卷网). To do this, it was necessary to interact with the resident and non-resident Chinese population in my village through a previous conversation, where an attempt was made to lay the foundation of trust with them so that they could be more involved in my research. The responses to the given questionnaire led to an attempt to give a more concrete explanation to the question that this thesis intended to find an answer.

Chapter 1

From the First Dynasty to the Present: A Moving Population

Migration phenomena have always been part of human beings: from ancient times until today it has been considered a crucial characteristic that brings to social evolution and involves the temporary or permanent movement of people from their homeland to another country (Cavalli-Sforza, 1996). Scholars are trying to analyze, from different points of view, the phenomena to identify which are the factors that influence migrations.

The English geographer Ravenstein was one of the first theorists to develop the «Law of Migration» (1885). His studies focused on migration flows in England, and thanks to them he discovered that these did not occur randomly, but rather they follow some rules, influenced by the environment a population is in.

Following his studies, he identified dispersion and absorption factors (push and pull factors) that underlie the causes which led a community to move to another country. Dispersion factors, or push factors, represent the unfavorable conditions in the homeland, which undermine the living conditions, and human development. These factors can include wars, conflicts, famine, natural disasters, and changes in the habitat, or may concern the economic sphere, like low salaries, poor welfare, and services, leading a small or big community to move away. On the contrary, absorption factors, or pull factors, represent the opportunities and favorable conditions that people can find in another place, like for example a good economic situation, or more favorable social welfare (Ravenstein, 1885).

However, many scholars argued that this phenomenon may have some similarities with the term 'diaspora', that until today, has been generally associated with the Jewish diaspora, which caused the forced exile of Jewish from their native country (McKeown, 1999). This term is nowadays used to refer not only to Jews, but also to wider communities, like political refugees, immigrants, workers, expellees, and minor ethnic groups (Shuval, 2002). Throughout centuries it acquired different meanings, and now it generally comprehends people who feel, maintain, invent, or revive a connection with a prior home (Safran, 1991:3).

We can therefore deduce that this concept may be associated with whatever similar condition that forces a community to move. Nonetheless, what scholars identified as 'Chinese diaspora' has been highly debated since the word 'diaspora' immediately conveys the image of a group of people, victims persecuted and expelled from their homeland.

Among different alternatives to this concept, scholars found that ‘overseas Chinese’ (海外华人 *hǎiwài huárén*) can better explain and represent all the migration flow that Chinese society faced for thousands of years (Miles, 2020). ‘Overseas Chinese’, even today, maintains an association with the term diaspora, but at the same time it emphasizes the placement, and belonging, overseas, beyond the Chinese nation (Miles, 2020:6).

1.1 The Early Chinese Migrations

The Chinese diaspora is generally thought to be a recent phenomenon, however, studies on migrations identified distinct phases in the history of Chinese migration, dating back to ancient times.

The first Chinese migration dates to the Qin dynasty (221-206 BC), when the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, Qin Shi Huangdi, ordered his functionaries to travel to the East, more precisely to Japan, to look for drugs for his immortality (Zhu, 1989).

During the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD), emperor Hanwu commissioned his functionaries to carry out diplomatic missions in Central Asia. We recall in this period the central role of the so-called Silk Road, which was composed of land and sea routes linking East and Southeast Asia to the Middle East and Europe. Thanks to the intricate routes, and the development of sailing, the Chinese empire opened to trade and maritime activities with the West. Over centuries, the Silk Road, later renowned also as Silk Routes, was used by merchants to bring to Europe Chinese manufactures, like porcelains, but also jade, precious stones, tea, and spices (National Geographic Society, 2019).

In the Tang dynasty (618-907), exchanges between China and other countries intensified. Merchants and traders from each Eastern countries came to China, while at the same time many Chinese decided to migrate to Korea and Japan to take part in business (Zhu, 1989). China is in this period the crossroads of all commercial activities which link not only South and East Asian countries, but also Western ones.

The Song dynasty (960-1279), which took control of the country, led China to the development of the economy, and thanks to the improvement of maritime trade, the imperial court encouraged overseas trade. As a consequence, Chinese ships spread throughout the South China Sea, Indian Ocean, and Persian Gulf (Zhou, 2009).

The first intense migrations, however, appeared in the early 1100s, and China, which was the main producer and exporter of porcelain, textiles, and printing materials started to

export its products, thus becoming well-known first in China and then also in the nearby Southeast Asian ports.

This period of commercial prosperity continued to grow and expanded under the rule of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), a nomadic population coming from Mongolia. Albeit China was at that moment ruled by a foreign dynasty, it lived a period of discrete serenity: the Mongols patronized trades and expeditions to Arabian countries and Japan, Java, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Burma (McKeown, 1999). During that period, trade diaspora to Southeast Asia and the nearby countries had the main purpose to bond with distant countries to have mutual benefits from one another. The trading relations with neighboring countries have been a defining feature of China for centuries, and that gradually led it to achieve a dominant position in the Asian scenario.

The succeeding Ming dynasty (1368-1644) continued to support overseas expeditions: in particular, the seven maritime expeditions of Zheng He incentivized even more Chinese communities to move to expand their businesses. However, in the last decades of the dynasty, the Ming sovereigns strongly opposed private commercial activities outside China and banned all overseas trade, and preferred a closeness of the Chinese state, thus limiting the trade to the Chinese empire and its tributary states. The Mongol attacks from the north obliged the Ming to set the expeditions aside and concentrate their power on the foreign invasions (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).

The huge maritime expeditions, that at the beginning of the XV c. which demonstrated China's high development, were blocked. This situation, together with the numerous attacks that China was facing within its borders, contributed to the increase in the population's discontent. The Ming dynasty, which at first was able to bring a relative continuity in Chinese history, is now mainly characterized by lots of violent political turmoil which weakened and threatened the imperial power, forcing the emperors to reconsider their strategies and begin a defensive war to protect the stability of the Empire (Zhou, 2009).

1.2 The Huashang Community and Chinese Migrations in the Early Modern Period

Despite the closeness China was forced to, in the sixteenth century, European powers entered China: first the Portuguese in 1517, then the Spanish in 1565, and at the end, the

Dutch in 1623 and established mainly in the Southeastern provinces. Since China opted to close its borders and forbid the population to move, European powers could take advantage of that and specialize in high-level production, which in some ways contributed to promoting the development of internal trade. Consequently, the Chinese imperial state relaxed the previous restrictions on maritime commerce by allowing again to export products abroad but forcing overseas Chinese to remain abroad. International maritime trade started over, and therefore most of the trade laws were revoked (Zhou, 2009).

Trade diasporas began to flourish again: Chinese migrants formed commercial relations with countries located in Southeast Asia, like the Philippines, Java, West Borneo, Sumatra, Thailand, and the Malay (Look Lai, 2004). Even though China showed the necessity to open its borders to new cultures, the imperial state decided to maintain China isolated from the outside, limiting the emigration only to neighboring countries, since migrants had to come back home after the commercial transactions had taken place. Due to their activities and to facilitate their trade, in the Southeast Asian ports they formed the first communities which were lately called by scholars the community of Huashang 华商 (Zhou, 2009). The Huashang community identifies merchants and artisans, but generally, workers, who are temporarily abroad setting up their business (Dudley, et al., 1994).

During its evolutionary and revolutionary path to modernization, China started to have relationships with the outer world, thanks to its economic activities and the expansion of commerce, and that incrementally led to a transformation of the society, which also included the movement of members of the family, mainly men, to other provinces or even to other countries. The following decades revealed in fact how the steadily growing population inevitably required more fertile areas for the culture.

As China was a broad country, many areas were considered apt at welcoming migration flows coming from every part of China. South and Southeast Chinese provinces however were the areas that were to some extent excluded from this migration since the closeness of the coasts to the mountains made the land not fertile for new fields (Kuhn, 2008). This condition worsened rural families' conditions, forcing them to send male labor forces to work abroad. The migration took the characteristics at first of a movement inside China, but then it was evident that men's labor was also necessary outside: men left temporarily their homeland and families to move away to come back soon after the family's economic condition had improved (Kuhn, 2008).

Among them, the southern Fujianese population is one of the most relevant migrating communities since, born as overseas merchants, they based their economic activities on overseas trade. The strong opposition of Ming policies to any migration forced

them to remain inside Chinese territory, and their commercial activities were concentrated mainly on the island of Taiwan, which geographically faces Fujian (Miles, 2020). When the Ming finally abrogated the trade barriers, Fujianese merchants began again to trade products abroad, first to nearby countries, and then also to further countries, for instance to Europe.

In 1636, the Qing empire started a formal expansion in China, threatening the political stability of the ruling Ming dynasty. Some of the elements that the Ming used to defeat and conquer the Yuan dynasty territories had been used by the Qing against their predecessors. While the Ming were mainly located in South China, far from the threats, the shrewdness of the Qing allowed them to conquer China from the north.

In 1644, the Qing dynasty formally started its ruling supremacy in the northeastern part of China. However, their expansionist aim did not stop in the north. They expanded their reign, conquering the territories of the previous Ming dynasty: from Shandong to Manchuria, from Shanxi to Mongolia and Xinjiang, from central China into Yunnan, and from Fujian and northeastern Guangdong to Taiwan (Miles, 2020). Although the conquest of new territories had positive effects on the development of the society, the Qing rapidly had to face the Russian and Mongol threats. Russia had previously entered China in the sixteenth century, but during the 1600s the relationship with the Russian worsened since their expansion was forcing some of the Chinese population to move toward east and south. The Mongols instead feared the alliance between China and the Russian empire and therefore, they invaded China from the north but were immediately defeated.

Throughout the centuries, China was characterized by trade exchange, but, during this conflicting period, all economic activities considerably diminished. However, after the conquest of Taiwan, Chinese ports along the southeast coast reopened and international commercial operations were allowed again.

1.3 Migrations in the Nineteenth Century

The Ming-Qing transition influenced the history of Chinese emigration. During the Ming dynasty, the population began to increase, and that contributed to the necessity for the population to have better living conditions. The Chinese population expanded in central

China and in the Southeast coastal areas, where thanks to the fertile land, they could cultivate sugar cane, tobacco, and potato, in addition to rice (Kuhn, 2008).

This increasing trend continued also during the Qing dynasty, though the causes of migration changed. In the eighteenth century the country suffered from a huge social disequilibrium, and economic stagnation, but that did not affect the demographic growth. The population increased, leading to the reduction of the prosperity of China. This situation brought a great number of families to move both inside and outside China to have better chances of surviving (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).

The mid-eighteenth century was also the period in which European powers increased their contact with China. In 1799 the Dutch conquered Indonesia, while in 1815 the British finally reached and took control over Singapore. A few years later, France conquered Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, founding the *Union indochinoise* (Zhou, 2009).

The territorial expansion of Western powers opens the possibility to European traders to benefit from the land, specifically from plantations, mines, and low-cost raw materials. China was at that time still an unexplored market and country, with plenty of resources, but closed to foreigners.

The long-lasting English presence in China caused negative impacts on the economy and politics: China was the core export country for tea, porcelain, and textile products; the British on the contrary started to trade and sell opium. Chinese society and culture suffered from a slow and inevitable fall, together with a real deprivation of its resources. The increasing revenues of opium sales and the exploitation of the resources, to the detriment of the Chinese economy, caused a deep crisis. The opium addiction and the economic issues influenced all social stratifications and, as a consequence, the imperial official Lin Zexu forbade the sale of opium. This action was considered the last straw which led to the First Opium War (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).

The resulting defeat of the Chinese empire revealed the strong economic backwardness of China. The British imposed above China the Nanjing Treaty which sanctioned the transfer of five Chinese ports to the United Kingdom (Shanghai, Ningbo, Canton, Fuzhou, and Xiamen), and moreover, China had to cede the sovereign of Hong Kong to the British. The United Kingdom also sanctioned China for the loss by forcing to pay the war damages which, although in part, would have covered its losses (Collotti Pischel, 2002).

After the First Opium War, the United Kingdom and France, dissatisfied with the results, took advantage of the vulnerability of the dynasty to attack again. The two

unsuccessful Opium Wars (1839-42 and 1856-60), which saw first Britain, and then Britain and France against China, weakened the power of the Empire and accelerated its decline.

These events reflected deeply also in society: from the mid-eighteenth century, China's economic development was blocked, and the national power weakened.

In this period of instability, Guangdong province was suffering the most since the population based their living on agriculture. Due to the demographic pressure, lots of lands were taken away, thus all peasants remained deprived of their only sustenance. This phenomenon increased by culminating in violent turmoil, one of all, the Taiping Rebellion (Zhu, 1997).

As a consequence, due to the economic crises, the Chinese communities, originated especially from the South and Southeastern provinces, left China and thanks to their geographical ties, emigrated worldwide (Mei, 1979).

1.3.1 The Age of Mass Migration

Since the end of the First Opium War, China experienced a period of mass migration. Industrialization played a crucial role in promoting migrations since, thanks to the development of new technologies and transportations, the Chinese population could easily move from remote areas of China to more industrialized ones.

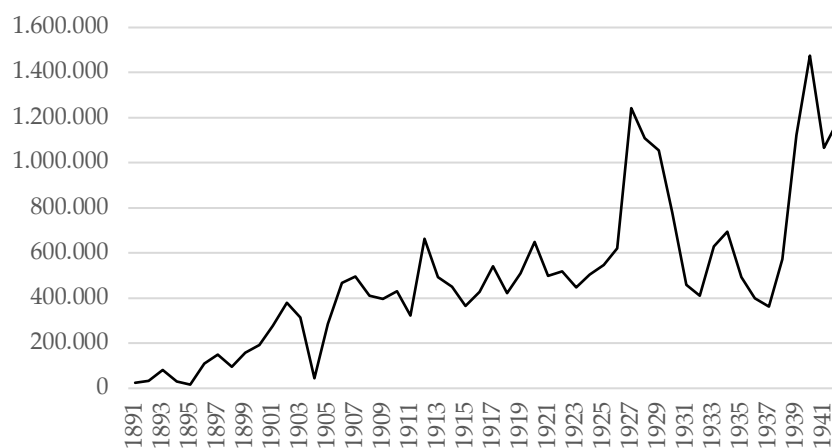
In this period, evaluations on migration flow recorded an increasing relocation inside China, specifically from Shandong and Hebei to Manchuria¹. Manchuria represented, together with Fujian and Guangdong, the areas where in this period the majority of Chinese came from and their strong need for better quality of life led to the strengthening of a migrating culture, which will characterize Chinese population for centuries (Miles, 2020). However, the reasons for this mass migration had to be found in the changes that the society had from the beginning of the nineteenth century on.

¹ Manchuria corresponds to the provinces in the Northeast part of China, namely Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, and part of Russia. There in 1644, the Qing dynasty took control over the previous Ming dynasty, imposing for the first time of the Chinese history as nomadic tribe. Geographically, this region is characterized by two different zones: the southern one is located near to the North of China, and includes the Liao River and the Manchurian Plain, which thanks to its closeness to the mountains, makes the land fertile and arable. The northern part, on the contrary, is characterized by rigid climate and steppe grassland since the so-called Eurasian steppe extends over China. The dual climatic conditions, and the technological progresses that were occurring, favored the migration in this region.

After the Qing took the power, China had to cope with periods of prosperity and periods of long poverty. This latter one became evident, particularly after the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), which worsened the plight in the country and weakened the central power further. The rebellion caused opposition to the migration from north and south China, also by cutting off the traffic on the Grand Canal, which played an important role in the livelihood of the population located in western Shandong and Hebei. Thus, traffic on it was readdressed on steamships and trains. Consequently, the population suffered from a severe crisis, which pushed them to consider the idea to leave China. Manchuria became the targeted region since it was considered at that time the pioneer of industrialization. Thus, the increasing necessity for as many people to work in the industries, mines, agriculture, and the newly developed railways led habitants of Shandong and Hebei to move (Gottschang & Lary, 2000).

However, information about migration in North China suggests that there is a strong correlation between the increased number of migrants and their economic conditions since the lack of opportunities and resources in their homeland is considered the main reason that pushed them to leave. At the same time, both disasters and diseases were some of the push factors, which to some extent influenced the economy and the population as well. Contrarily, as the situation at home or in the country improved, they were more likely to stay home (Gottschang & Lary, 2000).

Figure 1. Number of migrants to Manchuria, 1891-1942



Source: Gottschang, T. & Lary, D., 2000. *Swallows and Settlers: The Great Migration from North China to Manchuria*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

As shown from the graph, beginning with 1891, the number of immigrants who arrived in Manchuria rose steadily, recording only two contractions in 1894-95, during the

Sino-Japanese War, and in 1904-05, with the war against Russia and Japan. After the two setbacks, the number of migrants continued to rise without substantial drops, thus reaching the first peak around 1901 with over 1,2 million people recorded. Afterward, the restricted immigration policies of the government temporarily blocked migrations, which nonetheless started to rise again in the late 1920s.

The two opium wars had different effects on migrations: the Western entrance and domination of Chinese territory, and most of all on Chinese seaports, provided the opportunity to western powers to recruit millions of laborers and ship them overseas. Contemporarily, the wars and the opium trade deeply affected Chinese society, mostly in the coastal provinces. The historical consequences impoverished people, many of them became unemployed, and therefore decided to emigrate, with the only purpose of surviving (Kuhn, 2008).

In contrast with the early modern migration, the diasporic trajectories that occurred in the nineteenth century were characterized by both intra-provincial China and outside China too. Thus, the Chinese (particularly from Guangdong and Fujian) moved to Singapore, Indonesia, and Malesia, where the Chinese population had already settled down. This emigration was encouraged by the previous contact that China had with the Dutch and the English colonials, which needed laborers for the extraction of mineral and bulk agricultural products that they would send to China (Miles, 2020).

From the nineteenth century to World War II, Chinese society moved towards the creation of a new social class, the *Huagong* 华工, or contracted workers. Whereas the Huashang community was composed of merchants, the Huagong instead were more structured societies, which had been hired and employed by Western entrepreneurs following the market's needs.

The American gold rush, the creation of new railways, and the need for manpower in the plantations and mines of America, Australia, and New Zealand, led to the increasing demand of people for cheaper labor. This need has been fulfilled thanks to the gradual path towards the abolition of slavery in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, from this moment on, the Eastern countries gradually saw the development and rise of a new trade: the coolies' trade. The term 'coolie' is translated in Chinese as 苦力 (*kǔlì*), which literally means 'bitter strength'. The coolies were Chinese and Indian peasants, located in the West Indies who due to the famine and despair decided to move to the Western countries to find more agreeable living conditions (Farina, 2000).

Chinese debacle in the First and Second Opium Wars allowed European powers to take advantage of the weak situation to oblige the Qing government to authorize Chinese

laborers to move to western countries and their colonies to replace black slaves (Guotu, 2021).

Many scholars affirmed the importance to distinguish the African slaves and the coolies' trade: the African slaves were abruptly sold like beasts to the Europeans and Americans, who exploited their workforce as field hands and servants. On the contrary, the coolies deliberately accepted to work abroad, to gain money, and then come back to their homeland. Their condition was also supported by Chinese institutions, which tried to protect the population located abroad, for example entering bilateral treaties with Western countries, especially with the United States (Farina, 2000). Though, their journeys to the West revealed to be a living nightmare, since the work-shifts were exhausting and dangerous, and their living conditions were considered a replacement of the previous slavery condition since workers were also forced to 'sign' a contract, whose breach was punished with penal sanctions. Even though African slavery was abolished during the mid-nineteenth century, the mass migration which characterized this period in China can also be considered an indentured paraslavery (Kuhn, 2008).

Hong Kong, which after 1842 was a British colony, started to play an important role, becoming the main port for the shipment of Chinese workers to America, Australasia, and Hawaii. The port served as an entrepôt of migrants coming from Canton, the hinterlands of Xiamen, Shantou, and Guangzhou (Kuhn, 2008). Even in this case, traders and manpower were mainly composed of men which temporarily migrated and lived abroad (Miles, 2020); women instead could not leave their families and so were obliged to remain at home. This condition led to the creation of a new social group, composed of emigrant bachelor men, who left their homeland to work and then came back to China to marry and have children to emigrate again, thus leaving their families behind. Despite that, they regularly sent money to their family, hoping to be together again (Zhou, 2009).

Women will represent in the following decades a new migrant class. Due to the progress in industrialization, many women began to emigrate to work in factories. Since 1929, lots of them started working in cotton or tobacco factories, hired since they had nimbler fingers and because textile production was in some parts of China mainly addressed to women (Miles, 2020).

Contemporarily, a second group of migrants moved independently from China aiming also at far wider destinations, targeting first North America and Canada, and Australasia and a few years later Europe as well (Zhu, 1989). Statistics about these phenomena outlined that over two million Chinese migrated to Southeast Asia, Australia, and the Americas, and then another seven million moved again to the same places in the

next years (Miles, 2020). However, they had to pay a huge quantity of money, and therefore, many of them ran up debts. They believed that working away could make them earn the amount needed to live. Even though, only a small part of them was able to enrich and take advantage of the new opportunities coming from the economic activities in foreign markets (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).

The expansion of Western powers to China, and in Southeastern Asia, broke the commercial supremacy of the Chinese empire, and with it also the export strategies, thus bringing Asian and Western trade into the global exchange market. This economic shift led a great number of Chinese workers to be employed in commercial activities, mines, and plantations, working for European colonialists.

From data, within the period between 1876 and 1901, little less than 5 million Chinese emigrated from Guangdong, Fujian, and Hainan to Southeast Asia, but also the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean islands, and Polynesia (Baldassar, et al., 2015).

Table 1. Number of Chinese emigrants in the period between 1801-1925

Years	1801-1850						
Destination	Southeastern regions	Cuba	Peru	Australia	United States of America	West Indies	others
Number of migrating people	200,000	17,000	10,000	10,000	18,000	15,000	50,000
Total	320,000						

Years	1851-1875						
Destination	West Indies	British Guiana	Cuba	Peru	Panama	United States of America	New Zealand
Number of migrating people	30,000	20,000	135,000	110,000	25,000	160,000	5,000

Years	1851-1875						
Destination	Hawaiian Island	Philippines	Malay Archipelago	Dutch East Indies	Australia	Canada	others
Number of migrating people	25,000	45,000	350,000	250,000	55,000	30,000	40,000
Total	1,280,000						

Years	1876-1900			
Destination	U.S.	Hawaiian Islands	Malay Archipelago	Dutch East Indies
Number of migrating people	12,000	5,000	360,000	380,000

Years	1876-1900			
Destination	Australia	Canada	Philippines	others
Number of migrating people	8,000	4,000	20,000	21,000
Total	810,000			

Years	1901-1925				
Destination	South Africa	Europe, England, North Africa	Malay Archipelago	Dutch East Indies	others
Number of migrating people	55,000	150,000	125,000	300,000	20,000
Total	650,000				

Source: Zhu, G. 朱国宏., 1997. "Jindai Zhongguo daguimo de guoji qianyi 近代中国大规模的国际迁移" (The Mass Chinese Migration in The Modern Period). *Renkou Yanjiu*, 21(1), pp. 10.

