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A Critical Study of Chinese International Students' Experiences of Race and Racism
in the Age of COVID-19

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Jing Yu

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June 2022

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ABSTRACT

A Critical Study of Chinese International Students' Experiences of Race and Racism in the Age of COVID-19

by

Jing Yu

Chinese international students' lived experiences have garnered substantial attention in US higher education research due to the ever-increasing numbers of such students as well as the tense relationships between the US and China, yet this research rarely considers issues of race and racism. More recently, the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed underlying structural inequalities, reinvigorated old stereotypes, and unleashed new manifestations of Sinophobia. As a consequence of Donald Trump's racist rhetoric during his presidency, hate crimes against Asian ethnic groups in San Francisco increased by 500% in 2021 and Chinese scientists who were accused of being a threat to US national security were criminalized. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, combined with US-China rivalry and anti-Chinese sentiment, Chinese international students currently face multiple challenges. There is therefore a pressing need to make sense of Chinese students' experiences around US higher education—and in doing so, to highlight their specific needs and find ways of creating a greater sense of belonging for these students.

Drawing from interdisciplinary studies of international higher education, Asian American studies, sociology, and migration studies, the dissertation brings critical race perspectives to the study of international education, with a particular focus on international students' experiences with race and racism. Specifically, I use ethnographic methods to critically examine students' racial knowledge development and perceptions of racial justice movements, as well as their experiences of racism and racialization against the backdrop of US-China geopolitical tensions, the global pandemic, and anti-Asian racism. This dissertation contributes to a paradigm shift from helping international students "adapt" to their host culture to interrogating existing inequalities and power relations. In addition, it has implications for US colleges and universities including the need to expand the compass of diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives, and to ensure that policies and practices are extended to the international student population. Last but not least, the Global Asian Critical Race Theory (GlobalAsianCrit) that I proposed has the full potential to produce an analytical lens for tracing the racial issues confronting Asian people on the move within the global context.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Internationalization as a concept and strategic agenda for higher education has grown in scope, scale, importance, and complexity over the past 40 years (De Wit & Altbach 2021; De Wit & Jones, 2022). Within the field of international higher education, research on international students' experience has always been a central issue. According to the Open Doors 2021 Report, more than 317,000 Chinese students enrolled in US institutions, comprising 35% of all international students in the 2020-21 academic year, the largest of any group (IIE, 2021). Driven by neoliberal ideology (Kubota, 2009; Stein, 2017) and the social imaginary of US educational exceptionalism (Kubota, 2016; Rizvi, 2011), Chinese international students have not only changed demographics of the US higher education, but have also become an indispensable component of its institutional revenues. Due to tense relationships between the US and China, the global COVID-19 pandemic, and related racially motivated hate crimes targeting Asians, Chinese international students currently face multiple layers of challenges. While US colleges and universities continue to reassure Chinese students that they are welcome and safe on campuses and local communities, there is a pressing need to make sense of Chinese students' experiences of discrimination and racial microaggressions, as well as their perceptions around US higher education—and in doing so, to highlight their specific needs and find ways of creating a greater sense of belonging for these students.

A significant body of scholarship has been devoted to exploring strategies for providing better support for international students studying and living in the US. However, there are three limitations to this work. First, a dichotomous concept of culture is still

prevalently utilized as the taken-for-granted frame to examine Chinese students' experiences of discomfort, anxiety, and struggles in US higher education (e.g., Heng 2021; Jin & Cortazzi, 2011; Montgomery 2017). Conversely, there has been less discussion on how systems of oppression create students' negative experiences, including racialization, racism, othering, and categorization. Second, uneven power relations among nation-states are often unrecognized as affecting international students' experiences and research fails to interrogate the pervasiveness and persistence of racial inequality on the global level. Without considering the hierarchical order of nations and periphery-center relations, the dominant cultural perspective of international education reproduces and expands already uneven geopolitical relations and the unequal global distribution of wealth. Third, intersectionality and the reconfiguration of race, ethnicity, class, and nationality that Chinese international students experience are seldom used in current theoretical work as a way to understand students' transnational practices and mobilities. International students tend to be considered a homogeneous group that "adds diversity" on the basis of nationality to the American higher education landscape but are absent from discourses about diversity and inclusion, which typically revolves around domestic students. For these reasons, therefore, it is important to avoid being trapped in cultural-based frameworks and to advance social justice and equity work by including the international student population.