Table 1 above shows the number of Chinese who left China in the period from 1801 to 1925, considering both nearby countries (India, Malaysia, and other Southeastern countries) and further counties (United States, Cuba, Peru, Canada, etc.).

Overall, it can be observed that the highest number of Chinese emigrated between 1851 and 1875 (1,280,000 people), which corresponds to the period after the two Opium Wars. China at that time experienced the darkest period, which facilitated the emigration of a great number of people, specifically peasants, and workers.

It is also noteworthy to mention that the countries that received the greatest number of immigrants were most of all nearby countries, like the Malay Archipelago and the Dutch East Indies, even though a considerable amount of them reached the United States too.

However, the peak reached in this timespan rapidly decreased. According to the statistics, due to the violent turmoil that occurred in China, from 1876 to 1900 more than half a million Chinese workers moved. This situation was accelerated also by the presence of Western powers, which obtained the right to manage the workers' trade.

As a consequence, from 1901 to 1925, Europe recorded the second-highest Chinese presence, even more than the previous data of the United States.

1.4 Chinese Migrations in the Twentieth Century

During the nineteenth century, the number of Chinese in Southeast Asian countries as well as in America and Europe steadily grew. Especially from the second half of the 1800s, the Huagong community decided to relocate and expand throughout the world. The economic-technological progress that Europe was going through led more and more Chinese to decide to choose the European continent as the destination of their emigrations (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019).

Data from 1881 recorded the presence of 665 Chinese in Great Britain, of whom 109 were in London. At the same time, France also turned out to be another targeted country for the Chinese diaspora: in 1911, 283 workers, students, and merchants moved there (Campani, et al., 1992). In addition to the people coming from mainland China, also Chinese from the Indochinese colonies and Malesia came to Europe.

The number of workers coming to Europe increasingly grew especially during the First and the Second World Wars, when the Chinese population was employed in the armaments industries or in the defense lines. The mass migration of that period, though, should not be completely attributable to the two World Wars, since many of the Chinese had come to Europe even earlier. Studies on migrations in fact demonstrated that Chinese communities were already present in our continent since the late 1800s.

1.4.1 Migrations Flows from the Beginning of 1900s to the First Post-War Period

In 1911, the Chinese empire fell: Chinese revolutionary forces overthrew the Qing dynasty domain. In 1912 they officially founded the Republic of China in Nanjing, and Sun Yat-sen was temporarily elected president of it.

The Republican era could be divided into two periods: the Beijing government, from 1912 to 1928, and the Nanjing government from 1928 to 1949. The Beijing government, also called the Yuan Shikai period, characterizes the first part of the Republic of China, identifying a period of violent turmoil due to the weakness in the political control of the territory which rapidly was changing from being a dynasty to a republic. The conflicts and the following threats of Japan toward China led to the creation of numerous groups of

political and cultural movements, which continued to fracture the political stability of China. (Fairbank & Twitchett, 2005).

The following period is the Nanjing period, also renowned as the Golden decade. In 1928, general Chiang Kai-shek established the central government in Nanjing. However, the weakness of the central power was influencing the relationship with the local communities in terms of political and cultural authority. Chiang Kai-shek tried therefore to unify again Chinese territory, and its political structure, thus avoiding all the excessive autonomies which would have represented an obstacle to the reunification of China.

In the first half of 1900, due to wars and economic crises, migration flows continued to be a constant characteristic of China since people were reaching economic stability and were also building the first communities. For these reasons, the Chinese government needed to recognize the importance which migrations had for the population. They first tried to define measures apt at forbidding the coolies' trade: they introduced a principle of reciprocity, thanks to which nations must have protected Chinese inhabitants abroad. Besides, to avoid any issues in determining the nationality of the new-born Chinese abroad, in 1909 the government issued a law that allowed parents to pass their own nationality to their children (Brigadoi Cologna, 2003).

Until the mid-1900s however, scholars, who decided to analyze the migration phenomena to Europe, took into analysis the writings of the French ethnologist and sociologist Charles Archaimbault, who in his article «En marge du quartier chinois de Paris» described Chinese migration as a phenomenon resulting from the need for labor for the *Corps des Travailleurs Chinois* (Chinese Labor Corps) during World War I. Archaimbault, in his studies, identified the war as a phenomenon that led to the beginning of Chinese migration to Europe, particularly from the Wenzhou and Qingtian districts in the Zhejiang province. These would later represent the main Chinese communities in Europe, even for the succeeding generations. Most of the Chinese living in France thus emigrated from China between 1926 and 1937, settling there temporarily (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019).

However, according to his studies, in 1917, and even before that year, data had already recorded the presence of Chinese in Europe (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019). The consequence of that dated in 1914, when the First World War outbreak. As a consequence, all European countries entered the war either in the Triple Alliance or in the Triple Entente. Scholars considered it the typical European war, even though it would also affect China.

With the outbreak of the First World War, European countries like Great Britain, France, and Russia, enlisted young and adult men in the army to go to the front. On the

other hand, China wanted to remain neutral, thus not allying neither with the Triple Alliance nor with the Triple Entente.

However, the Western powers required China to send new manpower, to replace the empty workplaces in the factories as consequence to have sent millions of people to the front. Thus, European governments signed with China a series of agreements to allow the Chinese population to move to Europe. Many Chinese, coming especially from the provinces of Shandong and Zhejiang, were sent to Europe, to work in the ports or as a digger in the defense lines (Samarani, 2017).

The Chinese, who had been enlisted, had first to travel to Shanghai to undergo medical check-ups and finally they could be boarded for Europe. Among them, however, many peddlers were able to board illegally, and after having arrived in France they were employed in several businesses (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019).

At the end of the war, the Chinese employed at the front or in the armament factories were repatriated, but some of them managed to remain in Europe. These gave rise in France to the first communities of Chinese workers, who began to live in Europe as peddlers of leather goods produced by Maghrebi artisans, who had arrived from the Maghreb to France during World War I (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019). Otherwise, Chinese people living in France in the decade from 1925 to 1935, mostly originating from the Zhejiang province and from provinces that had suffered from the dismantling of the automobile industries, began to make a living from street trading. These early trading activities represented a way, both to integrate into the socio-economic structure of the French society, and to overcome the unemployment that was characterizing that period. These small traders imported into Europe the trend of the so-called "chinoiseries" (trinkets, porcelain, lacquerware, and cloth, etc.), thus representing objects manufactured in the Far East which along through the centuries sparked interest in the Western culture (Live, 1992).

Although there is any certain document confirming this information, almost at the end of the First World War, data count that almost 150,000 Chinese arrived in Europe.

The Chinese presence until 1926 was still temporary and characterized by high mobility. Thus, the studies conducted until this moment seems to agree that the Chinese presence in Europe of the early 1900s was only linked to recruitment for the war (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019).

However, Archaimbault's studies and analysis were followed by other scholars, who, starting from this analysis, sought to identify more precisely the evolution of this phenomenon. Among all of them, the Danish sociologist Mette Thunø criticized what had

previously been said, and thanks to her studies, she tried to better explain the details about the beginning of the emigrations from China.

According to Thunø, the presence of Zhejiang migrants in Europe would date back to the Belle Époque period (1871-1914), when numerous people from the Zhejiang province started to reach Europe (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019). In addition, studies conducted by Chinese scholar Li Minghuan agreed that many Chinese, after the end of the Second Opium War, were sent abroad to work and many of them were also employed as seamen in the European shipping agencies, as they worked hard and diligently, and at a low-cost. Therefore, they were able to come to Europe by sea, and later some of them did not return to China, remaining there. In addition to arriving by sea, Chinese migrants reached Europe crossing Siberia, thanks to the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, to sell necklaces, bags, and objects made of Qingtian stone. They would later be joined by Chinese from the city of Tianmen, in the province of Hubei, and from the province of Shandong (Li Minghuan, 2002).

The studies of Thunø combined with an historical event, analyzed by scholars Li Minghuan and Veronique Poisson, which seems to emphasize the reasons for the increasing presence of Chinese migrants since 1926. The sudden increase from 1925-26 had to be traced back to an event happened in Japan. Chinese presence in Japan was increasingly growing since the Ming dynasty, due to the immigration policies that the Japanese government had promoted to attract many Chinese workers and students to seek for business opportunities. However, in 1923 a violent earthquake struck the Kantō plain. The blame for this earthquake fell on the many Chinese and Korean immigrants in Japan, who started to be hatred and blamed, and as a result they were forced to repatriate. Following this huge back flow to China, the Chinese decided to migrate to Europe which, due to the already stable presence of Chinese citizens and the ease of obtaining passports, became the final destination of a migration process that began in 1925 and 1926. From these flows, Chinese migrants no longer identified Europe as a temporary destination but began to settle with the intention of remaining there to start businesses (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019).

On the other hand, concerning the migration phenomena to Italy, the sociologist Thunø pointed out that the first Chinese settlements dated back to the late 1800s. In 1871, Chinese merchants from Zhejiang arrived in Italy to take part to the most important industrial and manufacturing fairs and exhibitions, especially in Rome, and then also in Milan, Turin, and Genoa, where they displayed their art manufactures made of Qingtian stone. Nonetheless, the mass migration to Italy is officially recorded starting from 1920s, which would favor the birth of the first Chinese communities in the following years (Brigadoi Cologna, 2019).

Therefore, it is improper to conclude that the first Chinese communities are at some extent linked to the Chinese that came to Europe during the First World War to be employed at the front, since from 1925 the Chinese which moved to Europe, and then also to Italy, are the result of several migration flows that drove the Chinese from Zhejiang, and many other provinces, to European countries.

1.4.2 European Migration and the Second World War

The period after the end of the Great War saw a high percentage of migrations, which affected Chinese and European societies. It is the period when the United States and European countries, like Germany and France, became the targeted countries where 4 million Chinese people migrated (Birindelli, 1989).

As reported, many Chinese who had previously come to Europe to help during the First World War decided to settle there, forming the first big communities of Chinese migrants, in particular composed of workers and peasants coming from the Zhejiang province. They settled mainly in the biggest port cities like Marseille and Liverpool, starting their businesses and managing the migrative flows from Europe to China and vice versa.

Table 2. Number of Chinese in Europe recorded in the 1950s

Country	Chinese population in Europe in the 50s	Country	Chinese population in Europe in the 50s
England	4.500	Spain	132
France	2.000	Portugal	120
Netherland	2.000	Switzerland	30
Germany	500	Greece	2
Italy	330	Luxemburg	1
Belgium	90	Total	9.714

Source: Li Minghuan 李明欢, 2002. 欧洲华侨华人史 *ouzhou huaqiao huarenshi. A History of Chinese Immigrants in Europe*, Chinese Overseas Publishing House, Beijing, pp. 457-458.

After the economic crisis of the 1930s which affected the worldwide economic stability, the Zhejiang community expanded further seeking to find new jobs (Campani, et al., 1992).

The demographic growth, the growing uncertainty, and the precarity in the working environment affected the population and favored the beginning of migrating flows. Even the migrations from Zhejiang are mainly characterized by men, since as seen in the previous centuries, men were the first people who left their families to move abroad, seeking a more profitable job, thus reuniting the family once they got it.

The second war against Japan and the following outbreak in Europe of the Second World War in 1939 were the driving forces that convinced and pushed even more Chinese to move from their homeland.

The official outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War happened in 1937 with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. However, the Japanese invasion was considered as the result of a decades-long threats that China was undergoing. The Japanese Empire was in fact aiming at the resources with which China was provided, like raw materials, manufactures, food, and labor, with the purpose of imposing a complete domination over Asia. These attempts materialized in a series of 'incidents' with which Japan tried to provoke China to start a war. In 1931, the Japanese Empire used the pretext of the so-called Mukden Incident to accuse China and proceed with an official occupation of Manchuria (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005). There, Japan established the puppet state of Manchukuo, under its direct control, and under the rule of the last Qing emperor Pu Yi. After this event, the Japanese Empire continued to launch small attacks to China. The most important happened in 1937, with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, in which a group of Japanese army soldiers, after disguising themselves as Chinese, decided to shoot Japanese soldiers (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005). This was the official pretext for Japan to declare war on China. Although the numerous attacks that China underwent, the official declaration of war to Japan was declared in 1941.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Japan signed agreements with Germany and Italy, and China therefore could officially declare war to it. At first, the Chinese army faced the war alone, without any support. However, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, China received the help of the United States and the Soviet Union. Japan found itself forced to surrender, thus letting China take control of all the territories undermined by the Japanese power.

Until that moment China experienced many floating phases. The central government was facing changes in the representative power and at the same time, China was experiencing a period of expansion, in both economy and technology. However, the consequences after 1945 also affected it: the conclusion of the war weakened the Nationalist government, leading to a phase of shortage of demands for products, which favored

inflation and corruption. Contemporarily, the Communist power was gaining more and more support from the population, and shortly thereafter it would impose its supremacy over the previous Nationalist government.

On October 1, 1949, the Communist power, under the rule of Mao Zedong, officially proclaimed the birth of the People's Republic of China. This moment was remembered as the starting point to the restoration of national sovereignty, which would bring political and economic stability to the country.

The Communist government deeply reflected the ideas that Mao Zedong had for the restoration of a new popular democratic dictatorship. The objective of the country highlighted a series of reforms, namely the most important one was the transition from an agricultural to an industrial country. These reforms could become effective thanks also to the collectivization of the means of production, as suggested by the Marxist theories (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).

Thus, the revolution which led the Communist Party to take the power was aimed mainly at realizing real independence of China from the imperialist and colonizers who up to the end of the Qing Dynasty were taking over Chinese territories.

The newly founded Chinese regime abolished all unequal treaties which were imposed after the Opium Wars and then after the two World Wars and tried also to remove all the leftover ideologies of the previous Nationalist Party.

1.5 China's Emigration Slowdown during the Maoist Period (1949-78)

With the founding of the Chinese Popular Republic on October 1, 1949, China under the governance of Mao Zedong, decided to ally with the USSR. That was considered a strategic but obliged political choice, which drifted China apart from the western powers. In 1950, Stalin and Mao signed a treaty according to which USSR and China committed to a direct and mutual alliance against external threats and also financial aid. At the same time, USSR also would have provided China with a group of specialized technicians to contribute to its development process (Musso, 1995).

Concerning the economic model adopted, whereas, in the first years of the Republic, China was characterized by a mixed economy model, where only the main banks and firms were nationalized, after the War against Korea, where China invested a great amount of capital, Mao Zedong decided to abandon this gradual approach in favor of a planned

economy. His first five-year plan (1953-57) was therefore the simplification of his development plan, inspired by the Soviet one but adapted to Chinese needs.

The realization of this plan had consequences in the rural areas of China: the agricultural sector was collectivized and the heavy industry sector (mainly in the mining, steel, and mechanical construction sectors) was the one that received the main investments from the government. However, Mao's development plan gave opposing results to those desired, since both agricultural and heavy industry sectors were reducing efficiency, not bringing to the realization of the objectives at which Mao and his Party were aiming.

The Great Leap Forward (1958-60), considered the project whose aim was to bring China to be self-sufficient, incentivized its economic development. All the resources, which had previously been redistributed between the agricultural and industrial sectors, were located only in the industrial one. Thus, the countryside saw the construction of foundries, cement factories, and construction sites, which damaged agricultural production and forced the population to adapt to a new economic system (Samarani, 2017).

Between 1959 and 1961, the changing in the socio-economic development of China forced almost 30 million people to work in the local businesses. As a direct consequence of that, the total agricultural production diminished, adding up to the difference in the distribution of resources that were favoring instead the urban areas. In the same period, the Chinese population also faced famine, the consequence of natural disasters which damaged the internal provinces of China causing approximately 30 million deaths (Naughton, 2007).

Despite the efforts the CCP did to guarantee the economic development of China, Mao had to review his plan, pointing at a more gradual strategy. The farmers, who had previously been forced to leave their job to work in the industrial sector, reacquired their land and the investments in the industries were recalibrated, thus bringing China to be more and more independent from the main powers. The unexpected change started to affect the relationship with USSR, which definitely broke in 1960 (Samarani, 2017).

In 1966, the CCP and the leading rule of Mao launched the Cultural Revolution, whose main purpose was the epuration of the people opposed to socialism and the revolution. Nonetheless, the Revolution did not lead to severe consequences for economic development but created just a delay in investments and production (Naughton, 2007).

Therefore, the founding of the People's Republic of China represented a change from the previous dynastic and nationalist period: the new proclaimed Chinese government rapidly swept away the dregs left over from the old society and established a new political system that throughout the years increasingly became even more prohibitive, thus bringing Chinese government to be strict to any movement inside and outside China. The border,

from a typical communist perspective, was seen as the contact point between two different political systems: the 'socialist' and the 'capitalist' one.

1.5.1 The Entry-Exit Policy in China since 1949

The position taken by the Communist Party over the Western powers distanced China from them and as a consequence the government blocked all migrations, considering them illegal and a betrayal of the country.

Since 1949, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office managed all the movements of Chinese people outside China. The entry or exit from China was regulated by the relationship that China had with the country of destination: if this country maintained diplomatic affairs with China, migrating people could cross the borders only by providing their passport and visa; contrarily, if the country of destination was not maintaining a relationship with China, the Chinese had also to apply for a travel permit (华侨通行证 *huaqiao tongxingzheng*) (Qiao, 2013).

A substantial change started in 1959: the CCP, which until that moment had tolerated the migrations outside China, now began to control all the requests coming from the Chinese willing to leave. This choice became even stricter during the period of the Cultural Revolution since the Government declared all the migrants to be anti-socialists and in favor of capitalism. For this reason, the Overseas Chinese Affairs issued six principles that each Chinese had to follow, which completely blocked all incoming and outgoing movements from China, and even correspondences with relatives abroad (Qiao, 2013).

Consequently, except for exceptional circumstances, all migration phenomena outside China stopped, thus favoring internal migration.

The transformation of the rural areas, after the Agrarian reform, to some extent contributed also to the consolidation and spread of consensus towards the Communist Party also in the territories of China where the population was mainly discontent about the denied privileges. The Chinese population started to pour into the bigger cities to finally obtain the government's protection. Although these new trajectories inside Chinese borders were mainly state-organized, this last one was not state-controlled and therefore the CCP erected, in the late 1950s, state policies to block the massive movement of Chinese people from the countryside (Miles, 2020). The hukou system (household registration), officially

instituted in 1958, was the first attempt to limit the massive movement of population in the cities, since it classified the population according to their residency, thus assigning them an agricultural or non-agricultural hukou. It became therefore more and more difficult to migrate from the countryside to the cities, for both short and long periods.

1.5.2 New Destinations: Taiwan and Hong Kong

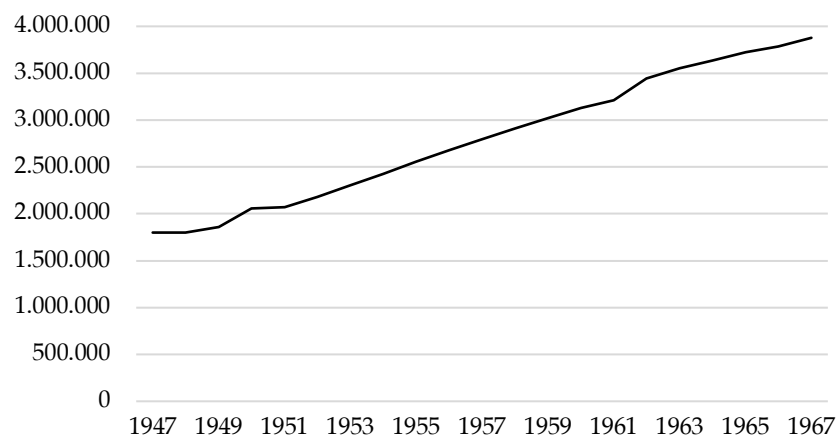
The creation of the People's Republic of China strongly influenced the population trend inside the Chinese borders. The policies adopted by the CCP forced millions of people to move, aiming at more favorable conditions. The limitations due to the hukou system, the famine, and the political changes contributed to this decision.

However, many countries, among which the United States and Australia, which in the past had willingly welcomed Chinese migrants, now issued some policies aiming at blocking the migration inside their borders, especially from China. Contemporarily, also the countries in Southeast Asia started to ban the entrance of Chinese refugees since the Southeastern countries were recording an increasing population trend of Chinese origins (Hoa, 2012).

Taiwan and the British colony of Hong Kong became therefore the destination of an increasing number of migrants. After the previous Nationalist government was forced to move to Taiwan, many Chinese people moved there, following the reminiscence of the previous Nationalist government, since they lacked faith in the new Communist Party and its ideology and feared that staying in China would implicate persecutions and arrests.

This was not the only trajectory followed by migrants. After 1949, the British colony of Hong Kong became another targeted place where migrants decided to move. Due to its closeness to mainland China, Hong Kong recorded an increasing number of migrants during the period from the founding of the PRC. However, the first data were not complete since up to that moment the government had never regulated the entry and exit movement from its borders, nor it had a registration system apt to enrolling the migrants (Hoa, 2012).

Figure 2. Estimated total population in Hong Kong (1947-67)



Source: Hong Kong Statistics, 1947-1967, Hong Kong, Census and Statistics Department, 1969, p. 14.

As estimation suggests, the total population of Hong Kong grew following an upward trend. Considering the year 1947 as the starting point of this phenomenon, the number of Chinese migrants almost doubled in a period of twenty years. It highlights how Chinese people felt dissatisfied with the current political situation and aimed at settling abroad.

In 1950, we record a surge in the number of migrants since, after the outbreak of the war against Korea, the political relationship between China and the United Kingdom weakened, and as a consequence, Hong Kong closed its borders. Chinese government acted in the same way and forbade its population to move to the south. Only those with special requirements and with an entry permit could cross the borders (Hambro, 1957).

Likewise, after the failure of the Great Leap Forward which caused deaths and poverty, in the first 60s the Colony experienced a new abrupt increase. The Chinese population poured into Hong Kong, hoping that its division from mainland China and the CCP would enhance their living conditions.

After the two highest peaks of growth, the population in Hong Kong continued to steadily increase, without any relevant changes.

Since 1949, the Chinese state under the ruling of the CCP was highly influenced by Mao Zedong's ideology and that also played an important role in the population movement. As beforementioned, the rigid control on migrations hampered the spontaneous floating of people in the Chinese territory, thus making migrations even more difficult. The enactment of the hukou system, and before, the Great Leap Forward, has been considered the first decision of the CCP that to some extent started to gradually stop the migrations inside China.

Nonetheless, some spontaneous migrations continued to exist even without government approval.