My dissertation takes a step towards this goal by linking theories, methods, and bodies of knowledge from various disciplines, including international higher education, Asian American studies, sociology, and migration studies. I argue that there is much work to be done to change the nature of research and start new conversations about the international student experience, conversations that can open up a space in which we can recognize that

international students' experiences are just as complex and contradictory as those of any other students. As I suggest, today's global political, economic, diplomatic, and cultural tensions require that we engage more thoroughly and thoughtfully with interdisciplinary knowledge, transnational perspectives, and intersectional analyses to interrupt dichotomous and hegemonic thinking.

Given the critical time and sociopolitical context of this study — US-China geopolitical tensions, the global pandemic, and anti-Asian racism — I especially seek to understand how Chinese international students make sense of race, racism, and racial justice movements. Three specific research questions are addressed in this dissertation:

Research Question 1: How do Chinese international students develop their racial knowledge before and after their arrival in the US?

Research Question 2: How do Chinese international students perceive racial justice movements, such as Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate, during the COVID-19 pandemic?

Research Question 3: What specific experiences of racism and racialization do Chinese international students face in times of crisis?

To address these questions, I conducted a year-long qualitative study at a US research university in the University of California system that was ranked number seven in the 2022 listing of the “Top 30 Public National Universities” by *US News and World Report*. This university was also a Hispanic-Serving Institution and an Asian American Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution. According to the campus profile (2019-2020), white students were the largest student group on campus, followed by Chicanos/Latinos and

Asians/Pacific Islanders. Like many other US public universities, this institution has witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of Chinese students, accounting for 75% of the international students during the time of the study.

The primary research methods used in the dissertation were semi-structured, in-depth ethnographic interviews and follow-up informal Q&A exchanges via social media.

Altogether, I recruited twenty Chinese undergraduate students spanning all class years: incoming freshmen ($n = 3$), sophomores ($n = 6$), juniors ($n = 5$), and seniors ($n = 6$) at the time of the study. Each research participant had a Zoom interview with me in July 2020, between 60 and 90 minutes in length. To supplement this with more data on their views on racial justice movements, I followed the same group of participants in April 2021 via WeChat, the most frequently used social media platform among Chinese people. I customized 8 to 10 individualized questions to elicit follow-up responses to my previous interview questions about race, racism, and race-related political activities.

Without a doubt, my positionality deeply affects the process of data collection and data analysis, so I continuously engaged in reflexive practices in the process of my research. As Yao and Vital (2018) have argued, reflection on one's positionality is critical for early career researchers to understand one's social background, assumptions, positioning, and behavior in the research process. My identity as a Chinese international student of Han ethnicity as well as a novice researcher helped me understand the participants from a partial insider's perspective. Due to their strong national identification, participants often considered me as "one of us" and used *laowai* (老外), *waiguoren* (外国人), or *yangren* (洋人) (all literally mean 'foreigners') to refer to those of other nationalities, including Americans of

Chinese descent. Sharing the same cultural background and racialization with my participants, I could easily relate what they told me to my own experiences living and studying in the US. However, age and class differences positioned me as an outsider when participants discussed racially oppressed populations and class struggles, leading me to further investigate the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and nationality from a transnational perspective.

The heart of the dissertation is structured around three interrelated analyses on this general topic: each chapter functions as an independent article that draws on specific theory, literature, and research focus. Chapter 2 examines how Chinese international students develop a complex understanding of race and racism from a transnational perspective. The findings reveal that Chinese students held contrastive views on race and racism before and after their arrival in the US, due to the disjuncture between ideological impact in the home country and experiential exploration in the host country. Specifically, Chinese students' lived experiences in the US dramatically shifted their conceptualization of race from a nationality-based identity to the phenotype-based imposed category of "Asian." They also revised their understanding of racist practices from mostly violent and explicit to mostly subtle and implicit.