The introduction and enforcement of the hukou system, during the Maoist era, affected migration in many important ways. People who wanted to change residence to get more welfare benefits and have more possibility to be hired in urban areas, had to first submit their request, and be approved by the state. In fact, in the 1960s and 1970s, the government decided to strictly regulate, and then ban, rural to urban migrations, only by allowing those for bringing support to the state's development path. For that reason, migrant flows occurred illegally and secretly, and that complicated further the control that the CCP was enforcing. From estimates on the number of floating Chinese emerges that, since the early 1980s, the number of non-hukou migrations gradually grew, maintaining along through the 1980s and 1990s an upward trend; contemporarily, even the number of hukou migrants recorded officially an increase, although is highly underneath the number of floating migrants (Pieke & Mallee, 1999).

The socio-economic changes, together with the natural disasters of the early 60s, during the Great Leap Forward which caused a short supply of food, and the resulting famine, forced millions of Chinese to move, ignoring the regulations imposed by the state (Davin, 1999). According to the 1990 census, both legal and 'illegal' migration moved oppositely: while the non-hukou migrants followed a 'from inside out' migration, namely from the internal provinces of China to the coasts, the hukou migration appeared to be linked to the different opportunities the people may encounter (Pieke & Mallee, 1999).

At the launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, another great mass of Chinese spontaneously moved inside China, pushed from the division that the revolution created inside the families. At the same time, the government officially banned international migration since they feared the spread of capitalism in China.

The death of Mao, in 1976, would represent the end of the Cultural Revolution and also the end of a phase that caused disorders and poverty. In the same year, a new party took the power and introduced a series of economic reforms which transformed completely the economic and social structure of China.

1.6 The Second Great Migration to Europe: Deng Xiaoping Reopens the Borders

Mao Zedong's death in 1976 represented the end of a period that closed China from international relations with other countries.

In 1978, the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee was held and during the conference Deng Xiaoping was appointed as the successor of Mao Zedong, thus inheriting the political instability of China after the end of the Cultural Revolution. From that point on, Deng Xiaoping carried out his own policies and reforms aimed at creating a new economic and political path of development. His political agenda had as first objective the launch of the Four Modernizations, whose goal was agricultural, industrial, technological development, and national defense, aimed at a wider economic liberalization.

From an economic point of view, the consequences after the Great Leap Forward and the following Cultural Revolution represented a starting point for taking into effect the 'open door' policy. Due to the technological and economic underdevelopment, caused by the late socioeconomic events that happened before Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping realized that China was short of technological skills, and therefore it needed new investments coming from the Western countries. As a consequence, China opened up its borders to foreign enterprises which wanted to expand their businesses in China. To reach this goal, the CCP opened up also four Special Economic Zones (经济特区 *jingji tequ*)², with favorable tax incentives to attract foreign businesses and capital (BBC News, 2003). This strategy allowed Deng Xiaoping to shift the economic asset from a planned economy to a socialist market economy, thus leading to quick progress which would bring China to be competitive in the global market.

The Reform and Opening-up of China was defined as the first attempt to convert China into a socialist country with Chinese characteristics. China had in this period a rapid socioeconomic growth, that led it to reach in more or less a decade the level the western countries had gradually reached throughout centuries. As a consequence, Chinese cities, in both rural and urban areas, went through notable changes which reduced the poverty and improved people's well-being.

This rapid growth has in some way brought benefits to the population, industries however had not the same advantages: the Reform and Opening-up policies led to an

² The plan to open up the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) was designed in 1979 and involved the coastal provinces in the south of China. In particular the main SEZs were located in Shantou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Xiamen. After these also other 14 coastal cities were opened to investments, namely Dalian, Qinhuangdao, Tianjin, Yantai, Qingdao, Lianyungang, Nantong, Shanghai, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Zhanjiang, and Beihai (Wikipedia, s.d.)

increase of violations. Many owners of private enterprises began to illegally embezzle public assets that had to be allocated in the private sectors. This affected the population's lifestyle, especially in the rural areas, since the living costs, real estate and health care and education prices increased (Qiao, 2013). As it was seen also in the centuries before, the political choices that the Chinese government took, underlined once again the difference between those people living in rural and/or urban areas.

These substantial changes in the society deeply influenced the migration flows, which after the slowdown in the Maoist period were gradually beginning again.

The economic reforms pushed a growing number of rural workforces to leave the countryside to move into more profitable sectors to work. However, throughout the 1980s the migration from rural areas to the cities was still largely prohibited. In the 1990s, after the expansion of foreign direct investment into Chinese cities, the government started to ease the restrictions, which generated a massive movement of rural Chinese into the cities, seeking a job, and that contributed to a rapid economic growth. The migrations were not permanent though, and in fact, many emigrants came back home after their period had finished (Gregory & Meng, 2018).

During this period China experienced a great migration flow: many Chinese decided to remain in their homeland, giving birth to the massive movement from the countryside to the cities; contemporarily, a growing number of Chinese inhabitants moved to Europe. Like during the First and Second World Wars, Chinese migrants were already present in many European countries, like France and Great Britain and they came from the Southeast provinces, mostly from the province of Fujian and Zhejiang. The numbers of Chinese migrations are still nowadays uncertain; however, an indicative figure counts about thirty million people scattered in 136 different countries in the early 1990s. Of these, approximately 91 percent came from the province of Fujian (and to a lesser extent from Guangdong and Hainan) (Brigadoi Cologna, 2003).

At first, migrants from South China traveled mainly to South America, Southeast Asia, and India, where they settled intending to sell carved stones. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, issued by the American government, blocked all migrations from China to America. Therefore, Europe became their major destination (Pieke & Mallee, 1999).

The first Chinese coming to Europe settled in France and England, given the European colonialism in Asia which linked the Chinese territory with Hong Kong and the Southeastern countries. At the end of the World War I, after the European powers recruited laborers from China to serve in the war, many Chinese decided to settle in Europe and started to provide support for the arrival of relatives and friends. The following decade saw

a steady increase of Chinese people coming to Europe. However, the number of overseas Chinese is not defined, since many arrived and stayed illegally, and so are not counted in the official census (Pieke & Mallee, 1999).

Table 3. Number of Chinese in Europe (in million) around 1980 and 1990

Country	1980	1990
France	210,0	200,0
United Kingdom	91,0	125,0
Netherlands	60,0	45,5
Germany	20,0	39,5
Italy	3,5	20,7
Spain	3,5	15,0
Belgium	4,0	13,0
Sweden	5,0	12,0
Austria	4,5	6,0
Denmark	2,0	6,0
Switzerland	3,2	5,0

The data above were extracted from: Farina, P., 2000. "I cinesi nel mondo e in Italia". In: L. Lanciotti, ed. *Conoscere la Cina*. Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, p. 132.

As seen in the Table above, the migration phenomena involved in different measures many European countries, including Italy. According to estimations, Italy ranked the fifth country in the number of Chinese residents in Europe. From the Reforms on, the Chinese population in Italy will constantly grow, leading to a series of migrating flows that will involve Italy for more or less a century.

1.7 The Migration Flow to Italy from the 1990s to Nowadays

Before analyzing the migration phenomena, it becomes fundamental to delineate the reasons why the majority of the Chinese present in Europe (and then also in Italy) came from Zhejiang. Zhejiang is a coastal province located in Southeast China. Its position, near the East China Sea, favored the maritime trade since ancient times, at first with nearby countries like Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia, and then also with Western countries.

Figure 3. Map of the Zhejiang Province



Source: https://www.hiddenchina.net/web/eng/karte_zhejiang_map.html.

Its geographical position distinguished it into two main zones: the north (around the capital Hangzhou) is characterized by fertile land, rich in rivers and lakes, and with an arable plain that facilitates agriculture. This area is made fertile thanks to the presence of the Jing-Hang Grand Canal River, whose flow crosses Hangzhou, and also of numerous lakes.

The south, instead, is about 70 percent mountainous, mostly localized in the southwest and that makes the land inhospitable. The South Zhejiangese described their life in the south:

Mountains and rivers everywhere make this an impassable and dangerous area. It has neither plateaus nor fields, and the forests at the foot of the mountains contain all the moisture. In the middle of all of this, the people are living, scaling the mountains to make terrace fields. Potatoes make up their whole diet, for which they work hard all their lives, but they are always hungry. What a bitter life! (Qingtian xianzhi, 1935:31)

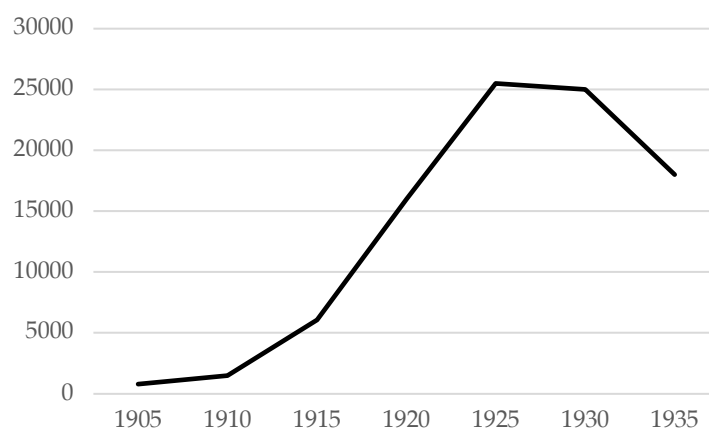
The presence of mountains and hills made cultivation unfavorable for the population and that led to a localized impoverishment. This description highlights the fact that their living there was extremely difficult and was considered one of the reasons that led the inhabitants of Qingtian and Wenzhou Counties to move.

Zhejiang was in the past centuries one of the richest provinces of China, with an agricultural-based economy. Besides, the strategic position of Zhejiang made it the main

commercial crossroads of trade: in the past, and even in the present, Zhejiang represents the hub of the highest amount of goods that are shipped not only in China but also worldwide. That contributed to the make its inhabitants attached to the area in which they lived and to their traditions.

Nonetheless, the resulting impoverishment of the people was the main driving force that obliged them to emigrate from China. The estimates collected reveal that since the early 1900s more and more Chinese residents of southern Zhejiang Province (especially from Qingtian and Wenzhou) have migrated abroad, and to Europe.

Figure 4. Estimation of Qingtian Chinese living overseas, 1905-1935



Source: Chen Lite. 1995a. "Qingtianren Chuguo Dao Ouzhoude Jingguo". (The process of Qingtian people's emigration to Europe). *Qingtian Wenshi Ziliao* 6, pp. 18-25.

The estimation of the number of Chinese overseas coming to Europe is still nowadays uncertain: some of the Qingtian migrants came to Europe as stowaways, helped by secret societies in Shanghai and Wenzhou and so they were not officially recorded. Once they arrived in France, particularly in Marseille, the Chinese who had previously settled there helped them to open their own businesses (Pieke & Mallee, 1999). Despite uncertain estimations, the following census will record an ongoing increase in the number of migrants coming from the southeastern regions of Zhejiang.

By seeing the fortunes of their fellow citizens, during the following years, a growing number of Chinese coming from Zhejiang arrived in Europe, pushed by their poor condition and the hope of getting higher earnings.

1.7.1 The Chinese Community of Milan

The first Chinese in Europe settled in France and Great Britain and then spread to all other European countries. The trajectory of the migration drove them to Italy too: in the early 1930s, Italy became the targeted destination of a series of migrative flows which will characterize Italy for more than a decade. There are not certain data about the Chinese people in our country before the 1970s, however, estimations about it recorded approximately one thousand people by the 1940s (Zhang, 2019).

The first Chinese communities in Italy settled in the north of Italy, especially in Milan, which today hosts the highest number of Chinese, mainly located in Via Paolo Sarpi, which over the years has been considered the heart of Milan's Chinatown. In the 1920s and 1930s, the main centers were also Via Canonica and Via Rosmini.

Figure 5. Via Rosmini, from Via Paolo Sarpi, Milan, 1940s



Source: <https://blog.urbanfile.org/2016/11/03/milano-chinatown-oltre-centanni-del-quartiere-cinese/>

Figure 6. Piazza Ercole Luigi Morselli, Milan, 1940s



Source: <https://blog.urbanfile.org/2016/11/03/milano-chinatown-oltre-centanni-del-quartiere-cinese/>

The Chinese population, which in the 1920s and 30s settled in Milan, came from a specific geographical part of China, in the surroundings of Wencheng, in the province of Zhejiang. This community corresponds to 60-70 percent of the Chinese living in Milan. Given the connections with their motherland, and especially with their native province, also Chinese from the Wenzhou district arrived there. Now, their presence composes the 30-40 percent of Milan's Chinese (Cologna, 2009), a small but relevant number of the community (3-4 percent) is composed of Chinese coming from the north of China (namely 东北 *dongbei*, which in origin corresponded to Manchuria) (Brigadoi Cologna, 2003). The presence of Zhejiangese and Fujianese Chinese is not recent and can be traced already to the 1920s, the migrations from northern China instead are more recent, dating back to the end of the 1990s.

Originated from the province of Liaoning, the northern Chinese belong to the working class and were affected by the economic effects of the dismantling of the industries in that area. Forced by their condition, they emigrated from the North to nearby Russia. In Russia, their presence was only temporary, and thanks to contact with the illegal migration organizations of Zhejiang, they were able to reach Europe and Italy³ (Brigadoi Cologna, 2003).

³ Their arrival as stowaways led this group of Chinese to have many difficulties in the legalization of the residence permit, thus it was more complicated for them to find a regular job. Women, in fact, started to earn money with prostitution – illegal in Italy –, creating a gap with the already present Chinese population, which was gradually being integrated by the Italian population. Men, instead, started working as temporary workers for Italian industries. Contrarily to the Chinese from Zhejiang that preferred to create their own activities, they received a better education, and that seemed to help them to avoid the difficulties in creating new businesses, preferring instead to work as employee in the Italian industries. For further information see: Brigadoi Cologna, D., a cura di, 2003. *Asia a Milano. Famiglie ambientate e lavori delle popolazioni asiatiche a Milano*: Abitare Segesta.

The north of Italy was chosen as the first destination due to the presence of many activities linked to the manufacture of textile products, which Chinese people worked professionally (Farina, 2000). The first emigrant communities, which at first settled in France and based their activities on the sale of trinkets, in Milan transformed their businesses and started to produce manufactures, thus becoming small craftsmen: they produced leather and fabric items, thanks to which they were able to gradually expand their enterprises. They also used silk to produce clothes and especially ties, which then they would sell into their own commercial activities or to other compatriots in Italy (Brigadoi Cologna, 2003). This first contact with the Italian entrepreneurial sector was helpful for the next-incoming generations from China, which decided to settle in Milan, since from this moment on, the presence of relational networks in Italy allowed an increasing number of Chinese to move, which led to the creation of economic activities run by the Chinese emigrants.

However, since the end of the 1990s, many Chinese arrived in Italy illegally and due to this reason, the real amount of Chinese in Italy is still uncertain. Reports seem to confirm that the highest number of Chinese in our country came from the South China. It can be therefore deduced that at first the Chinese presence in Italy has been sporadic and worthless, until the last decades of the twentieth century, when Italy experienced a second big mass migration. Italy was at first just a temporary location, where the Chinese settled for short periods before moving again towards other European countries, like France and the Netherlands. Only after several decades, they will recognize Italy as a destination of their migrations (Monegato, et al., 2002).

Despite the period of closeness of China, at the same time of the easing of migration restrictions of the 1980s, in Italy, the government issued a series of regularization schemes (called in Italian '*sanatorie*'), thanks to which Chinese workers migrating illegally to Italy could obtain residency permits (Zhang, 2019). According to these schemes, the State aimed at promoting legal and regular immigration, allowing migrants to gradually obtain the same rights as their co-citizens (Parlamento Italiano, 1998). This attempt to control and convert the illegal Chinese acted oppositely, attracting even more people from China and Europe to come to Italy. Contemporarily, the economic activities run by Chinese were gradually growing, diversifying their products, and spreading also in other cities. This period experienced a first slow migration of the Chinese communities in Milan to Bologna and to the textile district around the cities of Florence and Prato.

1.7.2 The District of Prato and the Development of the Ready-to-Wear Fashion Industry

Since the 1980s, many Italian cities experienced a great development in the production and trade sectors, and so the industries decided to carry out a division of labor among individual enterprises, rather than among employees. As a direct consequence, the industries started to localize in particular areas and then cooperate with other industries of the same supply chain.

The small district of Prato, near Florence, was involved in this change too. Starting from the 1980s and early 1990s, the city of Prato gradually developed, thus becoming an important center of manufacturing products, involving at local level several interconnected small and medium enterprises, which received the goods that were produced there. Particularly, the district of Prato was considered the main hub for the production of textiles, clothing, furniture, shoes, and leather (Baldassar, et al., 2015). It is exactly in this period that the typical label of 'Made in Italy' was born, thus targeting all the products and manufactures which are entirely produced inside the Italian country.

The high manufacturing level of Prato and the increasing amount of exported goods characterized the city for mostly a decade, and that contributed also to increase its reputation of most important manufacturing center. Its great productivity allowed it to belatedly suffer the consequences of the business slowdown, which since the early 1990s was forcing many businesses to close. However, beginning especially in the 2000s, the city of Prato suffered a net slowdown in exports and production, which consequently also had repercussions on sales (IRPET, 2013).

As a result of China's opening-up policy, beginning in the 1980s, many Chinese emigrated to Italy, first reaching the city of Milan, and then moving even further south. In the early 1980s, the area of Campi Bisenzio, in the province of Florence, recorded the first migrations of Chinese, coming mainly from Zhejiang Province and particularly from the city of Wenzhou. These settled in Campi Bisenzio and joined leather enterprises as subcontractors to local businesses.

The number of emigrants during the 1980s grew significantly, and since many of them were irregular migrants, the first hostilities from the resident citizens began. For this reason, many Chinese moved to Prato, where they could continue their textile handcraft activities. In Prato, they did not enter as subcontractors to local textile companies, but rather began working for knitting companies that, as a result of the crisis of the early 2000s, needed

workforce to sew clothes. This determined an upward and steady increase of the Chinese who decided to move to the Prato district (Tassinari, 1994).

Table 4. Chinese citizens residing in Prato since 1997

Year	Total amount		
	M	F	Total
1997	1.348	1.109	2.457
1998	1.731	1.431	3.162
1999	1.959	1.666	3.625
2000	2.371	1.983	4.354
2001	2.582	2.224	4.806
2002	2.826	2.509	5.335
2003	2.845	2.612	5.457
2004	3.619	3.194	6.813
2005	4.682	3.945	8.627
2006	5.441	4.636	10.077
2007	5.600	4.831	10.431
2008	5.272	4.655	9.927
2009	5.694	5.183	10.877
2010	6.128	5.754	11.882
2011	6.675	6.381	13.056
2012	7.696	7.333	15.029
2013	8.248	7.934	16.182
2014	8.091	7.866	15.957
2015	8.583	8.335	16.918
2016	9.608	9.381	18.989
2017	10.473	10.222	20.695
2018	11.593	11.304	22.897
2019	12.604	12.302	24.906
2020	13.403	12.986	26.389
2021	17.409	16.240	33.649

Source: Elaboration of data from the Registry office of the City of Prato.

As can be seen from the graph (Table 4), the population in the Prato district has increased gradually since 1997. However, the Registry office of the municipality of Prato did not record data for the earlier period. It can be clearly deduced that the first Chinese communities had settled in Prato even before 1997. Since that time, thanks in part to China's opening-up reforms and the Italian state's early immigration policies, the number of

Zhejiangese Chinese settling in Tuscany and particularly in the textile district of Prato has increased significantly.

The high entrepreneurial attitude, which characterized the population of Zhejiang, allowed them to take advantage of the crisis and decline of the Italian textile and garment firms, to develop a fast-fashion manufacturing, where the Chinese migrants specialized. Due to their capacity, many Italian fashion houses asked Chinese-owned workshops to provide for low-cost fabrics from China. That choice, together with the pre-existing crisis, contributed to increase the decline of the textile district of Prato and also of the Italian monopoly on the so-called 'Made in Italy' (Zhang, 2019).

Italian market saw the spread of a new label, the 'Made in China' or *pronto moda*, and that helped to increase the perception that the Italian native population had toward the Chinese, which were considered those who 'stole the jobs to Italian people'. This new opportunity for expansion of Chinese entrepreneurs turned out to be also beneficial for both Italian and Chinese citizens, since the Italian population started to capitalize on the expansion of Chinese businesses to sell empty warehouses to migrants at high prices to use as workshops (Zhang, 2019:5).

Although the presence in the area is mostly Chinese, Prato has also welcomed other emigrant populations, coming both from Asia and Africa. In fact, at the same time as the Chinese growth, there has been an increase in the number of migrants from Bangladesh who have been joining the Chinese population since the early 1990s. In addition to these, since the early 2000s, as in other regions of Italy, including the Veneto region, Prato has seen a growth in emigrants from neighboring Albania who, as a result of the Balkan War, have added to the already entrenched foreign population (Ufficio Statistica del Comune di Prato).

Perhaps due to cultural differences and greater entrepreneurial propensity, the Chinese population is the one that has been most able to exploit what the place could offer them to their advantage, especially concerning the working environment, in favor also of the compatriots who would arrive later in Italy. According to a study conducted by the *Centro Servizi per l'Immigrazione*, of the city of Prato, Chinese entrepreneurship took on a model referred to as the 'interactive model', according to which, Chinese workers based their productive activities on an ethnic economy, thus hiring only people of their own nationality, constituting a working community that shares the same values and is capable of adapting to the needs of the market (Ceccagno, 2001). However, this entrepreneurial spirit has led the Chinese community to carry out illegalities in Chinese businesses: studies by the Immigration Center have shown that not only the socio-economic structure but also the cultural identity of the Chinese population has fostered the spread of illegal labor, tax

evasion and the residential use of productive spaces. This is all due to the competitive market in which the Chinese found themselves, from which it was possible to take advantage only through illegal acts (IRPET, 2013).

In spite of this, the Chinese business model has been an inspiration to the current local textile system, and this has contributed to the city of Prato becoming a center of textile production that attracts and sells throughout Europe.

Regardless of the increasing growth that has characterized the city of Prato, the Chinese community of Milan is still nowadays the biggest in Italy: the latest ISTAT data of January 2021, counted 33,871 Chinese living in Milan. However, that data does not represent the highest number. On the same date abovementioned, Prato counted 33,649 Chinese, thus classifying it as the second place among the cities having the highest number of China-born residents (ISTAT, 2021). Prato is now considered the city with one of the largest Chinese communities in Europe and, due also to its rapid economic transformation, represents the main hub of Chinese immigration in Italy.

1.8 The Chinese Presence in Veneto

As seen, the first Chinese communities are mostly concentrated in a few Italian cities, among them Milan and Prato, which immediately recorded a large percentage of Chinese. However, it is important to mention that, since the early 1990s, the entire region of Veneto gradually began to register a population increase that in the following decades would lead it to be the third largest Italian region in terms of the number of Chinese residents.

From an economic point of view, the 1990s represented the beginning of a very favorable period for the Italian economy. The labor market and improved socioeconomic conditions favored an increase in jobs and consequently the industries needed to hire more people to work. Veneto was in a period of peak production, and this led to the need for more labor. Foreign labor, combined with that of Italian workers, became very important for the economic development of the region. Until now foreign migration to Veneto, but particularly Chinese migration, has never received appropriate attention, as it has been regarded as a sporadic event due to economic expansion.