Chapter 3 examines how Chinese international students perceived US racial justice movements, particularly the Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate protests, during the COVID-19 pandemic. I argue that students' understanding of grassroots racial justice movements is jointly shaped by their political socialization in mainland China and by their observation of the US's lack of explicit action to dismantle racism and discrimination. Both

of these are in turn mediated by these students' elite social status. More specifically, I find that Chinese students perceive US racial justice activism as merely an emotional outlet, which cannot address racial inequality and social injustice in multiracial America. The research further indicates that, despite being racialized in the US, Chinese students do not show much interest in fighting against racism and xenophobia.

Chapter 4 examines Chinese international students' experiences of racism and racialization within US higher education in the times of the COVID-19 crisis. Through my development of the framework of Global Asian Critical Race Theory framework, I demonstrate that, as both Asians and international students, student participants constantly suffered racism and discrimination, both through implicit but ubiquitous racial ignorance before COVID-19 and through blatant acts of racial hatred during COVID-19. Two salient themes emerged in the interview narratives: 1) the intersectional stigma of racism and xenophobia and 2) interest convergence between international students and US institutions. In other words, Chinese students' racialized experiences are compounded by their foreign status which evokes xenophobic exclusion, as well as by their dehumanizing social positioning as a "cash cow" in the study-abroad market. These narratives reveal that Chinese international students experience unique and underexamined forms of racism in the transnational social field.

To sum up, this dissertation presents a detailed picture of the current generation of Chinese international undergraduate students' lived experience of race and racism in US higher education. It contributes to a paradigm shift from helping international students "adapt" to their host culture to interrogating existing inequalities and power relations. Instead of demanding that students conform to oppressive social norms and meeting academic

expectations to “successfully” adjust to the (white) host learning environment, my research interrupts hegemonic thinking and complicates notions of race, racism, and socioeconomic status by looking beyond the rigid confinement of these concepts within US borders. The ultimate goal of this study is to expand the compass of the key term: *diversity*, *equity*, and *inclusion*, and to ensure that inclusive practices are extended to the international student population at US institutions and the wider society. The dissertation also has implications for US colleges and universities to take shared responsibility to invest efforts and money both in international students’ academic study and in their social experiences. In addition, because the study shows that Chinese international students, as part of a transnational elite in the making, are deeply pragmatic in advancing their own interests and feel little emotional resonance with those who are economically oppressed and struggle at the bottom of society, US institutions bear pedagogical responsibility to raise these students’ consciousness of civil and human rights and to cultivate their social responsibility for promoting equality for all people around the world. The dissertation concludes with the appendices that provide a more comprehensive research process, including Participant Recruitment Notice (Appendix A), Participant Consent Form (Appendix B), Notification Statement (Appendix C), and Interview Questions (Appendix D).

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CHAPTER TWO: The Racial Learning of Chinese International Students in the US: A Transnational Perspective

Introduction

International education has always been portrayed as a desirable experience that yields a host of benefits, such as second language skills, cross-cultural sensitivity, employment prospects, and life transformation. However, the reality for Chinese international students in the US is quite different, especially since 2016. Due to Trump's xenophobic policies, the COVID-19 pandemic, and resurgent anti-Chinese sentiment in the US, people of Asian descent have become paramount targets of racial hate. Countless anti-Asian racial incidents have brought many educational professionals and practitioners to reflect on issues of racism and xenophobia in a "nice field" like international education (cf. Ladson-Billings, 1998). As the largest international student population in 2019-2020, Chinese students accounted for one-third of the total number of available slots (Open Doors Report, 2020) and contributed an estimated \$38.7 billion to the US economy (NAFSA, 2020). Despite the rapid growth of Chinese student enrollment, discussions about race and racism rarely extend to international students of color in US colleges and universities. Much of the current literature in the field of study abroad and international education focuses on Chinese students' development of social, cultural, and institutional knowledge to become accustomed to a new learning environment and culture in the host country (Berry, 2005; Li et al., 2017; Yan & Berliner, 2009), but students' racial learning is often missing. In this chapter, I aim to fill this void by examining how Chinese international students develop a complex understanding of race and racism from a transnational perspective.