Since the early 2000s, however, Chinese settlement in Veneto started to spark more interest, and it gradually became a subject of study and analysis given the continuous

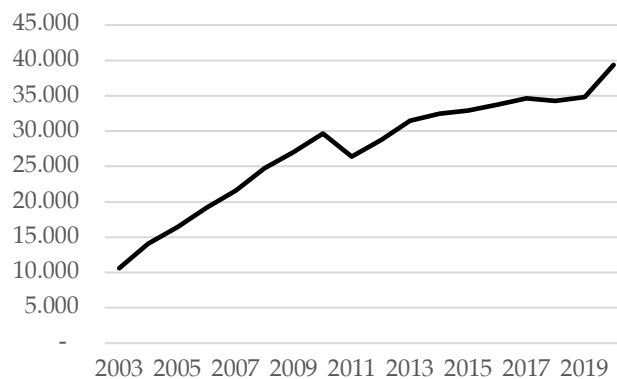
increase in the population that decided to open new businesses in this region as well. It must also be underlined that, while in Tuscany and Lombardy the Chinese population has localized mainly in the textile district of Prato and in Milan, in Veneto it has taken on a more homogeneous migration, arranging itself almost uniformly in the provinces of Treviso, Padua, Venice and, albeit to a small extent, also in the province of Belluno.

Concerning the migration flows that have occurred in Italy, also Veneto has a strong presence of Chinese emigrants from the Chinese region of Zhejiang, which corresponds to about 83 percent of the Chinese in Veneto, followed by Chinese from the Fujian region (12 percent), Liaoning (1 percent) and other provinces not officially registered by the statistics budgets (5 percent) (Veneto Lavoro, 2015).

According to data collected by ISTAT and the Veneto Region, from 2003 to the present, the number of Chinese present in Veneto has increased from about 10,000, registered in 2003 to about 40,000 registered in 2020, with a constant and never decreasing growth (Regione Veneto, 2021).

The following table shows the revised data from 2003 to 2020 regarding the number of Chinese residents in Veneto.

Figure 7. Total amount of Chinese living in Veneto, 2003-2020



Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data. The present

Veneto therefore registers a strong increase of Chinese, so much that according to ISTAT data for the last year, it has become the third largest region in terms of number of residents, counting nearly 40 thousand Chinese, which constitutes 7.73 percent over the entire foreign population in Veneto. In Italy, contrarily, ISTAT data counted just over 330 thousand Chinese residents, 6.4 percent over the entire foreign population in Italy, with

Lombardy and Tuscany as the regions with the largest number of Chinese (75,065 and 73,684, respectively) (ISTAT, 2021).

These figures, however, contrast with those related to applications for residence permits granted by Veneto to Chinese citizens. According to Italian laws, all foreign citizens, who do not have Italian citizenship, in order to reside in Italy for a limited or unlimited period of time, must obtain a residence permit that allows them to carry out the activities for which it was granted, complying with the Italian laws. However, based on ISTAT data, it can be seen that the residence permits applied for by the Chinese population are much lower than the actual number of inhabitants in Veneto, perhaps an indication that the population has not expressed a willingness to apply for it as a result of the choice of moving to another region or even another country (ISTAT, 2021).

Taking into consideration the distribution of the population in the provinces of Veneto, since the early 2000s, the province of Treviso has always had a higher number of Chinese residents, followed by the provinces of Padua and Venice, where the major textile and garment sectors and commercial activities are still concentrated, and whose workplaces are mainly composed of Chinese (Table 5 below).

The evolution in the number of Chinese residents in Veneto from 2003 to 2020, compiled by the Veneto Region, also shows how, in 2011 as a result of the economic crisis that affected the entire peninsula, the number of Chinese nationals and foreigners residing in Veneto fell sharply. Despite this, the slow economic recovery in the following years led to a return of Chinese population, which added to the population already present (Regione Veneto, 2021).

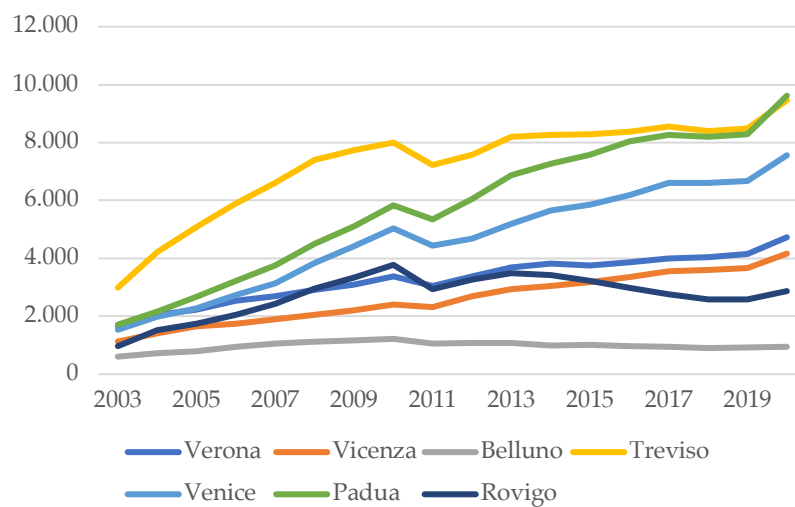
Table 5. Total amount of Chinese living in Veneto, 2003-2020

Year	Verona	Vicenza	Belluno	Treviso	Venice	Padua	Rovigo	Total
2003	1,666	1,129	605	2,989	1,534	1,711	968	10,602
2004	2,050	1,418	717	4,224	1,976	2,168	1,510	14,063
2005	2,234	1,646	785	5,074	2,270	2,671	1,738	16,418
2006	2,537	1,736	942	5,889	2,740	3,227	2,041	19,112
2007	2,700	1,887	1,052	6,604	3,138	3,752	2,425	21,558
2008	2,904	2,048	1,131	7,397	3,833	4,501	2,968	24,782
2009	3,085	2,211	1,158	7,729	4,423	5,110	3,327	27,043
2010	3,380	2,400	1,220	8,006	5,030	5,835	3,776	29,647
2011	3,037	2,316	1,045	7,215	4,446	5,356	2,926	26,341
2012	3,378	2,682	1,073	7,577	4,673	6,064	3,275	28,722
2013	3,694	2,925	1,079	8,191	5,191	6,878	3,479	31,437

2014	3,827	3,050	999	8,255	5,648	7,264	3,411	32,454
2015	3,744	3,169	1,001	8,291	5,858	7,588	3,227	32,878
2016	3,857	3,347	960	8,369	6,177	8,053	2,974	33,737
2017	3,986	3,548	936	8,542	6,598	8,263	2,760	34,633
2018	4,038	3,595	893	8,398	6,617	8,188	2,571	34,300
2019	4,159	3,655	923	8,494	6,674	8,283	2,589	34,777
2020	4,728	4,163	950	9,462	7,560	9,619	2,876	39,358

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

Figure 8. Chinese population growth in Veneto, provincial distribution, 2003-2020



Source: Elaboration of data based on the previous Table.

Otherwise, a report on immigration in Veneto, conducted by Veneto Lavoro, also identified the major sectors in which the Chinese population focused their activities. As it has already been stated, since the 1980s Italy has experienced a great industrial development, with the Northeast in particular becoming the center of major industrial activities of small and medium-sized enterprises, especially related to the clothing, footwear, and eyewear sectors, which have spread throughout the north-east regions. In addition to these, the catering and retail sectors also cover the main service fields in which Chinese labor is concentrated. In fact, the catering business is still a sector where the Chinese population has a great entrepreneurial position. Starting with the first settlements in Europe, but then also in Milan and Prato, Chinese communities have combined their great propensity for entrepreneurship with the ability to bring their cuisine into Western customs, opening their

own businesses that have been the point of arrival for many Chinese immigrants arriving in Italy from China.

Despite this, according to analyses conducted by Veneto Lavoro, the largest percentage of Chinese present in the Veneto region are employees of businesses, which are run by Italian or Chinese workers, while a smaller proportion are business owners, that is, Chinese workers who run their own businesses. As these studies reveal, the sectors that have a greater presence of the Chinese population are textiles and clothing, catering, and domestic work (Veneto Lavoro, 2015). It is also interesting to point out that, unlike other migrant populations, the Chinese population has a strong sense of community and interpersonal relationships, which means that the process of integration into the labor market is facilitated by the presence of Chinese people within that particular sector. That has helped to greatly reduce the unemployment rate.

Thus, Veneto has gradually established itself as a region inclined to entrepreneurial development: Italian companies have found the conformation and geographic location of Veneto to be a real starting point for their activities. In fact, in the Pedemontana area among the provinces of Treviso, Vicenza and Verona, beginning in the 1970s and then exponentially since the mid-1980s, major brands in the clothing and footwear sectors have sprung up, for instance Benetton, Bottega Veneta, Replay, Diesel, Montura and Geox. In addition to the clothing sector, Veneto has also seen the birth and expansion of the eyewear sector, particularly in the province of Belluno. However, as shown above, the Chinese presence in Veneto has been most concentrated in the provinces of Treviso, Padua, and Venice, while the lowest presence has been in the Belluno and Rovigo areas. As a result, it is relevant to note that Chinese settlement is mainly located where the largest industrial sectors in the Veneto are located, to the disadvantage of other parts further away from the main districts.

Despite the provinces of Belluno and Rovigo have so far recorded the smallest number of Chinese inhabitants as a proportion of the total population, ISTAT data, processed by Veneto Lavoro, found a significant concentration of Chinese people mainly in small municipalities, precisely in the provinces of Belluno and Rovigo (Veneto Lavoro, 2015). The regional Chinese population trends showed a significant increase in the number of Chinese settlements in 2010. Taking into analysis the demographic situation in that year, it can be seen that the province of Belluno has the smallest number of Chinese inhabitants (1,220 people) in relation to the other provinces of Veneto, followed by the province of Vicenza, which instead records 2,400 inhabitants of Chinese origin. However, if we take into analysis the provincial incidence, calculated by relating the Chinese population to the

remaining foreign and total population, the situation that emerges reveals to be different because the province of Belluno, which initially recorded a low number of Chinese population, has a high incidence both of Chinese on total population (0.6 percent) and in the number of Chinese in relation to the total foreign population of the province (8.9 percent), thus placing it in second place in the region, right after the province of Rovigo. This latter, despite showing a fairly intermediate number, when compared with the other provinces, records higher percentages of incidence than the other provinces both in the number of Chinese in the total population and in the foreign population.

From that, it can be easily deduced that despite the fact that the provinces of Padua, Treviso and Venice are the provinces that, from a demographic point of view, have the largest Chinese presence in their territory, the provinces of Belluno and especially Rovigo, on the other hand, are the ones that, from the reports, record a higher percentage of Chinese when compared to the foreign and total population of the province.

Table 6. Distribution of population in the region of Veneto in 2010

	Population in 2010			Percentage ratios in 2010		
	Foreigners	Chinese	Total	Chinese/ population	Foreigners / pop.	Chinese/ foreigners
Veneto	504,677	29,647	4,937,854	0.6%	10.2%	5.9%
Belluno	13,731	1,220	213,474	0.6%	6.4%	8.9%
Padova	91,649	5,835	934,216	0.6%	9.8%	6.4%
Rovigo	18,494	3,776	247,884	1.5%	7.5%	20.4%
Treviso	102,541	8,006	888,249	0.9%	11.5%	7.8%
Venezia	75,617	5,030	863,133	0.6%	8.8%	6.7%
Verona	106,167	3,380	920,158	0.4%	11.5%	3.2%
Vicenza	96,478	2,400	870,740	0.3%	11.1%	2.5%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

In addition to an overview, it is also worthwhile to analyze the situation of individual municipalities in the Veneto region, analyzing not only the number of inhabitants but also the percentage of incidence of each municipality to understand how much the Chinese presence has affected the resident population.

Table 7. Percentage ratio of the main municipalities in Veneto, listed according to the percentage of Chinese on the town's total population

Percentage ratio (according to the Chinese population on the total inhabitants) in 2010			
Municipality	Chinese/pop.	Foreigners/pop.	Chinese/foreigners
Villanova Marchesana	11.6%	21.2%	54.5%
Lozzo di Cadore	7.3%	12.4%	59.3%
Quero	7.2%	18.4%	39.3%
Alano di Piave	7.1%	20.3%	34.8%
Bagnolo di Po'	6.7%	14.7%	45.5%
Gavello	6.1%	12.0%	51.0%
Villanova del Ghebbo	5.2%	9.2%	57.2%
Gaiba	5.2%	8.1%	63.7%
Giacciano con Baruchella	5.0%	11.0%	45.9%
Ceneselli	5.0%	16.1%	31.2%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

Table 8. Percentage ratio of the main municipalities in Veneto, listed according to the percentage of Chinese on the town's total foreigners

Percentage ratio (according to the Chinese population on the total foreigners) in 2010			
Municipality	Chinese/pop.	Foreigners/pop.	Chinese/foreigners
Gaiba	5.2%	8.1%	63.7%
Lozzo di Cadore	7.3%	12.4%	59.3%
Villanova del Ghebbo	5.2%	9.2%	57.2%
Villanova Marchesana	11.6%	21.2%	54.5%
Papozze	3.3%	6.2%	53.8%
Gavello	6.1%	12.0%	51.0%
Pincara	4.1%	8.4%	48.1%
Giacciano con Baruchella	5.0%	11.0%	45.9%
Bagnolo di Po'	6.7%	14.7%	45.5%
Stienta	3.4%	8.2%	41.3%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

These tables above highlight how the strongest concentrations of Chinese citizens are in Villanova Marchesana (Rovigo), where there are 12 Chinese citizens for every 100 inhabitants; while in three other Municipalities in the Belluno area (Lozzo di Cadore, Quero and Alano di Piave) and one in the Rovigo area (Bagnolo di Po'), there are 7 Chinese citizens for every 100 inhabitants.

On the other hand, if we analyze the percentage of Chinese resident population with the total percentage of foreigners, the situation seems to change, in that the highest

concentration of Chinese population compared to foreign population is mostly located in the province of Rovigo; the previous condition does not seem to change for the municipality of Lozzo di Cadore, which has at the same time the highest Chinese concentration in relation to the total and foreign population in the whole province of Belluno. In all these Municipalities, it is evident that the Chinese resident population outnumbers the foreign population, with shares above 50 percent in the municipalities of the province of Rovigo (Stienta, Bagnolo di Po', Giacciano con Baruchella, Pincara, Gavello, Papozze, Villanova Marchesana, Villanova del Ghebbo) and even close to 60 percent for the Municipalities of Lozzo di Cadore (Belluno) and Gaiba (Rovigo).

Analyzing the same data in 2020, the situation seems to have changed considerably. Similarly to the previous analysis, we note that the province of Belluno records the smallest number of Chinese residents in Veneto, even registering a significant decrease from the 2010 figure (there are now 950 Chinese residents, as opposed to the 1,220 counted in 2010). Afterwards, we note the presence of the province of Rovigo, which recorded an equal decrease in Chinese residents (from the previous 3,776 to 2,876 in 2020). Despite this, the Veneto provinces of Padua, Treviso, Venice, Verona, and Vicenza all experienced an increase, leading the region to have about 10,000 more Chinese than in the previous decade.

Table 9. Distribution of population in the region of Veneto in 2020

	Population in 2020			Percentage ratios in 2020		
	Foreigners	Chinese	Total	Chinese/ population	Foreigners / pop.	Chinese/ foreigners
Veneto	509,420	39,358	4,869,830	0.8%	10.5%	7.7%
Belluno	12,232	950	199,704	0.5%	6.1%	7.8%
Padova	97,959	9,619	932,629	1.0%	10.5%	9.8%
Rovigo	19,301	2,876	230,763	1.2%	8.4%	14.9%
Treviso	92,110	9,462	880,417	1.1%	10.5%	10.3%
Venezia	90,523	7,560	843,545	0.9%	10.7%	8.4%
Verona	115,334	4,728	927,810	0.5%	12.4%	4.1%
Vicenza	81,961	4,163	854,962	0.5%	9.6%	5.1%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

On the other hand, analyzing the percentage of incidence of the Chinese population, on total residents and on the foreign population, sees the appearance also of municipalities in the province of Treviso and Padua that in the previous analysis did not reach notable

values, such as the municipality of Montebelluna (Treviso), home to many companies in the garment sector, and the municipalities of Saonara, Arzegrande, Agna and Codevigo (Padua), which have percentage values of Chinese on foreign residents all above 30 percent. This indicates that more than a third of the foreign population is of Chinese origins.

In 2020, however, the highest concentration of Chinese residents occurred in Villanova del Ghebbo, in the province of Rovigo, where almost 7 percent of the resident population is Chinese, also constituting exactly 50 percent of the foreign population.

From this data it is easy to trace the high presence of Chinese communities in municipalities with a marked manufacturing specialization, such as for example Cornuda (headquarter of sports equipment manufacturing) and Villanova del Ghebbo. To these, the Belluno municipalities of Quero-Vas and Alano di Piave are also added, which recorded the presence of a high percentage of foreigners given their proximity to the province of Treviso, and Lozzo di Cadore, a small municipality in the upper Belluno province important headquarter for the eyewear sector.

Table 10. Percentage ratio of the main municipalities in Veneto, listed according to the percentage of Chinese on the town's total population

Percentage ratio (according to the Chinese population on the total inhabitants) in 2020			
Municipality	Chinese/pop.	Foreigners/pop.	Chinese/foreigners
Villanova del Ghebbo	6.9%	13.9%	50.0%
Cornuda	6.8%	16.5%	40.8%
Villanova Marchesana	6.4%	18.4%	34.6%
Quero Vas	5.6%	12.7%	44.3%
Lozzo di Cadore	5.4%	10.6%	51.5%
Alano di Piave	4.6%	14.1%	32.5%
Saonara	4.5%	11.2%	40.0%
Gaiba	3.9%	7.3%	54.2%
Bagnolo di Po	3.8%	12.6%	30.7%
Montebelluna	3.8%	12.5%	30.7%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

Table 11. Percentage ratio of the main municipalities in Veneto, listed according to the percentage of Chinese on the town's total foreigners

Percentage ratio (according to the Chinese population on the total foreigners) in 2020			
Municipality	Chinese/pop.	Foreigners/pop.	Chinese/foreigners
Gaiba	3.9%	7.3%	54.2%
Lozzo di Cadore	5.4%	10.6%	51.5%
Villanova del Ghebbo	6.9%	13.9%	50.0%
Quero Vas	5.6%	12.7%	44.3%
Arzergrande	3.1%	7.2%	43.0%
Cornuda	6.8%	16.5%	40.8%
Saonara	4.5%	11.2%	40.0%
Codevigo	2.7%	6.9%	39.8%
Villanova Marchesana	6.4%	18.4%	34.6%
Agna	2.2%	6.4%	33.8%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Veneto Regional Statistical System Section on ISTAT data.

1.9 The Development of the Eyewear Sector in the Belluno Area and the First Chinese Communities in Lozzo di Cadore

The eyewear sector is still a very important production sector for our whole territory, as almost all eyewear on the market is entirely produced in Italy. The Belluno area, in particular from the end of the nineteenth century to the present, has become the area with the most intense concentration of eyewear factories.

The birth of the first eyeglass factory is dated 1878, when a business owner originally from Calalzo di Cadore decided to provide for the excessive importation from abroad by designing a first prototype of eyeglasses.

From this first intuition, in the same year in Calalzo, we recall the foundation of Lozza Occhiali, considered the oldest factory at the Italian level and especially the first factory to be founded in Cadore. Its founder, Giovanni Lozza, would be considered the pioneer of the spread of the materials manufacturing to obtain eyeglasses. Initially, the industrial products were made entirely of metal, a very expensive material at the time, thus, not everyone could afford to buy it to make glasses. This led to a great innovation: in 1910, in Pieve di Cadore, eyeglasses made of celluloid were prototyped for the first time, a material that was cheaper than metal and more resistant to heat and temperature changes.

After this innovation, several small factories were born in the following years, such as Fedon (in 1919 in Vallesella di Cadore), SAFILO (in 1934 in Calalzo di Cadore) and in 1934 Gatto Astucci (in Domegge di Cadore), which, however, specialized in the production of eyeglass cases. In the early 1960s we see the birth of the two largest eyewear companies in Belluno for the first time: Luxottica, in fact, would be established in 1961 in Agordo, in the upper Belluno area, and in the same year Marcolin would also be founded, in the small town of Vallesella.

Thus the Cadore area, starting from the mid-1900s, underwent a strong acceleration from the economic and entrepreneurial point of view: the small towns in these areas became within a short time the production headquarters of the whole region.

The founding of these factories led to the need for more labor to be employed in eyeglass manufacturing. This is of considerable relevance if we analyze the migration phenomena that affected these areas, as the high concentration of eyeglass factories somehow encouraged the displacement, temporary and permanent, of many families who moved in search of work. This also contributed to the transformation of the towns, where the eyeglass factories were located.

Among the towns that underwent great change we focus on Lozzo di Cadore, a small mountain village located in the upper Belluno area.

Lozzo di Cadore, like other towns in Cadore, from the 1950s experienced a rapid expansion in the number of eyeglass factories. In fact, Borca Occhiali, which is still based in the village, was born in the 1950s, and in the same period, the I.O.V.E.S. company originally in the town of San Nicolò di Comelico, decided to move its production plant to the industrial area of Lozzo di Cadore. Situated in a favorable location, the town saw especially in the years to follow the birth of new factories, which would take advantage of the Italian economic push in the 1980s to develop new techniques in eyewear processing. The eyewear industry thus expanded considerably and, as a result, the livelihood that had characterized for centuries these places, rich in grazing lands and meadows, changed: from agriculture to industrial production. The agricultural stables and the warehouses became small stores and workshops, with machineries and equipment for the production of stems and lenses.

This great entrepreneurship of Veneto is recognized throughout Italy, and Cadore especially becomes the area for the highest concentration of eyewear in the entire province. The villages, even the smallest, underwent a remarkable change, and that helped the inhabitants to start new businesses. Lozzo di Cadore, as already stated, also underwent these changes and in addition to becoming location of many eyewear factories, it also became a rather wealthy village: in fact, there were numerous businesses scattered

throughout the village, from supermarkets to clothing and shoe stores, a cinema and even a discotheque. As a result, more people decided to come to live in Lozzo, and in fact in the early 1970s the population of Lozzo reached almost 2,000 inhabitants.

However, the wealth experienced by the Cadore area was destined to end. In the early 1990s, the entire Italian trade axis began to shift to China and Eastern Europe, characterized by low production costs but at the same time lower quality. New materials were imported, and the production facilities began to move where raw materials were easier to obtain. Thus, the globalization and industrial growth of the 1990s benefited especially large multinational corporations, which expanded and also produced manufactories thanks to materials coming from abroad.

The area of Cadore suffered the consequences of these changes too, and what seemed to be a very solid market proved in reality to be very weak and fragmented. The eyewear sector, as well as other sectors and stores, fell down: between the late 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s, many factories closed, creating a huge economic vacuum for these areas. Other eyewear factories, on the other hand, due in part to the rising cost of sourcing raw materials for eyewear production, moved to the industrial area of Longarone, which because of its proximity to the highway became home to the industries that did not go out of business as markets expanded. Nevertheless, even today the Cadore area, and now together with the Longarone area, are recognized as the headquarter of the largest eyewear factories in the entire Veneto region, so much so that even today some of the factories that still exist (Luxottica, Marcolin, and De Rigo) produce eyewear for the most famous clothing and accessories brands.

The economic and entrepreneurial growth of the 1980s brought Cadore to be one of the richest in the Belluno area, given the presence of many industries that were able to take advantage of the possibilities and capabilities the region could offer.

Lozzo di Cadore became within a short time the site of many factories. The inhabitants, in fact, recall the streets full of people who poured into the square in the evening at the closing time of the factories to take the buses to go back home. This aspect becomes relevant if we take into consideration also the great number of businesses that were opened in those years, of which some traces still remain today.

In that period many people are able to easily find a job, and among them people of Chinese nationality were seen for the first time. In the 1990s, and more precisely in 1997, three Chinese arrived in Lozzo for the first time.

Since their first arrival in the late 1990s, the number of Chinese who decided to come and live in Lozzo di Cadore gradually increased year by year. It is counted that from an

initial number of 6 people registered by the municipal registry office at the end of 1997, the number of foreigners from China grew exponentially, until it reached the highest of 142 Chinese inhabitants in 2005. It is important to consider that, in the first decade from the early 2000s to 2009-10, the number of Chinese has remained high if compared to earlier periods and those registered today. This particular fact should be traced back to the law reforms, which allowed to start the process of family reunification, which allowed the first generations of Chinese migrants to recall their children and relatives to Italy.

As shown in the following table, the number of Chinese residents in the municipality of Lozzo increased from 1997, the year in which the first household arrived in the village. This first household will be followed by others, which will add to the resident population.

Figure 9. Number of Chinese residents in Lozzo di Cadore since 1997



Source: Elaboration of data from the Registry Office of the municipality of Lozzo di Cadore.

From this graph, we can easily see that the number of Chinese residents in the village started to rapidly grow starting from the 1997, reaching the highest point in 2005. As reported from the Registry Office of the municipality of Lozzo di Cadore, in that year, 142 Chinese lived in Lozzo di Cadore. This data is recorded as the highest number from the statistics, and from this moment on, the Chinese population started a slow but significant decline, reaching the half of the population counted in 2005, when compared to today's figures.

If we take into consideration by a demographic analysis the total number of inhabitants of Lozzo, and we compare it to the Chinese population residing in the village, we can notice some important changes.

Table 12. Distribution of population in Lozzo di Cadore, 1997-2021

Population in Lozzo di Cadore, 1997-2021		Percentage ratio, 1997-2021	
Total inhabitants	Chinese population	Chinese/ population	
1997	1,643	6	0.4%
1998	1,641	12	0.7%
1999	1,621	19	1.2%
2000	1,607	26	1.6%
2001	1,617	64	4.0%
2002	1,629	111	6.8%
2003	1,651	140	8.5%
2004	1,653	132	8.0%
2005	1,654	142	8.6%
2006	1,606	125	7.8%
2007	1,587	115	7.2%
2008	1,571	104	6.6%
2009	1,562	119	7.6%
2010	1,528	112	7.3%
2011	1,522	115	7.6%
2012	1,496	103	6.9%
2013	1,456	94	6.5%
2014	1,432	94	6.6%
2015	1,383	81	5.9%
2016	1,342	64	4.8%
2017	1,335	65	4.9%
2018	1,340	71	5.3%
2019	1,301	66	5.1%
2020	1,294	71	5.5%
2021	1,277	71	5.6%

Source: Elaboration of data from the Registry Office of the municipality of Lozzo di Cadore.

From the table above we can highlight the growth values of both total population and Chinese population. In fact, while the number of residents in the municipality of Lozzo di Cadore has decreased annually by an average of 1 percent, the growth rate of the Chinese population has always been much higher than that of the total residents. This data reveals

that while the population, which was already living in Lozzo, was leaving the village, the Chinese population had instead found in this area a favorable place and suitable for their needs.

Although these two figures reveal a very unfortunate reality for these alpine villages, which are now destined for new emigrations and depopulation, for the Chinese population, on the other hand, it represented an area that can offer many opportunities to start over a new life.

Chapter 2

The First Migrant Generation in Lozzo di Cadore

In order to understand specifically a phenomenon, it is often necessary to start from a general analysis and then focus on a particular. It is consequently true that to understand the Chinese migration as a whole, but also in a more limited context, such as in a small town, it is first necessary to analyze it from an overall point of view, and over a broader period of time, to see which the main destinations of the Chinese population have been.

As we tried to do, in the previous chapter a historical timeline of migration from China to Europe was provided, then focusing on Italy and on the two main cities that have mostly been affected by Chinese migration, namely Milan and Prato. Cities has continually been affected by many migrant populations, however, what initially seemed to be a migration similar to common situations where a people are forced to leave their country, turned out to be a necessary and almost natural consequence, which saw the Chinese population leave China, reach Europe and finally also Italy.

Here, Chinese immigrants were able to adapt and take advantage of the Italian socio-economic condition to exploit the market niches of Italian society and adapt them to their own capabilities, and knowledge, thus making their way into the business.

The Chinese have thus been able to turn to their favor the weaknesses, that to this day we still find in multiple migrant populations, trying to strike a balance between their need and what the area has to offer to them.

Furthermore, what has been attempted to do is to delve further into the Chinese migratory phenomenon, but limited to a specific region, Veneto, outlining the points that have, to some extent, favored migration. Ultimately, Chinese migration has been analyzed in a small alpine village, called Lozzo di Cadore in the province of Belluno, which since the early 1990s has undergone a gradual increase in the Chinese population that has decided to settle there to work mainly in the eyewear industry.

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to analyze deeper the Chinese migration in this area. The whole process will be analyzed through the answers of a questionnaire that has been provided to the Chinese population residing in Lozzo di Cadore. Through this questionnaire, an investigation on the nature of migration to Italy, and particularly to Lozzo di Cadore. However, the core of it has been the research of the motivations that prompted the Chinese population to leave China to come to Italy.

2.1 Presentation of the Research

In the research conducted, a questionnaire has been distributed to the Chinese population, consisting of a total of 48 questions, divided according to the segment of the population that has to be analyzed. The research intends to collect the answers of the total Chinese population residing in Lozzo di Cadore, which counts at the municipal Registry Office a number of 68 people (recorded in 2022), including those who no longer live in the village, but who probably result still registered at the municipal Registry Office. Of these, however, the Chinese who accepted to participate in the survey were only 19, also considering 8 people who no longer live there.

The purpose of the research was to determine the personal motivations that in some extent obliged many Chinese to leave their homeland and move to Italy, and particularly to the small town of Lozzo di Cadore. The questions provided are divided as follows: in addition to sociodemographic questions regarding name, year of birth, gender, level of education and origin, the questionnaire then focuses on the past life of the Chinese community, trying to investigate the employment in China before coming to Italy (Questions: 6, 7, 8), and then focusing on the year they first emigrated to Italy, and the main motivations and obstacles they faced once they arrived in Lozzo di Cadore (Questions: 9, 10, 13), also taking into consideration how they found work and their current employment.

Afterwards, special attention was also given to a part of the population that no longer lives in Lozzo, that has taken into consideration the idea to move to another town. Here, too, an attempt was made to analyze the reasons for this new internal migration, which involved 8 people in particular among all respondents, including adults and young people.

The questionnaire was provided to the population through a previous meeting conducted personally, in which the reasons for the research was explained, trying to convince them to participate in the survey. This initial interview was followed by a social interaction via WeChat, where they were sent the link through which they could access the online platform of Wenjuanwang (问卷网) to fill out the questionnaire. Although the dialogue with the Chinese population was conducted entirely in Chinese, to facilitate communication and build trust, the participation and degree of engagement in this research was lower than expected. The Chinese population, especially for the adult segment (40 years and older), was very wary of the topics that were being dealt with in the survey. For example, I was repeatedly asked what my purpose and benefits were in knowing their motivations for migrating to Italy, an aspect that in my opinion is already of considerable importance since there are still many Chinese in my village.

Unlike the adults, the young people were much more open and willing to talk about their experiences, and in part they also had a great contribution in helping and convincing their parents to carry out this questionnaire. With some of the respondents, moreover, I also had a private dialogue, carried out both via social and in our first meeting, in which they tried to provide me with even more detailed information about their situation before arriving in Italy and consequently also the motivations behind their decision to leave China.

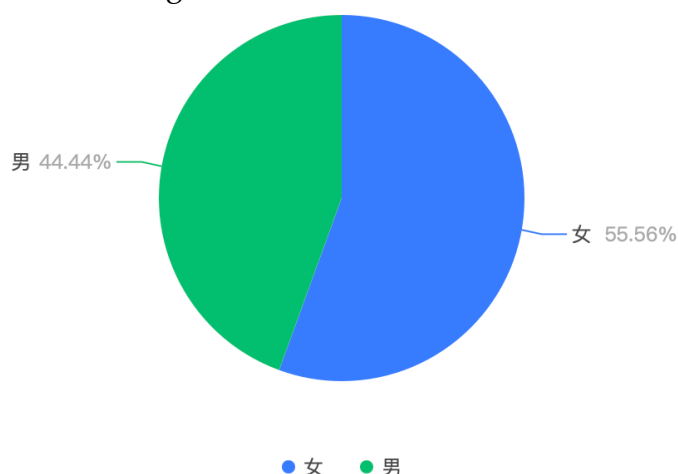
The questions from the questionnaire are available, divided according to the population group involved, within the Appendix section at the end of this research.

2.2 Analysis of the Results: Descriptive Study of a Group of People Aged from 30 to Older, Defined in this Research as 'First Chinese Migrant Generation'

In the data collection, the total amount of responses of 19 people were collected; however, in the analysis of the first migrant generation, the responses of only 9 people, within the age range of 30 and above, will be considered.

By analyzing the collected responses (Figure 10), it appears that 60 percent of the interviewees are female, while the remaining 40 percent are male. This data provides an important finding, as up to this point, migration has mostly been characterized by male migrants, who moved first seeking for a work and then request the family reunification, thus bringing their wives and children to Italy. This result may be evidence of the fact that in this case Chinese women, and sometimes also their children, emigrated together with the men, thus avoiding the breakup of family bonds due to the migration.

Figure 10. Question 2: The gender of the interviewees



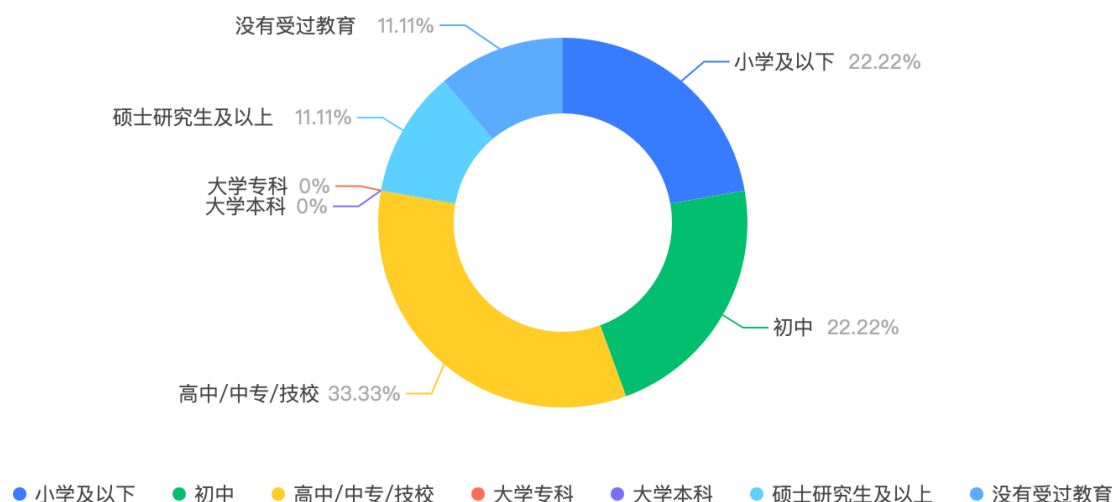
The province of origin of the participants fully represents what has been studied on migrations until this moment. In fact, the entirety of the interviewees come from a specific area in Zhejiang province, specifically the city-prefecture of Lishui (*lǐshuǐ shì* 丽水市). As stated by one of the survey participants, this city located in the south of Zhejiang province, given its predominantly mountainous land, has always been a poor and inhospitable area, which somehow has favored emigration.

Concerning the level of education (Figure 11), most of the population received education up to high school, divided as follows:

- 2 people attended elementary school, not continuing with middle school (both belong to the 41-50 age group)
- 3 people completed the first cycle of education, also attending high school.
- 2 people, on the other hand, attended elementary and middle school, deciding not to continue with high school (the respondents belong to the 41-50 age group too).

Only two among the respondents, if compared to the abovementioned, have a followed a different and opposite path: one interviewee has never received an education; the second one completed a full course of study by also obtaining a university degree. This result is actually relevant since the degree to which respondents are interested in participating in the questionnaire is largely given by their level of education. In fact, many among the children of the first migrant generation stated the inability of their parents in filling out the questionnaire because they did not know how to write in Chinese, since up to that point their interaction was mostly through oral conversation. For this reason, sometimes in obtaining the answers, the help of their children or parents, with a higher degree of education, who were able to write using the Chinese ideograms, was necessary.

Figure 11. Question 4: The education level of the participants



After that, the questionnaire takes on a more personal aspect, trying to get more deeply into the information that we are trying to analyze. Three questions were asked about their life before arriving in Italy: "Before arriving in Italy, how long did you live in China?" (Question 6: 来意大利之前, 您住在中国多长时间了?); "In China, what work did you do and who did you live with?" (Question 7: 在中国时, 您做什么工作? 您和谁住在一起?); "Did you marry and/or have children?" (Question 8: 您在中国的期间结婚了还是有孩子?).

The responses to these three questions were almost homogeneous: all among the respondents lived with their families or relatives and all had jobs, mostly in industries.

Considering an age group over 30, it was evident that they had spent a very long time in China before coming to Italy. In fact, almost all of the respondents arrived in Italy who were already adults, in approximately the 30s and 40s age range. However, as seen in migration phenomena, usually only one of the family members migrated, generally men, who once settled in the country, would initiate the practice of family reunification with his wife and children.

The following questions (from Question 9) mainly concern the migration phenomena to Italy, thus investigating mainly when they first arrived in Italy and how they discovered the town of Lozzo di Cadore. Afterwards, an attempt was made to try to understand how the integration process began, both from a professional and social point of view, given the cultural and especially linguistic diversity of the two countries.

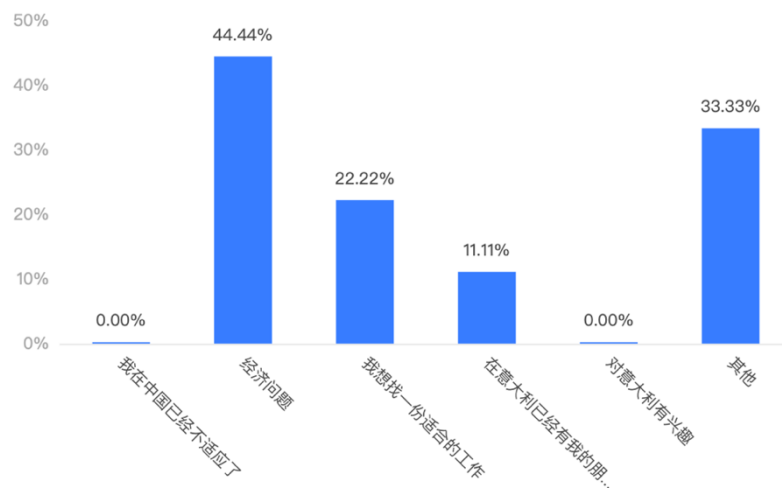
For each question, predominantly multiple-choice questions were provided to make it easier to fill in; however, in some cases a fill-in question was used to gather more details on their answers.

The first more specific question concerns the year of arrival in Italy (Question 9). As it turned out, only one among the respondents arrived in Lozzo before 1997, specifically in 1984. However, the interviewee stay in Lozzo was only temporary since then he/she decided to move to a different city. His/her first arrival in the village, however, was useful to the people who arrived later since they already knew in advance where they would settle. The remaining respondents (8 people), on the other hand, migrated in the decade from 1997 to 2008, moving directly from China to Lozzo and then eventually migrating further.

The following question (Question 10) concerns the focus of my research. Indeed, people were asked to express their motivation to the following question, "Why did you decide to move to Italy?" (您为什么决定搬到意大利?).

From this question, although different answers were given, the totality of the responses emphasizes a very important issue, which also emerges from the questionnaire, namely that of economic problems. The Chinese population in fact, since the opening reforms, saw in Italy the so-called 'Italian Dream'. Their movement was consequently affected by economic reasons, as they were living in poverty in China. Moving to Italy would have meant a change of life for them and, above all, earning more money than they were earning in China to provide for their families. From the analysis of the answers, it is important also to highlight that nobody among the interviewees decided to emigrate because they felt uncomfortable in China, or because they were interested in Italian country. Therefore, it is obvious that the reasons were purely economic.

Figure 12. Question 10: "Why did you decide to move to Italy?"

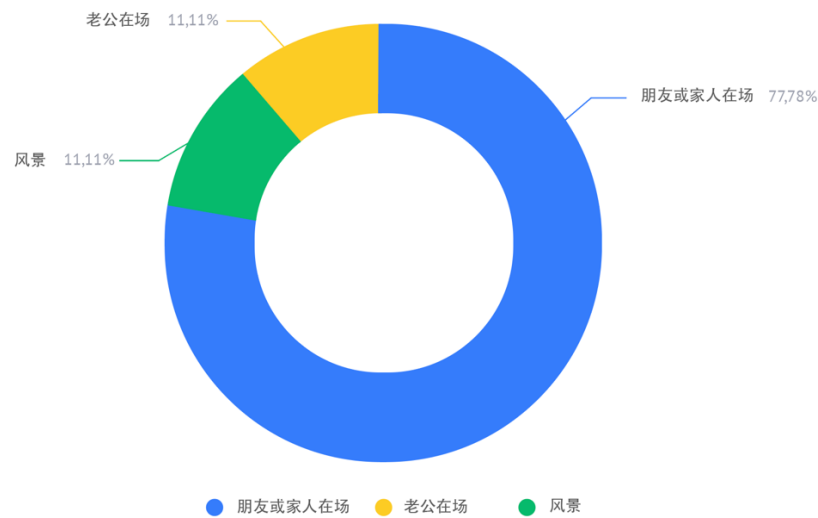


The Question 11 (Figure 13) is related to the above, since in addition to understanding the causes that generated the waves of migration to Italy, we also wanted to investigate how the Chinese population came to know the small town of Lozzo di Cadore.

The question asked was: "How did you discover Lozzo di Cadore? Why did you decide to move there?" (您怎么发现 Lozzo di Cadore 的地方, 为什么决定搬到那里?).

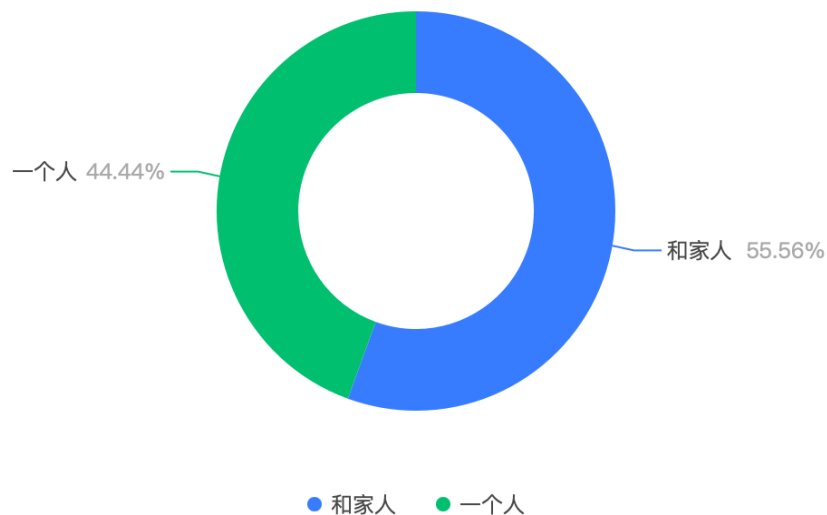
Based on the personal opinions to the question, it was identified that most of the respondents arrived there through the presence of friends or family members who already lived and worked here. Their decision would thus seem to be related to a community aggregation factor, where the already integrated population influences the decision of a small or large group of people to move to the same area.

Figure 13. Question 11: "How did you discover Lozzo di Cadore? Why did you decide to move there?"



This finding is even more relevant when analyzed with the following one (Question 12): "Did you move alone or with your family?" (您和自己家人一起搬到意大利还是您一个人搬到?). The result seems to be almost divided in half between those who moved with family (5 out of 9) and those who moved alone and then started the family reunification procedure (the remaining 4). The amount of Chinese people who moved alone acted therefore as intermediaries for their families, and even friends, who had remained in China.

Figure 14. Question 12: "Did you move alone or with your family?"



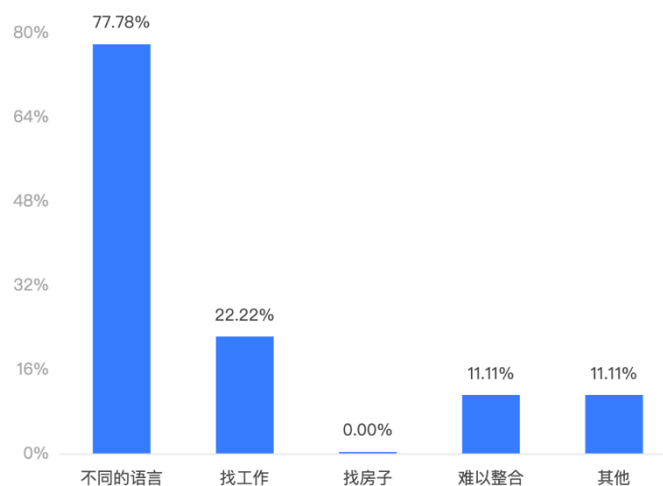
The following three questions (Questions 13, 14, and 15) investigate the biggest difficulties the Chinese migrant population encountered once they arrived in Italy.