While the academic mobility of students from mainland China to Western countries is not a new phenomenon, the new wave of Chinese international students, who pursue a higher education degree abroad in the post-1990s/2000s generation, have four distinctive characteristics that differentiate them from earlier waves. First, the vast majority of current Chinese international students are self-funded, similar to students from many other countries¹. According to the Chinese Ministry of Education (2019), about 662,100 students left China in 2018 to study abroad, more than 90% of whom were self-funded. An international student's tuition and living expenses for one year at New York University (\$66,022) is more than thirty times the average Chinese family's annual household income (\$2,100) (McKenna, 2015). Second, two-thirds of these students choose a variety of majors at the undergraduate and master's level as opposed to concentrating on science and engineering at the doctoral level as in previous waves (Choudaha, 2017; WES, 2019). Third, these full-fee-paying students prioritize higher education with a global perspective and choose to break from the Chinese system of learning (Chao et al., 2017; Jiang, 2021) instead of considering international higher education as a springboard towards immigration to Western countries as has been argued to be the case for previous generations of Chinese international students (Hazen & Alberts, 2006). As temporary residents, they show little or no interest in fighting against racism and accept their identity as outsiders (Zhang, 2015). Lastly, growing up during the height of China's economic development and studying abroad with their own financial resources, this current generation is unprecedentedly outspoken

¹ Of courses, international students from mainland China are not unique with regard to tuition costs; students from other parts of the world are required to pay the same amount of tuition and fees.

about their national pride and strives to represent, promote, and defend their home country in the face of the criticism of peers from the host country (Dong, 2017; Hail, 2015). These changes have not only shifted the Chinese American population in the US from low-wage immigrants on the one hand to scientists on the other (Le & Gardner, 2010; Xiang, 2016), but they have also shown that earlier assimilation frameworks (e.g., Berry, 1997; Cotazzi & Jin, 1997; Gu, Schweisfurth, & Day, 2010) are inadequate in explaining these transnational students' overseas experiences. Thus, there is an urgent need to examine how current Chinese international students with incongruent social statuses—financial elites as well as racialized Others—make sense of their racial experiences in the transnational social field (Gargano, 2008), particularly the turbulent racial times of 2020.

In this chapter, I address the following research question: How do Chinese international students think about race and racism before and after arrival in the US? I seek answers through semi-structured interviews via Zoom in July 2020 and follow-up exchanges via WeChat in April 2021. Drawing upon the theoretical frameworks of racial formation (Omi & Winant, 2015) and transnational racialization (N. Kim, 2008), I argue that Chinese international students' racial learning is jointly shaped by their upbringing in mainland China and by their racial encounters in the US. In China, youth are largely indoctrinated by both state ideologies and global media exposure, which I call *ideological learning*. Of course, not all the Chinese youth uncritically receive the top-down education, but state ideologies and mass media do play a very important role in influencing Chinese students' knowledge of race and racism in particular. The term such 'indoctrinated' isn't absolute but helps us recognize the different forms of learning students experience. While in the US, students are immersed in what I call *experiential learning* of various forms of racism and discrimination. I conclude

by discussing the implications of this study for the broader literature on transnational racialization.

Theoretical Framework

To understand Chinese international students' experience of race and racism, I draw on theories of racial formation and transnational racialization. Racial formation theory began in the 1970s with Omi and Winant's groundbreaking book *Racial Formation in the United States*, now in its third edition (2015). They were the first to formulate the concept of racialization, defining it as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 13).

Racialization involves a process of Othering, making use of various perceived phenotypical differences (such as skin color, physical build, eye shape, hair texture, and so on) to classify, amalgamate, and homogenize groups of people for the purpose of domination and exploitation. Racial formation theory proposes that race is not an objective reality but is socially constructed and reconstructed for particular political reasons. Many international students of color experience the process of racialization for the first time when they arrive in the US.