The statements asked were: "What difficulties have you faced when you arrived in Italy?" (对您来看，离开中国到意大利开始新生活有什么样的困难？请告诉我您的意见。) and, "What was the biggest difficulty when you arrived in Lozzo di Cadore?" (到 Lozzo di Cadore 时，您前面的最大困难是什么？)

The majority of candidates (8 out of 9) referred that they found more or less the same difficulties both when they arrived in Italy and then also to Lozzo, and particularly they found the linguistic and cultural diversity as the greatest difficulty. These aspects had a greatest influence on their integration process. In fact, the answers show that not mastering the Italian language creates an ongoing obstacle in communicating with the Italian population. Unlike expectations, two of the eight candidates, who expressed language difficulties, also expressed a difficulty in finding a job. Thus, it denotes that cultural but especially linguistic issues also had implications in finding a job.

Only one respondent expresses that he/she did not encounter any barriers in the integration process with Italian society. Consequently, it is important to consider the educational background, since only a few of them have received adequate education in China, sometimes with prior study of a foreign language (in this case Italian), in order not to face any obstacle once they arrived in Italy.

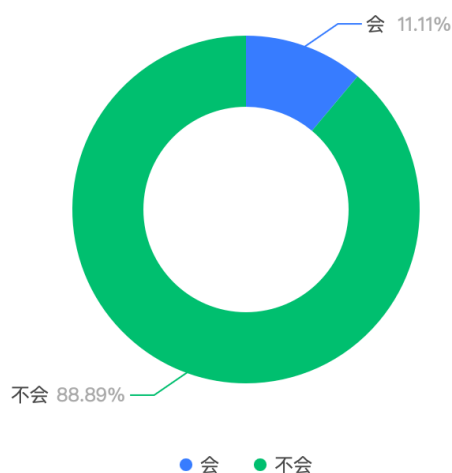
Figure 15. Question 14: "What was the biggest difficulty when you arrived in Lozzo di Cadore?"



In fact, the next question (Figure 16) investigates about the degree of knowledge of Italian before arriving in Italy. The question was: "(When you arrived in Italy) did you already speak Italian?"

As expected, only one of the participants expressed prior knowledge of the Italian language, while the majority of participants (8 out of 9) expressed they have never learnt Italian before. However, the latter specified, that once they arrived, they immediately tried to learn a few words of Italian, thanks to friends, colleagues, neighbors or by using the dictionary, denoting a very strong willingness to integrate in the society. Given the large number of Chinese in the village, the municipality has also organized Italian courses for foreigners to accelerate this integration process and facilitate communication between the two cultures.

Figure 16. Question 15: “(When you arrived in Italy) did you already speak Italian?”



The next two questions (Question 16, 17) investigate the degree to which the resident Chinese population perceives their own integration process.

Since they have all been residents of Lozzo for more than a decade, it can easily be deduced that the integration process, although very gradual, is almost over and that the Chinese who have remained feel that they have fully integrated into the population.

The questions asked were: "Do you feel that you have integrated into the population of Lozzo?" (您认为已经很好地融入了 Lozzo 的人口中吗?) and "Has the population in Lozzo made you feel comfortable or excluded?" (Lozzo 人口让您感到安慰还是让您排除?).

The answers to these questions raised an issue that is still relevant today, as among all the answers, only one was negative. One of the interviewees expressed itself very negatively on this issue: the answer reveals, unfortunately, a truth that not everyone perhaps feels the moral duty to express. According to this important testimony, foreigners, in this case Chinese, who decided to emigrate were considered as inferior people by the

Italians themselves. The cause of this phenomenon can be traced in the high work culture that the Chinese population has, and therefore their great attitude is sometimes taken advantage of Italian and foreign factories. Therefore, it can be concluded that, although the majority of the Chinese community members feel integrated into the Italian population, some of them do not totally feel part of the Italian culture, leading to even more difficult integration and distrust of them.

Figure 17. Question 16: "Do you feel that you have integrated into the population of Lozzo?"

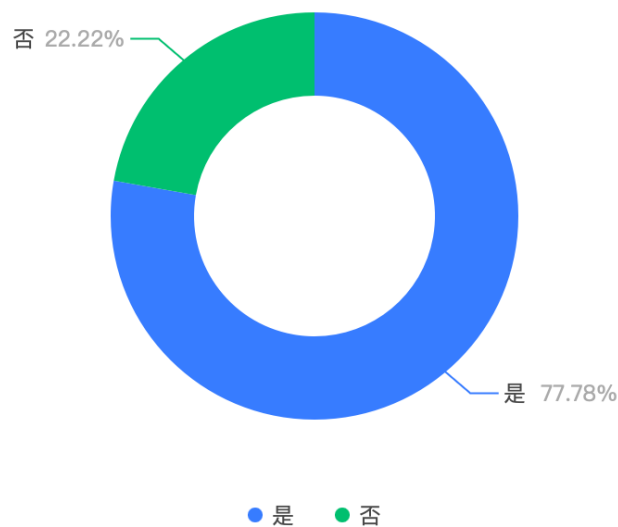
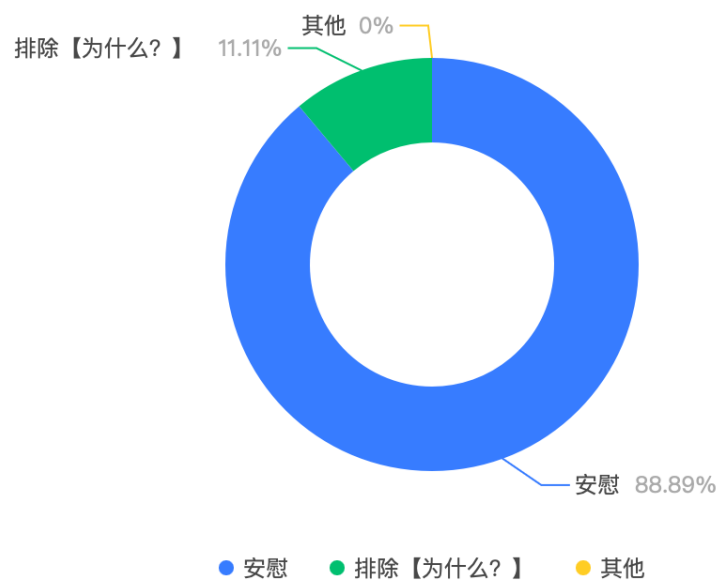


Figure 18. Question 17: "Has the population in Lozzo made you feel comfortable or excluded?"

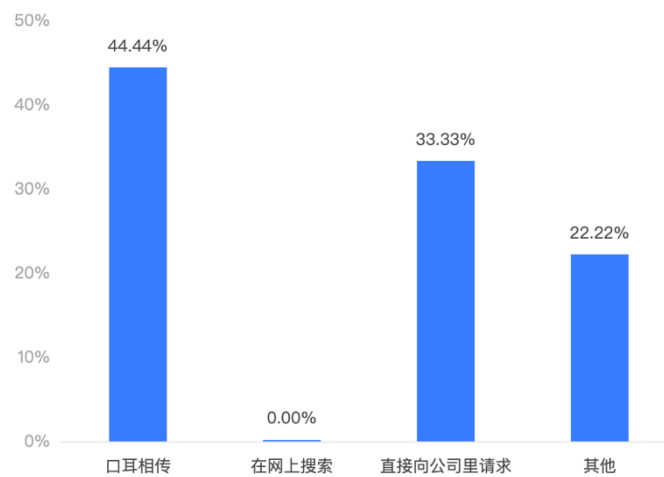


Question 18 concerns the topic of job search. The question was: "How did you find a job?" (您在 Lozzo 怎么能找到工作?)

More than half of the participants (44.44 percent + 11.11 percent, which is included within this answer) found jobs through word of mouth thanks to friends or relatives who were already working. This process of referring information to their compatriots, therefore, has simplified their job search. On the contrary, three of the participants (33.33 percent) found jobs by going directly to the workplace.

Only one among all respondents said that he/she has never worked, as it was necessary to be present at home to raise children.

Figure 19. Question 18: "How did you find a job?"



The population responded to a question regarding employment sector (Question 19). As expected before conducting this questionnaire, the whole adult population began working in eyewear factories in the area, further underlining the importance that the eyewear sector had and has for this area and, albeit to a lesser extent, still represents the largest sector of employment for the Chinese migrant generation. In fact, the entire Chinese community interviewed expressed their full satisfaction in the work they do (Question 20), demonstrating great adaptability.

Figure 20. Question 19: "In what industry did you start working?"

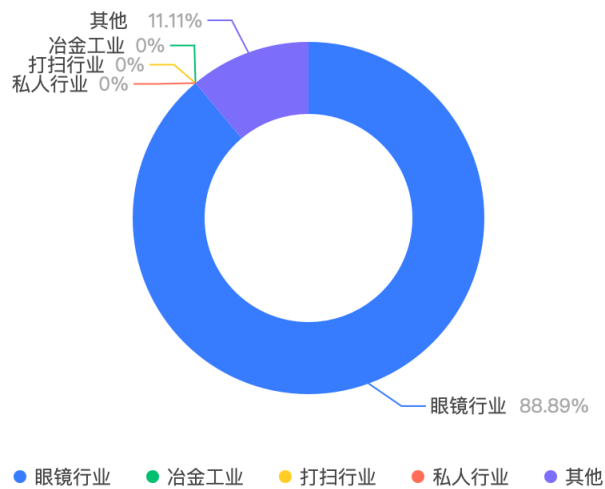
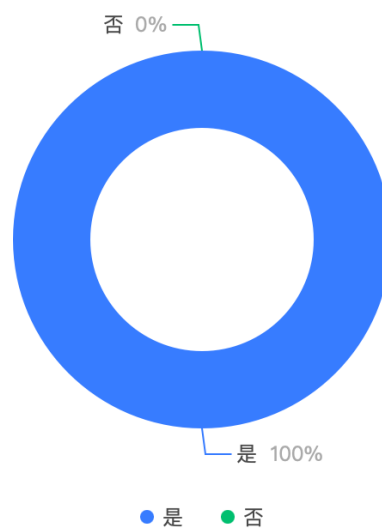


Figure 21. Question 20: "Are you satisfied of the job you are doing?"



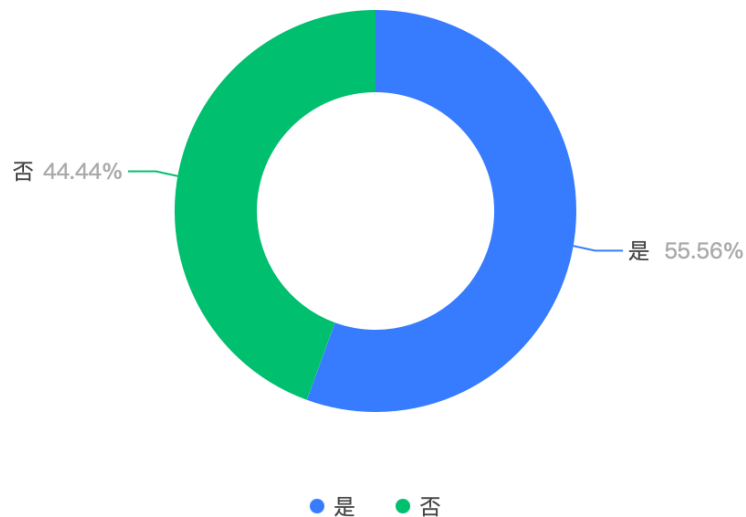
The questionnaire, as already seen, takes into analysis the Chinese population who decided to migrate to Italy and specifically to Lozzo, also regarding those who decided to stay and the part of the population who, instead, decided to move again.

The Question 21 (Figure 22) asked the population to specify whether they still live in Lozzo di Cadore today or have decided to migrate again.

The result to the question seems to be divided almost in half: 55.56 percent of the population (corresponding to 5 out of the total 9) still live in Lozzo, the remaining four of the total respondents moved to another city. In this case, it is also important to specify the reasons that prompted them to emigrate, and as it emerges from the answers, it might be

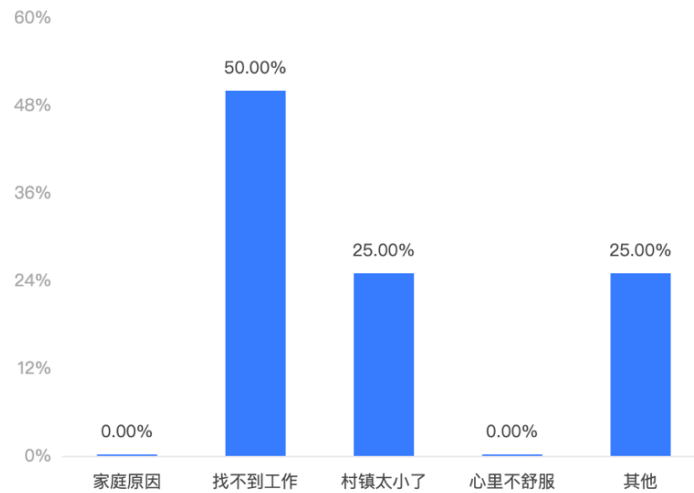
the result the economic change occurred in the first decade of the 2000s. In fact, the economic crisis of the early 2000s that affected our area led many of the factories, which had expanded their business in the 1980s, to close, causing a great loss of jobs and a consequent unemployment.

Figure 22. Question 21: “Do you still live in Lozzo di Cadore?”



These answers underlined how much the economic crisis had an impact in the Chinese community and that contributed to the decision of lots of Chinese people who lived in Lozzo to move to bigger cities where there were higher chances of finding work. In fact, the response below (Question 22) shows that 50 percent of the people who moved (corresponding to 2 out of 4 people) moved because they could not find work, as a result of the crisis; the remaining half, however, expressed differing reasons. One interviewee decided to move because of business reasons, so it can be said that the candidate was not affected by the economic crisis and therefore did not lose his/her job; the remaining candidate, on the other hand, decided to leave the village because Lozzo di Cadore was considered too small and therefore not suitable for his/her needs.

Figure 23. Question 22: "Why did you decide to move?"



Related to the above, the following question (Question 23) asked for further specification of this emigration decision, defining the new migration routes. The answers varied, as one of the respondents decided to move to the capital Belluno. The remaining three undertook a longer migration: one of the interviewees moved to Perugia, while the remaining two moved to Mantua. Regarding these last interviewees, it turned out that Mantua was the final destination of a somewhat complex migration process. The candidates, in fact, decided to leave Lozzo di Cadore in 2009, moving first to Monfalcone, in the province of Gorizia, where they decided to open a family-run bar. However, after the Covid-19 pandemic caused the closure of many businesses, they were forced to close their bar too, and move to Mantua, where their son was already living and working.

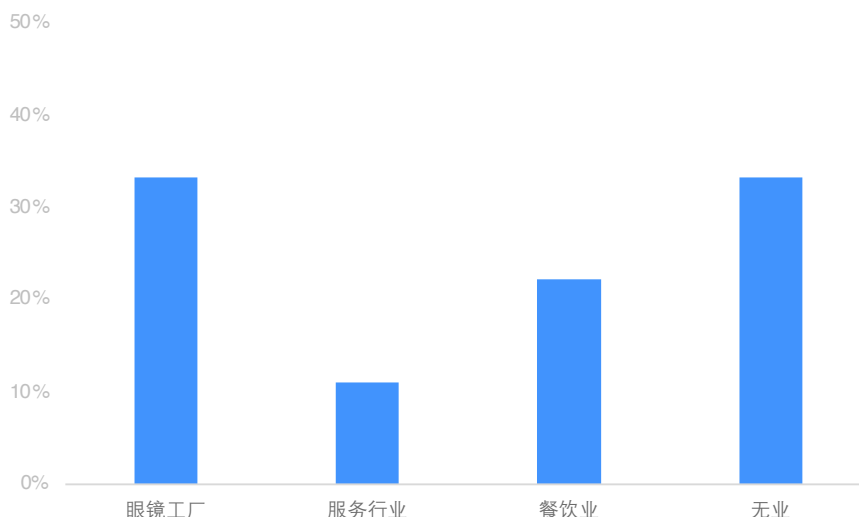
Therefore, it can be seen that the main reasons for moving are related, as it was in the past, to purely economic factors.

The Question 24 (Figure 24) connects with what was said initially about job position. The question asked was, "Where are you working now?"(现在您做什么工作?) Most of the respondents are still employed in the eyewear industry (3 out of 9 candidates); however, one of the candidates is still unemployed, thus expressing his/her need to stay at home to care for the children.

The remaining part, on the other hand, is divided into those who have employment in the private sector (2 out of 9), but do not specify their workplace, while three of the respondents, belonging to the part of the population that no longer lives in Lozzo, decided

to be employed in the clothing and catering sectors, working in family-run activities, or in already established businesses.

Figure 24. Question 24: "Where are you working now?"

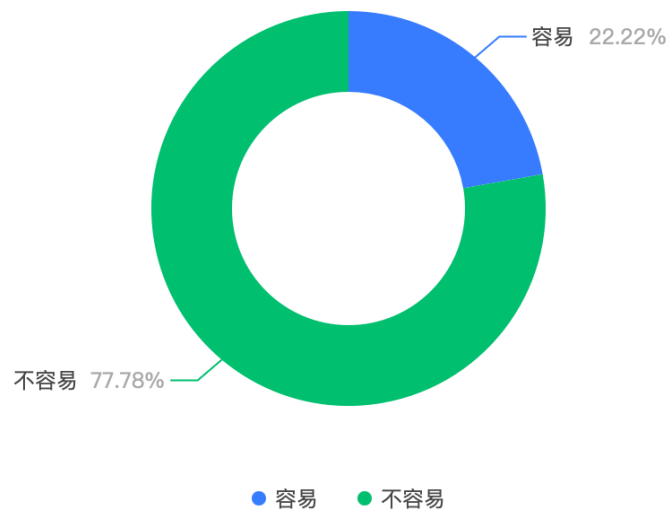


The following question (Question 25) concerns their opinion about how easy it is for Chinese people to emigrate from China today compared to the past. They were asked to make a personal judgment to the following statement, "Do you think it is easier today to move from China than in the past? Why?" (您认为现在从中国搬来比以前更容易吗? 为什么?)

Regarding that, different opinions were obtained. For most of the respondents (22.22 percent corresponding to 2 out of a total of 9), emigrating from China today is definitely easier, as the presence of relatives or friends in Italy and the information one has today in the age of social media have a great influence in the decision to emigrate.

The remaining respondents, however, (77.78 percent - 7 out of a total of 9), still express a contrary opinion to that. Immigration policies, uncertainty, and difficulty in finding a job would be determining factors affecting their response. Nonetheless, when considering the migration of a community from its own country, a migration of mostly an entire household is considered. Chinese migration, on the other hand, has undergone a migration referred to as 'fragmented', where generally one family member would move, seeking a suitable place, and then reunite the remaining family members as well. This, along with the complex process of starting a new life in a different country, would further affect the difficulty of migration, as families were sometimes divided for a long time.

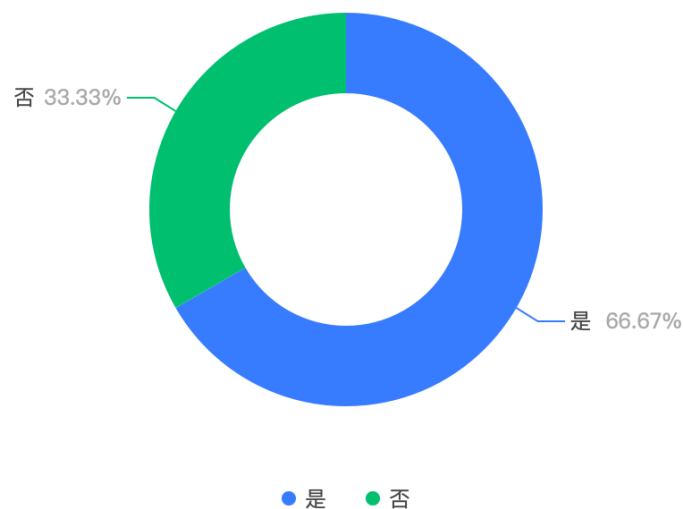
Figure 25. Question 25: “Do you think it is easier today to move from China than in the past? Why?”



The following question (Question 26) asked candidates to express whether, despite their decision to move from China or to move to another city, they would have remained living in Lozzo (如果不是因为促使您搬家的原因，您还会住在 Lozzo 吗？请告诉我您的意见。)

Six of the survey participants (66.67 percent) reported that they would have continued living in Lozzo; the remaining interviewees (33.33 percent), on the other hand, said the opposite, specifying, that although they still live there, they consider the town small and with little possibility of development, especially for their children.

Figure 26. Question 26: “Would you still live in Lozzo if it were not for the reasons that in some way led you to move? Please tell me your opinions about that.”

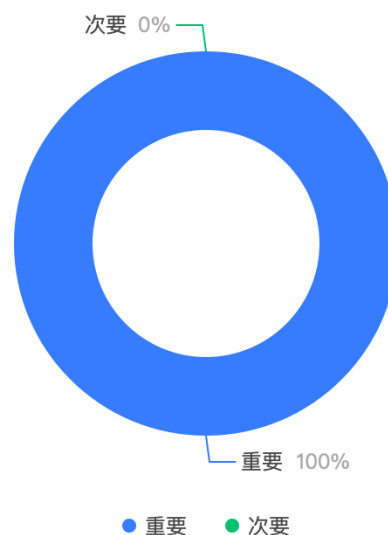


The last two questions (Questions 27, 28) conclude this questionnaire with a social and personal curiosity question.

The first of the two questions requires: "When you choose to live in a place, is it important to have a Chinese community area where you decided to live, or do you think it is secondary?" (对您来说, 在您决定住的地方有一个华人社区是重要的还是您认为它是次要的?)

To this question, all respondents agreed that the presence of an already established Chinese community in the place of arrival is a very relevant factor.

Figure 27. Question 27: "When you choose to live in a place, is it important to have a Chinese community area where you decided to live or do you think it is secondary?"



The last question, on the other hand, asks, "If there had been no Covid-19 pandemic, would you want to return to China?" (如果没有大流行病) 您希望回去中国吗?)

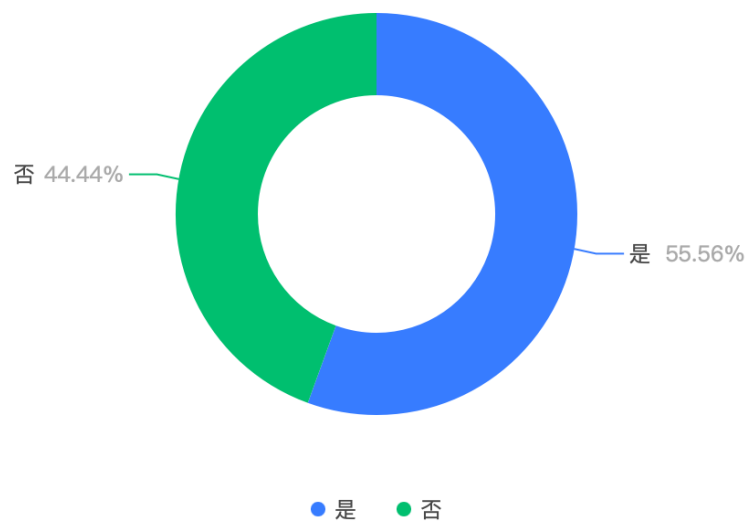
In this case, however, the population expressed itself contrary to expectations. 44.44% (4 of a total of 9) said they would not want to return to China. This would be mainly influenced by the fact that they have now become accustomed to the society and also integrated into it, which, although with some difficulties, has led them to be happier than they were in China. In addition, participants expressed very positive about our country, stating superiority in the quality of life and beauty of places.

In contrast, the nearly half of the remaining responses surveyed (55.56 percent) expressed their intention to return to China. Despite the fact that they have been living in Italy for many years now, they still have a strong attachment to their motherland, and

moreover, the presence of relatives and family members who have remained in China contribute to their desire to return to China. Italy became their second home, where they found work, lived for a long time, and on some occasion where they built a family. As is evident from the responses, the difficulties, that the Chinese community encountered once they left China, had a major influence especially on a psychological level.

However, the pandemic seems to have drifted the Chinese even more apart from their country, as many of them, who every year returned to China for vacations and to see the places and relatives they had left behind, were no longer able to come back to China, thus contributing to their nostalgia and sense of bewilderment.

Figure 28. Question 28: “Would you return to China if there was not the pandemic?”



The first migrant generation, and the next generation of young Chinese, have perceived their condition from a particular point of view, which has also been constantly reinforced by the numerous debates about immigrants.

In particular, the Chinese population has always been seen as a closed community, unable to integrate and open up to the Italian population. This idea, considered and seen as a highly negative aspect from the Italian society, makes the process of assimilation and sociocultural insertion of the Chinese communities increasingly complex (Cologna, 2009).

Unlike other migrant populations, the linguistic issues, that the Chinese have faced once they arrived in Europe and Italy, have never been considered, mostly due to their cultural, and above all geographical distance. In addition to that, the first generation of Chinese migrants had to pay large sums of money in order to emigrate, and most of the time

this amount of money was intended for only one family member. For this reason, once they arrived in Italy, they first sought to repay the debts incurred, thus belatedly beginning the integration process into the Italian society. Their difficult integration would not result from an aversion to assimilation but is a direct consequence of the decisions that were made before arriving in Italy (Cologna, 2009).

Chapter 3

The Second Migrant Generation in Lozzo di Cadore

The research included young Chinese people living in Lozzo di Cadore, who can be enclosed under the so-called 'second migrant Chinese generation'. However, it should be kept in mind that while in the previous generation, the whole respondents were born in China and then decided to move to Italy, the second generation cannot be totally and uniquely defined as 'migrants', since many of the children of the first-generation Chinese were born in Italy. At the same time, many of them instead were born in China and later moved to Italy. For this reason, after many studies conducted on the migrant generations, it has been concluded that the second generations of Chinese in Italy can be classified according to their different immigration status and especially according to their age at first arrival in Italy (Cologna, 2009). These subdivisions, as it has been analyzed, divide the second-generation youth as follows:

- Generation 1.25: Chinese immigrant youth between the ages of 13 and 17 years old
- Generation 1.5: Chinese immigrants in an age range of 6-12 years old
- Generation 1.75: Chinese immigrants in the preschool age range of 0-5 years old

A final category should also be added to this highly accurate classification, namely Generation 2, which includes all young Chinese who were born in Italy and therefore never experienced the emigration (Cologna, 2009).

Whether this classification is taken into consideration, it can easily be supposed that the younger the age at which Chinese youth moved to Italy, the greater their ability to integrate with Italian society (Cologna, 2009).

Unlike Generation 2 which, having been born in Italy, was able to benefit from a growth path that allowed Chinese culture to mix with Italian one, generations 1.25, 1.5 and 1.75 are those who have been mostly affected by the linguistic and cultural differences between China and Italy. These aspects, combined with the difficulties of the parents they had to mediate for, have contributed to further isolating the young Chinese, since their belonging to two different cultures lead to an inner conflict, since they did not recognize Italy, nor even China, as countries where they can start a life on their own, or in which they can easily feel at ease.

According to the field analysis, it was found that especially for Generation 2, that is, those Chinese born in Italy, it was easier to carry out a process of integration into Italian society and especially with their Italian peers. For the other generations instead, corresponding to most of the interviewees who had migrated at preschool age, it was very complicated to feel included into the classes they were in, and only a few of them, perhaps because of a greater propensity, was able to fully integrate into them.

The decision to examine this age group as well represents the need to analyze, from a different point of view, the migration process that involved the adult generation. In terms of the meaning attributed to the term 'migration', as a result of the analysis conducted, it has not only influenced the first migrant generation on a psychological level, but, also the following generations, who have lived through their parents' experiences the suffering and sacrifices of such a decision. Their actual life represents almost a continuation of the situation of the adults, which perhaps, due to much suffering, has not been fully expressed.

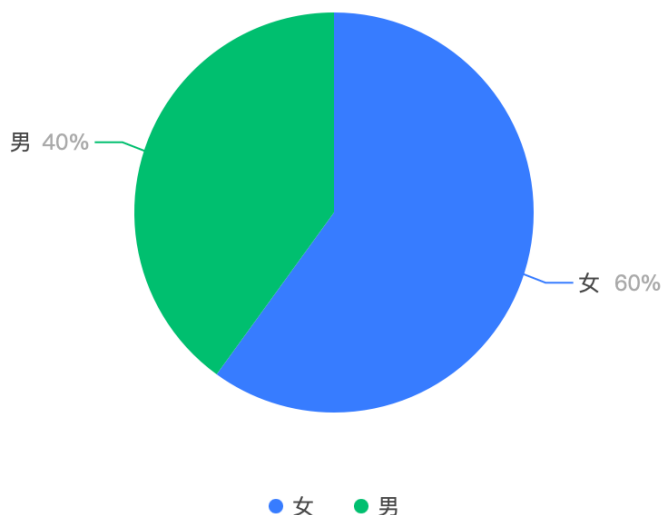
In this latest analysis, the responses of 10 Chinese youth, belonging to an age range of up to 30 years old, were collected. Although they have similar characteristics such as origin or age, they depict the situation and issues faced by the Chinese migrant generations so far.

3.1 Analysis of the Results: Descriptive Study of a Group of People Aged up to 30 years old, Defined in this Research as 'Second Chinese Migrant Generation'

The respondents who took part in the survey consists of 60 percent girls, while the remaining percentage (40 percent) is composed of boys. From the questions asked, it is not known whether the young people are all only children or also have siblings. Based on the age at which they moved to Italy, it can be inferred that, upon arrival, all of the participants were only children and that, after their parents had arrived in Italy, had other children. In fact, as is well known, since 1979, China instituted the birth control policies, establishing collective birth control plans. According to that, to avoid overpopulation, the state sanctioned that families could have only one child. This law remained in force until 2015. However, in the mid-1980s, the law changed, and the Chinese government increased the child quota to two, if the first-born child was a girl. It can therefore be assumed that the higher number of females than males may be a direct result of this policy. After deciding to

emigrate, Chinese communities would then take advantage of the Italian pro-birth policies to enlarge their families.

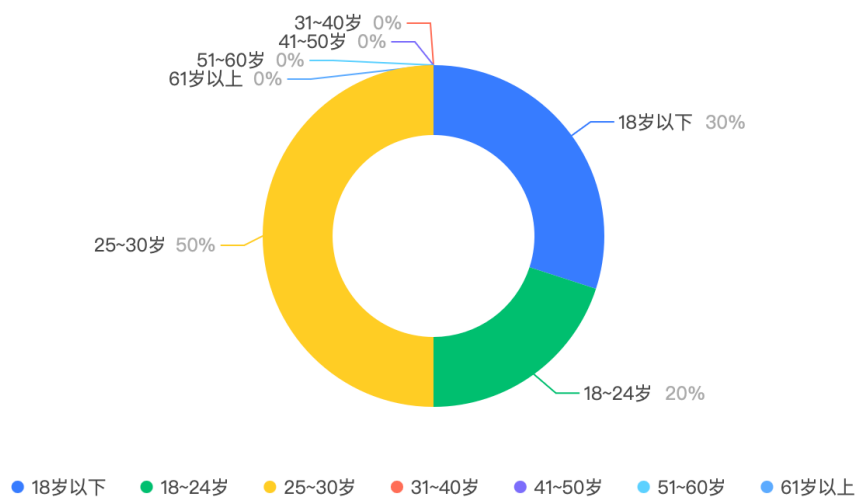
Figure 29. Question 2: The gender of the interviewees



Since the second migrant generation is the result of the first Chinese who arrived in Lozzo di Cadore, they share the same origin of their parents, namely the prefecture-city of Lishui in Zhejiang Province. However, 30 percent of the young people interviewed were born in Italy, while the remaining part (70 percent) migrated from China.

Subsequently, it is important to consider the age of the youth, as the result also affects their level of education (Question 5).

Figure 30. Question 5: The age of the interviewees

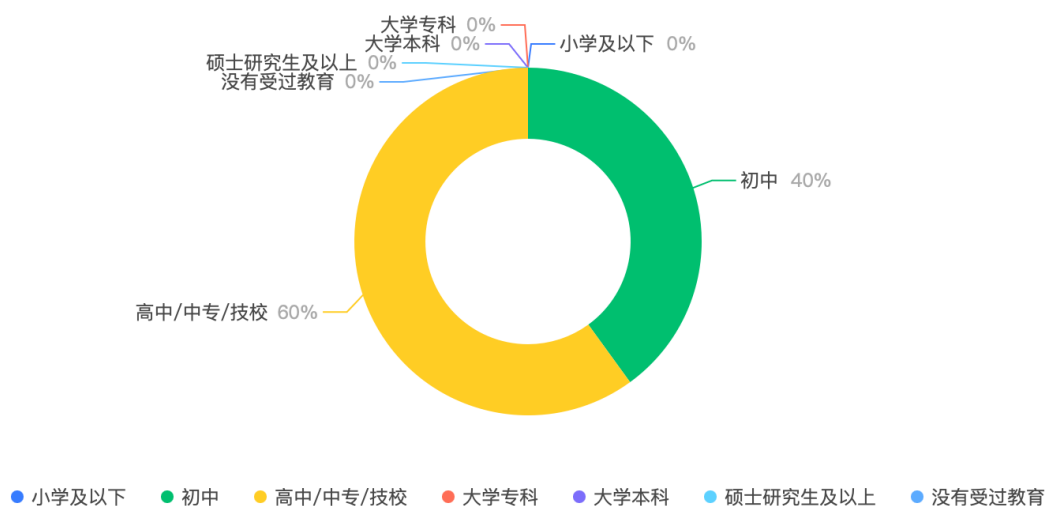


Of the total number of participants (10), 3 are under the age of 18 and correspond to the number of Chinese youths who were born in Italy. In the 18 to 24 age group, however, we find 2 Chinese people, while the remaining 3 of the respondents are in the 25 to 30 age group.

Accordingly, the level of education is influenced by the age of the participants: 60 percent expressed that they attend high school or have attended a professional school. The remaining 40 percent, on the other hand, express that they are attending middle school or have stopped at pursuing higher education level (half of these, corresponding to those under the age of 18, are attending middle school; the other half, however, have not continued with high school). This may be a clear indication of what studies so far have also stated about the ability and propensity for integration, largely due to the language barrier. In fact, the proficiency level of Italian language had a major influence on the decision to continue or not their school career. The learning mechanisms of the young people, and the study of Italian language, is often hindered by the inability and inadequacy of the teachers to help and adapt to the learning needs of the young Chinese, who are welcomed into classes as if they were native Italian-speaking students (Cologna, 2009). Thus, the difficulties faced, first of adaptation and inclusion, then linguistic, from the very beginning, are not considered. The total absence of assistance and facilitation would lead to a feeling of constant personal failure among young Chinese immigrants, discouraging them to continue with high school.

For these reasons, the majority of the Chinese population that still has contact with the Italian working world struggles to converse fluently and correctly, contributing in the drift toward marginality (Cologna, 2009).

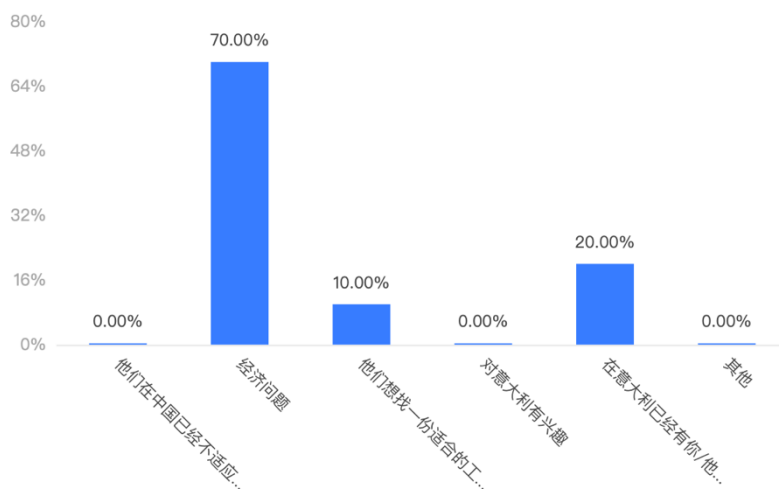
Figure 31. Question 4: The education level of the participants



After these general questions, the questionnaire takes on a more personal aspect, trying to investigate from a different point of view the motivations for deciding to migrate to Italy.

It could be assumed that since the respondents were young in age, they could not directly witness the family situation. Chinese youth were asked, “Why did your parents decide to move to Italy?” (Question 6: 为什么你的家人决定搬到意大利?). This question produced almost unambiguous responses, as 7 out of the total number of candidates (corresponding to the 70%) expressed that their parents moved to Italy because of economic reasons, 1 of the remaining (10%) specified instead that the economic motivation was due in particular to finding a more suitable job in Italy. The remaining 2 responses (20%), on the other hand, raise the issue of referentiality. As already pointed out, many times the Chinese were driven by the presence in Italy of compatriots who had previously arrived there. This aspect would have contributed to a great extent to the decision to move to Italy.

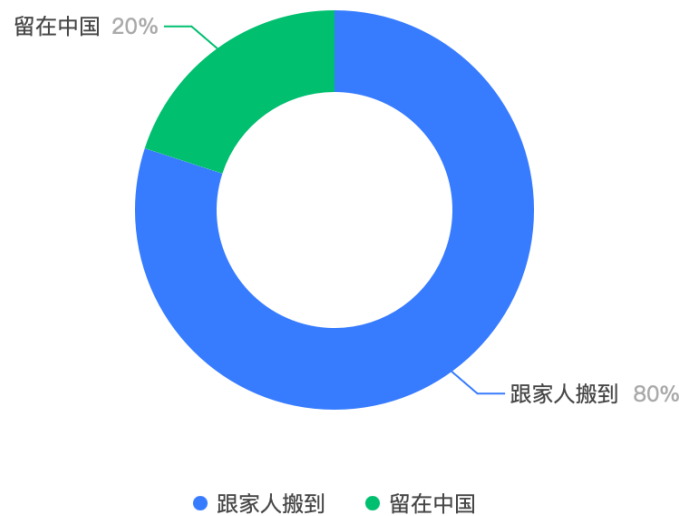
Figure 32. Question 6: “Why did your parents decide to move to Italy?”



The next question (Question 7) connects with what was asked above, since the migration of some member of the same household often meant that the entire household had to move.

In fact, the question asked was, "When your family moved to Italy, did you with your them or did you instead remain in China?" (Question 7: 你的家庭搬到意大利时，你是跟他们一起的还是你留在中国?).

Figure 33. Question 7: "When your family moved to Italy, did you with your them or did you instead remain in China?"



Unlike expectations, only 20 percent of the young people interviewed remained in China, while both their parents, or only one of them, moved to Italy, later implementing family reunification. The remaining 80 percent, on the other hand, express that they moved together with their parents.

The analysis of the situation of Chinese youth before arriving in Italy was deepened with the next question (Question 8), in which only those Chinese who remained in China were asked where they were left behind while their parents emigrated. The question asked was: "When you were in China, where did you live and what did you do in the meantime your parents were not there?" (Question 8: 你在中国时，住在哪儿并做什么？).

The interviewees expressed that they stayed to live with their grandparents or uncles in their hometown, where they were also able to attend elementary school before arriving in Italy. Although the two young people grew up with their grandparents or uncles, they lived in China for different periods of time, as one of them arrived in Italy three years after his/her parents, at the age of 8, while the second one lived in China for a full 6 years, arriving in Italy at the age of 10, following family reunification. As it has been analyzed, the Chinese who moved to Italy after their parents, thus at a school age, were in many cases placed in school classes at a lower grade than they should have been, as it was necessary for their language level to be adequate in order to continue in learning (Cologna, 2009).

Question 9 links to the above by asking all respondents after how many years they were able to reunite with their family and relatives (Question 9: 你搬到意大利多少年以后？). One of the interviewees stated that has remained in China for six years before arriving in

Italy, at the age of 10. Another respondent, instead, has lived in China for a shorter period than the preceding one, particularly three years. Nevertheless, as also outlined by the following questions, all the interviewees arrived in Italy very young.

The following question (Question 10) points out therefore at what age they arrived in Italy. The question asks: "How old were you when you first arrived in Italy?" (Question 10: 来到意大利的时候，你多年了？). Although 1 among the total 10 young people was born in Italy, most of the Chinese youth arrived in Italy between the ages of 2 and 10. Unlike what was assumed prior to conducting the analysis, only 2 among the respondents expressed that they had instead arrived in Italy at the age of 20, presumably both of them moved as a result of a request from their parents, who needed their children's help in running activities in Italy.

This question also revealed that one of the respondents had made numerous transfers from China to Italy and vice versa. In fact, one answer to that question was, "意大利生的三个月大的时候回到了中国，4岁的时候又出国了，在这里应该10年了" (I was born in Italy, but when I was three months old I went back to China, returning to Italy when I was 4 years old. Since then, it has been 10 years). The candidate decided to better explain this answer stating that the return to China was due to the presence of his/her grandmother whom he/she had to take care of while the parents were no longer there. At the age of 4, the respondent returned to Italy, where he/she attended kindergarten, elementary school, and now middle school. So, he/she has spent most of his/her years in Italy.

The next question sought to investigate the difficulties faced by young Chinese people once they arrived in Italy, in a totally different culture from that of China, analyzing it from a different point of view than their parents, who instead experienced emigration already at an adult age.

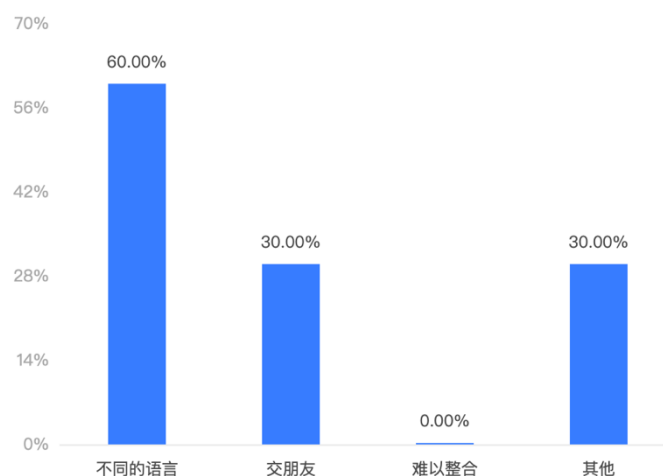
The question was, "How did moving to Italy make you feel? What difficulties did you face in leaving your relatives and friends in China? Tell me about your experience." (Question 11: 搬到意大利让你什么感觉？离开你的亲人和朋友有没有困难？请告诉我你的经历。)

Although in different forms, most respondents expressed uneasiness and difficulties in getting used to life in Italy. Particularly for those who had already moved at a more mature age, they encountered difficulties to get accustomed to a different culture, different schedules, and above all, they had to get used to living with their parents again.

Living in Lozzo, and in Italy in general, also meant learning a new language and a new culture, trying as much as possible to fit into a community, that perceived them skeptically, and integrate into a system different from their own. Specifically to this issue, the survey asks: “What was the greatest difficulty you faced when you arrived in Lozzo?” (Question 12: 到 Lozzo di Cadore 时，你前面的最大困难是什么？). From the results, what had the greatest impact on their integration process was precisely not knowing how to speak Italian. In particular, 60 percent of the young people had a lot of difficulties from a linguistic point of view. Only one of them also expressed difficulties in making friends; 30 percent expressed obstacles especially from the point of view of friendships. Having social relationships in fact with people from other cultures, although as a child there are not many obstacles, as they grow up it becomes more difficult to socialize with local people.

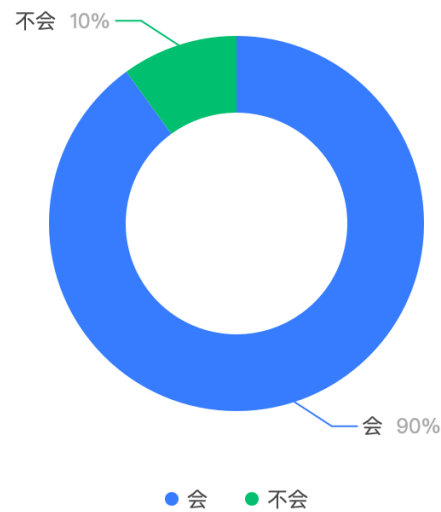
In the end, only one respondent reveals that he/she did not have any major problems for the time being, as he/she also had to move to another town, not far from Lozzo di Cadore, only to return a few years later.

Figure 34. Question 12: “What was the greatest difficulty you faced when you arrived in Lozzo?”



As seen above, the linguistic factor is a very relevant aspect when talking about migration in general, even more so when considering Chinese migration. In Question 13, Italian language proficiency is investigated: “Did you already speak in Italian?” (你已经会说意大利语吗？). In this case, almost all of the participants (90 percent) expressed that they could speak Italian since they learned it in school when they were enrolled in Italian classes. Only one of the participants, who arrived in Italy after the age of 20, never learned Italian and still requires the help of friends to be able to talk.

Figure 35. Question 13: “Did you already speak in Italian?”



Integration for the Chinese youth was a very hard and painful aspect. Many of them said that they initially felt nostalgic about China, the friends, and customs they had left behind. That added up to a feeling of unease that Chinese youth experienced. Initially, it is evident that the presence of a foreign population might have aroused some curiosity, especially in smaller contexts such as villages, which have not hardly experienced the presence of foreign populations. However, many Chinese expressed that this initial interest soon faded, giving way to exclusion and discomfort.

Nevertheless, although they had a lot of integration difficulties, a great number of Chinese overcame this initial obstacle and managed to adapt their culture and habits to the Italian culture, knowing how to integrate with the children of their class and the country.