Most theories of race and racism start and end their analyses within US territorial boundaries (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). What is missing is a theoretical framework that explores race as a global project in order to examine transnational people's racial imaginaries before and after their arrival in the US. To bring in a global frame, Kim (2008) takes a "transnational turn" to shed light on the inseparability of Korean immigrants' pre-migration and post-migration attitudes towards race and racial hierarchies. Conceptualizing racialization as a transnational construct, Kim argues that Korean

immigrants' knowledge of race is rooted in top-down ideological processes in their country of origin, i.e., state ideologies, alongside imperial racialization by the US as well as everyday interpersonal interactions in the US. In addition, the consumption of mass media, to a great extent, shapes Korean immigrants' collective imaginary on the concepts of race and racism (Kim 2015). Arguably, being exposed to state-run and global popular media, Chinese international students' racialization processes have already taken place through mediums, such as the news media and the internet long before their arrival in the US.

Although Chinese international students do exercise agency in the decisions of study-abroad, choices of socialization, and future careers in times of crisis (Yu 2021b), their understanding of race and politics can be deeply influenced by Chinese state ideologies and mass media before their arrival in the US. In the following section, I address these issues in more detail in light of previous research.

Race and China's State Ideologies

Because Chinese international students come to the US with preconceived notions of race, it is important to know how race operates in mainland China. I discuss three state ideologies that have been shown to govern Chinese people's understanding of issues of race and racism within China: racial, ethnic, and national cohesion; Chinese patriotic nationalism; and anti-Blackness. Despite differences in family socialization and personal experiences, Chinese international students' racial thinking is heavily impacted by China's state ideologies through the "Patriotic Education Campaign" of the early 1990s (Wang, 2008) and its penetration into popular social media (Ritter & Roth, 2015) before their overseas journey to the US.

When tracing back to the Chinese ancient history, the Han Chinese established a strong racialized identity within China where Han dominance is the order of the day amongst ethnic minorities who are expected to conform to its culture, values, and beliefs (Dikötter, 2005). However, the modern or contemporary race consciousness of Chinese is more entangled with ethnicity and nationality in China's political agenda against Western colonial and imperial powers. In the mid-nineteenth century (the First Opium War, 1840-1842), ordinary Chinese people's first encounter with global racialization was under Western military coercion (Dikötter, 2015). Before the forcible opening of China, differences between Chinese and non-Chinese (e.g., Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans) were constructed through perceived ancestry and lineage rather than physical traits (Cheng, 2019). To resist Western imperialist aggression, Chinese intellectuals and reformers, such as Yan Fu (严复), Liang Qichao (梁启超), and Zhang Binlin (章炳麟), strategically invented terms like 'yellow race-lineage' (黄族, *huangzu*) and 'Han race-lineage' (汉族, *hanzu*) to forge a common identity with the 'Chinese nation' (中华民族, *zhonghua minzu*) (Lan, 2012, p. 38) to build solidarity and unity across groups. This innovative framing of the Chinese Han population directly led to official discourses of China's racial, ethnic, and national cohesion, claiming that China is "a homogeneous ethnic group (民族, *minzu*) with common origins, a shared history, and an ancestral territory" (Dikötter, 2005, p. 179). Due to the lack of a clear distinction between race, ethnicity, and nationality in both official and everyday discourses, ordinary Chinese have a strong national identification that is entangled with the superiority of Han race/ethnicity.

In contrast to its lack of specifically racial discussions in official discourses, contemporary Chinese discourse is permeated with Chinese patriotic nationalism. After suffering at the hands of foreign invaders, it is not an exaggeration to say that “the master narrative of modern Chinese history is the discourse of national humiliation” (Callahan, 2004, p. 204). This sense of shame is deeply rooted in Chinese people’s collective self-perception and gradually formulated a unifying ideology calling for China to rise again as a world power. In addition, growing nationalist sentiments have also been provoked by the US-initiated trade war in 2018 and sustained by the Chinese national government’s generally effective handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. Chinese people, especially youth, are deeply proud of China’s rapid economic development, and they trust in the leadership of Chinese Communist Party regime more than ever before (Lin, 2020; Lu, 2021). The ideology of Chinese patriotic nationalism is closely linked both to the direct intervention of top-down patriotic education and to the indirect incentivization created by US-led external pressures and China’s revival as a ‘Great Power’ (世界强国, *shijie qiangguo*).