Another aspect to highlight, which is perhaps many times overlooked, is the issue of ‘Chineseness’, or how much Chinese youth still feel to be Chinese, despite having lived most of their lives in Italy. For the second-generation Chinese especially, it becomes easier to perceive a sense of bewilderment, not feeling Chinese or even Italian. In recent studies conducted by researchers among Chinese migrant generations, what was interesting to bring to light is that sense of not belonging to either China, nor to Italy.

In what way was it possible to be Chinese, or to feel Chinese, when you were born and raised in the United States, France, Malaysia, etc.? In what way could a person ask the societies of the nations of which one was a citizen to accept this additional and composite identity? (Brigadoi Bologna, 2014:13)

It is true that most of the second-generation children were born in Italy and thus grew up with this cultural ambivalence from early on, but it is also true to consider that this dual 'face' has contributed and still contributes to bewilderment. One metaphor described recently immigrated Chinese as 香蕉 *xiangjiao* ('banana'), meaning yellow on the outside and white on the inside, labeling them as fake Chinese, since it is impossible to consider oneself totally Chinese and at the same time not totally Italian either (Brigadoi Cologna, 2014).

Referring to what it has been said, the questionnaire asked Chinese youth to indicate how they felt they integrated with Italian youth while they were attending school. The question asks: "How much did you feel integrated with Italian people when you were at school?" (Question 14: 你认为你在 Lozzo 上小学时与意大利孩子融入得怎么样?).

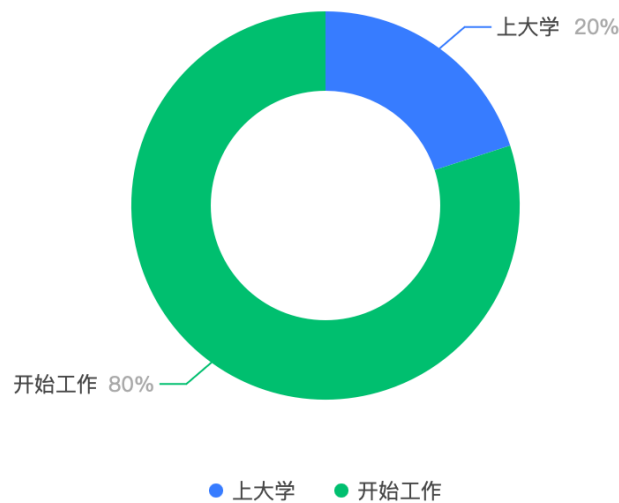
Of the 10 respondents, one was unable to express an opinion on this issue because he/she attended schools in China. Half of the remaining participants, on the other hand (corresponding to 5 of the total 10) expressed that they integrated well with their Italian classmates, so much so that, in some cases they are still keeping in touch. One of the remaining 5 young people expressed a gradualness in the integration process: obviously initially it was complex to be in a class of strangers, but then with time it became easier to be accepted by his/her Italian peers.

Two interviewees, on the other hand, said they had slight difficulties with integration. They were accepted by their classmates but also felt indirectly marginalized by other classmates, not making them feel totally comfortable in the school setting. Only one of the 10 respondents did not feel accepted by his/her classmates, thus expressing a totally negative opinion in this regard.

The next question (Question 15) asked the Chinese to express their own ambition in the future, which, while seemingly inconsistent with the purpose of such a questionnaire, instead revealed interesting results.

The question was, "After school, would you like to go to university or start working?" (中学毕业后, 你继续学习(大学)还是开始工作?).

Figure 36. Question 15: “After school, would you like to go to university or start working?”

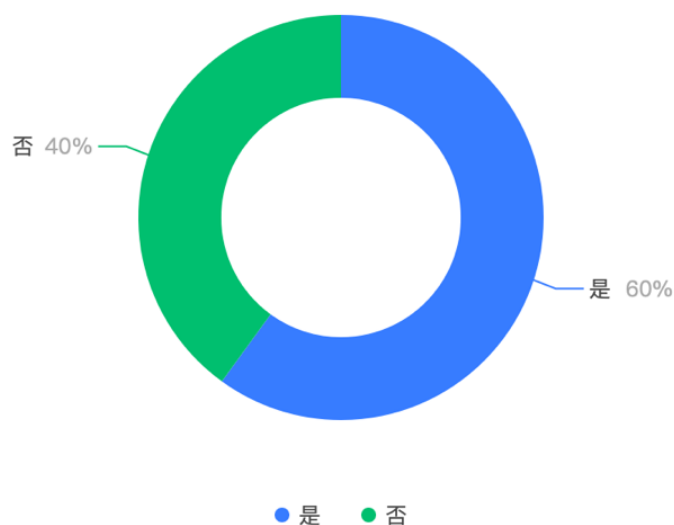


Although a portion of the respondents still attend middle school or high school, 20 percent (corresponding to 2 of the total 10) expressed that they would like to continue with university. The remaining 80 percent already have employment or intend to start working once they finish their mandatory schooling.

This figure brought to light another aspect that has long been analyzed and studied regarding migrant generations in Italy and around the world. The choice to move to Italy has many times forced the first generation to get into debt with relatives and friends in order to finally emigrate from China. Once in Italy, however, this forced the Chinese to focus all energies and efforts on labor profitability and remuneration. Their children were thus forced, once older, not to continue their education, employing all their acquired skills in domestic help or look for work to help their families financially. The closeness surrounding and characterizing the Chinese in Italy is thus a direct consequence of their entrepreneurial need.

The next four questions (Questions 16, 17, 18, and 19) asked people to specify whether they still live in Lozzo di Cadore today or have decided to emigrate again, also indicating their destination. Finally, they were asked to indicate whether the family had also decided to move.

Figure 37. Question 16: “Do you still live in Lozzo di Cadore?”



Sixty percent of the young Chinese population still lives in Lozzo, with their parents. The remaining 40 percent, on the other hand, decided to move out of necessity. As it is known, Chinese migrants, whether belonging to the first or second generation, have also experienced the economic crisis began in 2008, which forced many factories and stores to close, thus leading many people to relocate. In fact, one of the respondents indicated that the main motivation for moving with his/her parents was the need for a better life, with more opportunities especially from an employment point of view. Question 17 specified where the Chinese had settled after deciding to move from Lozzo (Question 17: 现在你住在哪儿?): one sample respondent expressed that he/she moved with their parents because they felt the village was too small for their needs and so they decided to settle in Padua. Another one, on the other hand, stated that although both he/she and his/her parents liked Lozzo, the economic crisis greatly impacted their lives forcing them to move to a larger city (Mantua).

In the end, one of the candidates instead expressed that he/she moved to Milan without his/her parents, who in turn would move to Rome, due to personal reasons.

Figure 38. Question 18: "Did your parents come with you?"

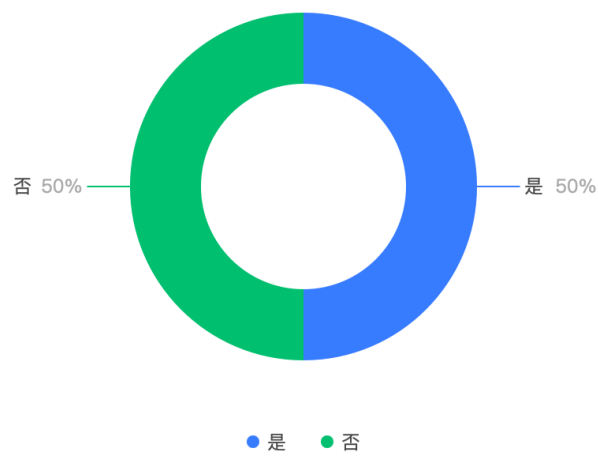
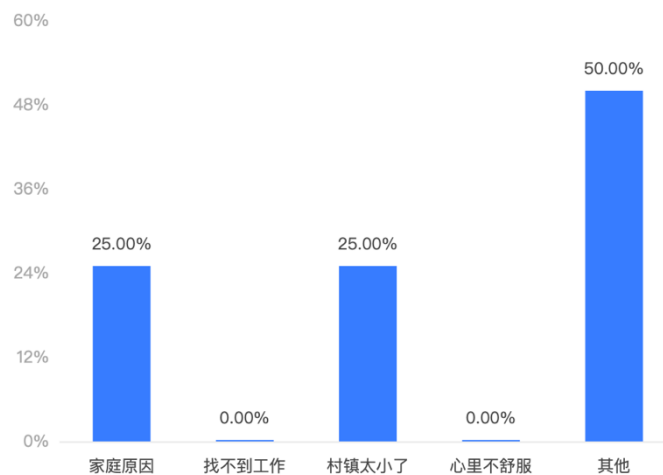


Figure 39. Question 19: "Why did you decide to move?"



To the interviewees was next asked if, when they decided to move from Lozzo, were able to find a new job or the crisis, that the north of Italy was experiencing, affected and made difficult to find an employment (Question 20: 现在你做什么工作?). Nevertheless, all the Chinese who left Lozzo di Cadore found a new job, either in companies or simple stores, like tobacco shops or phone stores.

Next, there was a total understanding of what were the most substantial changes faced by Chinese youth in Lozzo after moving from China. The question was, “How did your life change after moving?” (Question 21: 从搬来后, 你的生活发生了哪些变化?).

Although only 3 of the 10 interviewees did not experience great changes, most of them expressed instead that they had undergone changes, especially in terms of adapting to a new culture and language; moreover, in many cases moving to another city also contributed positively to personal growth and maturation. However, as one response revealed, despite their decision to move the sense of marginalization and insecurity has remained, and this aspect will most likely continue to have a strong influence in their lives.

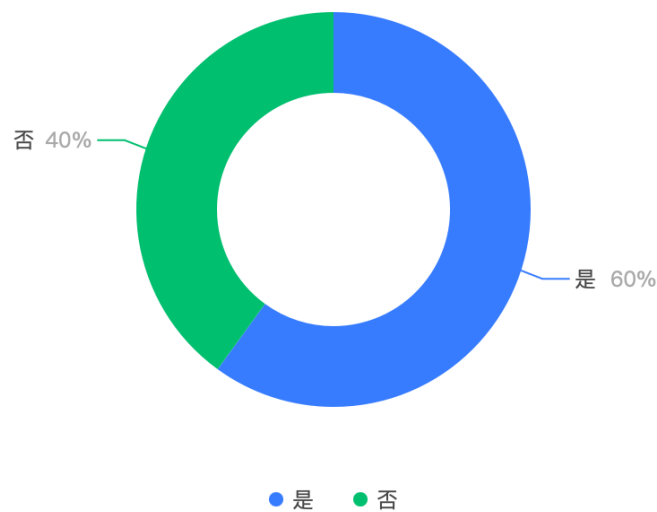
In addition to this, emotional ties are also not to be ruled out, even though it may be of less importance than economic status. It can instead greatly influence the personal situation of candidates. One of the candidates analyzed above stated that the life changed as he/she moved to Italy to marry a Chinese who was already living in Lozzo. So, his/her motivation would not stem from economic motivations, but rather purely linked to the emotional sphere.

The following question asked candidates to express whether, despite their decision to move to another city, they would remain living in Lozzo (Question 22: 如果不是因为促使你搬家的原因, 你还会住在 Lozzo 吗? 请告诉我你的意见。)

Excluding the candidate who stayed in Lozzo because he or she was married to a Chinese, more than half of the participants (60 percent) indicated a positive response in this regard, saying that they were comfortable in Lozzo.

The remaining 40 percent, on the other hand, say they did not find themselves at ease there and preferred a larger city where there were more opportunities for personal and professional growth.

Figure 40. Question 22: “Would you still live in Lozzo if it were not for the reasons that in some way led you to move? Please tell me your opinions about that.”



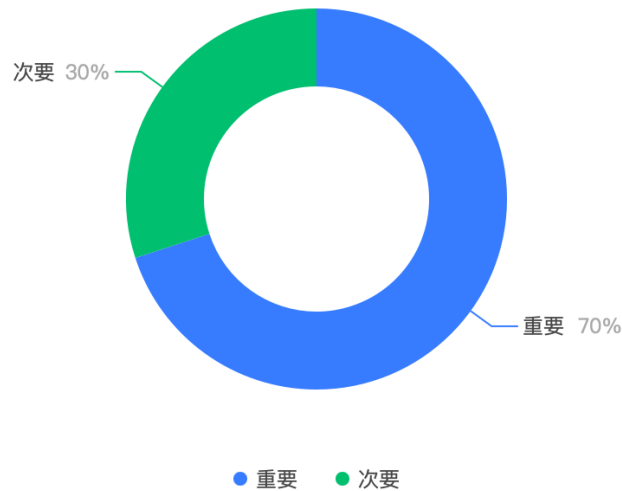
The last two questions asked (Questions 23, 24) conclude this questionnaire with social and personal curiosity questions.

The first question asks: “When you decide to live in a place, how much does the presence of a Chinese community there affect your decision?” (Question 23: 对你来说，在你决定住的地方有一个华人社会区是重要的还是你认为它是次要的？)

To this question, 70 percent of the respondents agreed that the presence of an already settled Chinese community in the place of arrival is a very relevant factor, probably for a factor of familiarization and help in case of need.

The remaining three candidates, on the other hand, indicated that they do not feel the need for a Chinese community too much, since from the point of view of a Chinese person in Italy the most important thing is to find a job providing for the family's livelihood, but above all, it is important to integrate into the society and get used to the Italian culture, trying to live as happily as possible in a foreign country.

Figure 41. Question 23: “When you decide to live in a place, how much does the presence of a Chinese community there affect your decision?”

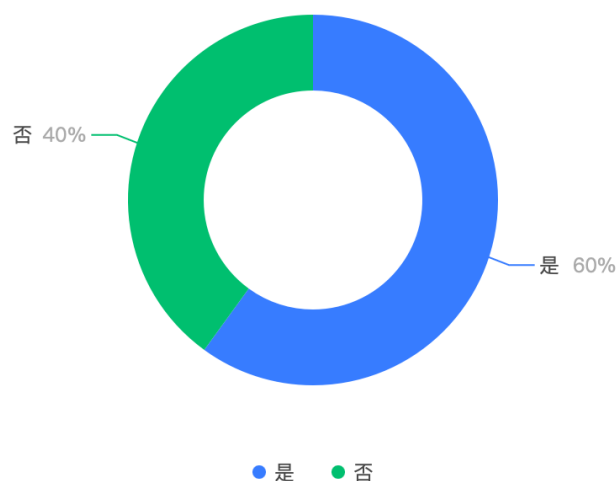


The last question, on the other hand, asks: “If there had been no Covid-19 pandemic, would you want to return to China?” (如果没有大流行病) 你希望回去中国吗?)

This question segments the Chinese population: 60 percent of them express that they would like to return to China, either because they still have a feeling of connection with China, from an emotional point of view, or because they would like to travel and explore the wonders of their country, which they never got to see being in Italy. Although, they still feel Chinese, however, it is difficult to leave Italy permanently because they feel that this country has had a huge impact in their lives, both positively and negatively.

The remaining interviewees on the contrary would not return to China, first of all because of an economic factor and then because, as mentioned before, it is difficult for them to leave Italy that has provided them so many opportunities.

Figure 42. Question 24: “If there had been no Covid-19 pandemic, would you want to return to China?”



The second generation of Chinese migrants, composed mostly of young people under 30, is the generation that has indirectly experienced their parents' choices.

These choices have partly negatively affected their experience and life in Italy. While the parents had to bear the economic 'burden', having to find a job and a house and provide for their family members, setting aside the process of integration, the young people, on the contrary, had to directly interface with new people and new habits, which, in different ways, influenced their growth and personal formation.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this research, the question that had been indirectly asked was, “Why did so many Chinese move to Italy, and why did so many of them come to live in Lozzo di Cadore?”

This is a question that, even if it can be considered obvious and clear, contains within it many issues and sufferings, that I myself, for one, had not considered before beginning this research.

Migration, as it has been outlined for long time, has always been perceived as a voluntary displacement of people who were trying to provide for their families. Chinese migration can also be traced back to this phenomenon.

There have long been questions about why they chose Italy in particular. Chinese people decided to leave China, and in particular the Zhejiang region, for merely economic reasons. The Zhejiang region, as it has been further examined, is a mostly mountainous region, and its geography has gradually made it more and more difficult to live there. Many Chinese, therefore, driven by economic needs have decided to leave their country and move to other countries, including Italy.

The decision to choose Italy, and then going up to Lozzo di Cadore in the upper Veneto region, was not an easy choice. As the results of the research showed, many of them still do not feel totally comfortable living there and have faced a hard process of adaptation, both to the new culture and language. However, despite the hardships they have faced starting a new life again, they have shown great dedication to work and entrepreneurship. Many of them still work today in eyewear factories, which had first offered them jobs, or run their own businesses.

Otherwise, having decided to move to Italy has many times meant leaving their children in China. The first migrant generations, in fact, migrated by leaving their children in China, with their grandparents or relatives, and came to Italy to look for work. After having decided where to live, with a job and a home, they decide to call their children back to Italy, who in their turn had to go through a process of integration into Italian society.

Through the questionnaire provided, an attempt was also made to give voice to their experience, that they lived differently from their parents and perhaps even with some unawareness.

The Chinese people living there, however, still miss China and the loved ones they unfortunately had to leave there to come to Italy. It took years for the Chinese population to get used to it and feel accepted in this country and, in my opinion, it will take many more years. However, despite living in Italy for more than two decades now, first- and second-generation Chinese migrants continue to feel Chinese and continue to keep their culture and tradition alive in their daily lives.

Coming to Italy was a challenge, which the Chinese population is still trying to face in an increasingly conscious way, thanks also to the help of those Chinese who first settled in our country. We have not to ignore the fact that also the Italian society had, and will continue to have, a crucial role in the way the Chinese will perceive our country. It is therefore our task to try as best we can to interact and facilitate this integration process of which we are a part.

Appendix

Questionnaire 1

1. 您的姓名
What is your name and surname?
2. 您的性别
What is your gender?
3. 您在哪个省及城市出生的?
Where are you born? Indicate the province and city.
4. 您的最高学历（含目前在读）是?
What is your level of education?
5. 您的年龄是?
How old are you?
6. 来意大利之前，您住在中国多长时间了?
Before arriving in Italy, how long did you live in China?
7. 在中国时，您做什么工作？您和谁住在一起？
In China, what work did you do and who did you live with?
8. 您在中国的期间结婚了还是有孩子？
Did you marry and/or have children?
9. 您来意大利的第一次是哪一年？
In which year did you first come to Italy?
10. 您为什么决定搬到意大利？
Why did you decide to move to Italy?
11. 您怎么发现 Lozzo di Cadore 的地方，为什么决定搬到那里？
How did you discover Lozzo di Cadore? Why did you decide to move there?
12. 您和自己家人一起搬到意大利还是您一个人搬到？
Did you move alone or with your family?
13. 对您来看，离开中国到意大利开始新生活有什么样的困难？请告诉我您的意见。
What difficulties have you faced when you arrived in Italy?
14. 到 Lozzo di Cadore 时，您前面的最大困难是什么？
What was the biggest difficulty when you arrived in Lozzo di Cadore?

15. 您那时候已经会说意大利吗?
(When you arrived in Italy) Did you already speak Italian?
16. 您认为已经很好地融入了 Lozzo 的口中吗?
Do you feel that you have integrated into the population of Lozzo?
17. Lozzo 人口让您感到安慰还是让您排除?
Has the population of Lozzo made you feel comfortable or excluded?
18. 您在 Lozzo 怎么能找到工作?
How did you find a job?
19. 您在工作时, 在什么行业工作?
In what industry did you start working?
20. 您的工作让您满意吗?
Are you satisfied of the job you are doing?
21. 您还住在 Lozzo 吗?
Do you still live in Lozzo di Cadore?
22. 您为什么搬家?
Why did you decide to move?
23. 现在您住在哪儿?
Where do you live now?
24. 现在您做什么工作?
Where are you working now?
25. 您认为现在从中国搬来比以前更容易吗? 为什么?
Do you think it is easier today to move from China than in the past? Why?
26. 如果不是因为促使您搬家的原因, 您还会住在 Lozzo 吗? 请告诉我您的意见。
Would you still live in Lozzo if it were not for the reasons that in some way led you to move? Please tell me your opinions about that.
27. 对您来说, 在您决定住的地方有一个华人社会区是重要的还是您认为它是次要的?
When you choose to live in a place, is it important to have a Chinese community area where you decided to live or do you think it is secondary?
28. (如果没有大流行病) 您希望回去中国吗?
Would you return to China if there was not the pandemic?
29. 如果有别的你想表示的话, 请写一下。
If you have something more to tell, please write it here.

Questionnaire 2

1. 你的姓名
What is your name and surname?
2. 你的性别
What is your gender?
3. 你在哪个省及城市出生的?
Where are you born? Indicate the province and city.
4. 你的最高学历（含目前在读）是?
What is your level of education?
5. 你的年龄是?
How old are you?
6. 为什么你的家人决定搬到意大利?
Why did your parents decide to move to Italy?
7. 你的家庭搬到意大利时，你是跟他们一起的还是你留在中国?
When your family moved to Italy, did you with your them or did you instead remain in China?
8. 你在中国时，住在哪儿并做什么?
When you were in China, where did you live and what did you do in the meantime your parents were not there?
9. 你搬到意大利多少年以后?
How many years after did you move to Italy?
10. 来到意大利的时候，你多大了?
How old were you when you first arrived in Italy?
11. 搬到意大利让你什么感觉？离开你的亲人和朋友有没有困难？请告诉我你的经历。
How did moving to Italy make you feel? What difficulties did you face in leaving your relatives and friends in China? Tell me about your experience.
12. 到 Lozzo di Cadore 时，你前面的最大困难是什么？
What was the greatest difficulty you faced when you arrived in Lozzo?
13. 你已经会说意大利吗？
Did you already speak in Italian?
14. 你认为你在 Lozzo 上小学时与意大利孩子融入得怎么样？
How much did you feel integrated with Italian people when you were at school?

15. 中学毕业后，你继续学习（大学）还是开始工作？
After school, would you like to go to university or start working?
16. 你还住在 Lozzo 吗？
Do you still live in Lozzo di Cadore?
17. 现在你住在哪儿？
Where do you live now?
18. 你的家人跟你来吗？
Did your parents come with you?
19. 你为什么搬家？
Why did you decide to move?
20. 现在你做什么工作？
Where are you working now?
21. 从搬来后，你的生活发生了哪些变化？
How did your life change after moving?
22. 如果不是因为促使你搬家的原因，你还会住在 Lozzo 吗？请告诉我你的意见。
Would you still live in Lozzo if it were not for the reasons that in some way led you to move? Please tell me your opinions about that.
23. 对你来说，在你决定住的地方有一个华人社区是重要的还是你认为它是次要的？
When you decide to live in a place, how much does the presence of a Chinese community there affect your decision?
24. （如果没有大流行病）你希望回去中国吗？
If there had been no Covid-19 pandemic, would you want to return to China?
25. 如果有别的你想表示的话，请写一下。
If you have something else to tell me about, please write it down here.

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