Apart from ideologies conflating of race, ethnicity, and nationality and promoting Chinese nationalism, the third ideology shaping Chinese racial consciousness is persistent anti-Blackness. Chinese anti-Black racism is not entirely due to the spread of Western racial ideologies of white supremacy. In traditional Chinese society, skin color was seen not as a biological attribute but rather as a marker signifying social class. As Lan (2012) puts it, “Fair skin is generally associated with higher social status while dark skin is associated with peasants and manual laborers” (pp. 34-35). As a result, dark skin is less valued than a light complexion in Chinese aesthetic values. When it comes to the issue of anti-Blackness, Chinese people typically deny its existence in the Chinese context, because the Chinese

government ever since the time of Mao has held that racism is a uniquely Western problem, pointing to extremist racist practices like slavery, segregation, the Holocaust, and genocide; in this sense, the Chinese government's official position is anti-racist. Meanwhile, the topics of race and racism have remained taboo in both academic and everyday discussions. At most, Chinese people acknowledge their racial ignorance but insist on their racial innocence (Cheng, 2019). There is a growing body of literature that reveals the severe anti-Black racial clashes in Guangzhou, China (Bodomo, 2012; Haugen, 2012; Lan, 2017; Mathew, 2017).

Although the increasing presence of African international students pursuing higher education in China creates close contact and facilitates cross-racial understanding, but to some extent, it also leads to increased xenophobia towards Black Africans, who are said to enjoy 'supra-citizen preferential treatment' (超国民待遇, *chao guomin daiyu*) due to China's state policies (Lan, 2017, p. 57). In addition, Cheng (2011) discovered that there emerged a blatant racist language against Africans in cyberspace. After President Xi Jinping took the leadership in 2016, the social media platforms, including Weibo and WeChat have been highly censored and surveilled through a centralized government structure (Repnikova & Fang 2019; Ruan et al., 2021). Even if the internet is subject to state censorship, Chinese social media are still fraught with "anti-African sentiment" that amplifies "interrelations of racial stigma, sexism and homophobia, as well as misinformation about infectious disease" (Liu et al., 2021). In sum, such negative views of people of African descent and anti-Blackness in the virtual community strongly affects Chinese students' racial knowledge development, when they don't have many opportunities to interact with the Black in China².

² Chinese people have little to no access to Western media, which might provide different representations of Blackness

Race and Chinese International Students

International students are usually perceived as an elite group; however, many educational researchers have found that non-white international students cannot escape racial inequalities at their host institution (Kubota, 2016; Pillar, 2016; Tran & Hoang, 2019; Yao, 2018). In the US context, racism was historically premised on the idea of race as biological heredity, but in the “post-racial” era (Giroux, 2003), ethnicity and national origin frequently serve as a proxy basis for neo-racist discrimination targeting international students of color in the host country (Lee, 2015). Neo-racism is based on “a hierarchy of cultural preferences” or “a national ordering” to justify differential treatment of international students (Lee, 2020, p. ii). Instead of overt racial hatred originating from physical characteristics, appeals to “natural” cultural differences rooted in national origin can easily disguise racism in colorblind discourses (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Besides neo-racism against particular marginalized groups, international students of color are also subject to subtle, indirect, and sometimes unintentional forms of racist practices termed “racial microaggressions” (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). According to Sue et al. (2007), racial microaggressions are “commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults” (p. 278). These practices are so common and pervasive that they are often unacknowledged or glossed over as innocuous; however, it has been argued that they are “many times over more problematic, damaging, and injurious to persons of color than overt racist acts” (Sue, 2003, p. 48).

Furthermore, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic promoted a rising tide of politicized anti-Asian racism and xenophobia against people of Asian descent on and off

American campuses, including blatant racist slurs, discriminatory behaviors, and violence. Early in the pandemic, Chinese students who wore face masks were stigmatized, discriminated against, harassed, and bullied (Ma & Zhan, 2020). What is worse, President Trump publicly labeled the coronavirus the “Chinese Virus” and “Kung Flu,” directly causing an alarming increase in hate speech and crimes against Asians worldwide (Escobar, 2020; Rothenberg, 2020; Vang, 2020). Since then, Asian people, especially the elderly, have been physically attacked, verbally harassed, spat upon, and brutally murdered. In the wake of a mass shooting targeting primarily Asian women in Atlanta in March 2021, the “Stop Asian Hate” movement emerged in many cities across the US.

In this context, it is not surprising that the news media report that US colleges and universities are scrambling to recruit and retain Chinese international students in a still unpredictable political and health environment (IIE, 2021). However, Chinese students’ perceptions of rampant anti-Asian discrimination and violence in the US remain unreported and unexamined. In this study, I aim to fill this gap by examining Chinese international students’ understanding of race and racial tensions amid the global pandemic and anti-Chinese violence.

Data and Methods

This study is a part of a broader critical qualitative research project investigating Chinese international students’ agency and decision-making related to studying abroad during the COVID-19 crisis. I collected the data at the climax of two anti-racist US social movements: Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. Given growing awareness of and challenges to white supremacy, this is a critical moment to examine how Chinese international students make sense of their own racialization. As Fries-Britt et al. (2014) point

out, international students from racially homogeneous countries may have never thought of themselves as Asian, Black, and so on, but learn about race through racial encounters. Thus, these widespread social protests demanding social change are likely to have an impact on Chinese international students' racial knowledge development during their stay in the US.

At the time of the study, all the participants were enrolled at a US research university in the University of California system, ranked number seven in the 2020 listing of the “Top 30 Public National Universities” by *US New and World Report*. According to the campus profile (2019-2020), the school is home to 3,261 international undergraduate students, three quarters of whom (2,445) are from mainland China, which is consistent with global student mobility and US national enrollment trends (IIE, 2001-2019). Participant recruitment was through the official WeChat accounts of Chinese Student and Scholar Association and the Chinese Student Association, as well as my own social media platforms. Altogether, I recruited twenty undergraduates (Table 1).

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Participants

#	Grade level (July 2020)	Name	Gender	Cities/Provinces	Majors	Types of high school	Only child?	First-gen?	Saved up four-year expenses (\$350,000-400,000)?
1	Incoming Freshman	Wenwen	Female	Shanghai	Pre-biology	American High School	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Incoming Freshman	Yunxiang	Female	Beijing	Stats and Data Science	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Incoming Freshman	Lele	Male	Shanghai	Physics	Chinese Public	No	No	No
4	Incoming Freshman	Kelvin	Male	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (international division)	No	Yes	Yes
5	Sophomore	Qichen	Male	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (2 year) + American Private (2 year)	Yes	No	Yes
6	Sophomore	Kress	Male	Guangdong Province	Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
7	Sophomore	Karen	Female	Liaoning Province	Economics & Geography	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
8	Sophomore	Angela	Female	Guangdong Province	Pre-economics	Singaporean High School	Yes	No	No
9	Sophomore	Yiyi	Female	Beijing	Math & Philosophy	American High School	Yes	No	Yes
10	Sophomore	Xiang	Male	Guangdong Province	Sociology & Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
11	Junior	Ruby	Female	Liaoning Province	Theatre & Dance	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
12	Junior	Eva	Female	Tianjin	Mathematical Science	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
13	Junior	Cheng	Male	Shanghai	Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	No	Yes	Yes
14	Junior	Shelly	Female	Liaoning Province	Financial Math and Stats	International high school (Canadian curricula)	No	Yes	Yes
15	Junior	Rui	Male	Sichuan Province	Economics	Chinese Private	No	No	Yes
16	Senior	Shi	Male	Jiangsu Province	Electric Engineering	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
17	Senior	Elly	Female	Guangdong Province	Econ Accounting & Financial Math	American Private	Yes	No	Yes
18	Senior	Feifei	Female	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
19	Senior	Renping	Female	Henan Province	Earth Science	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Don't know
20	Senior	Han Zhang	Female	Zhejiang Province	Psychology & Brian Sciences	Chinese Public (international division)	No	No	Don't know
21	Senior	Teng	Female	Chongqing	Chemical Engineering	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes

The student gender ratio was 60% female and 40% male. Participants spanned all undergraduate levels (three incoming freshmen, six sophomores, five juniors, and six seniors), and their majors ranged from physics to philosophy, mathematics to theatre. Some students chose double majors to balance personal interests and career demands, such as economics and geography or physics and sociology. Among 20 students, three participants (Yunxiang, Lele, Kelvin) are rising freshmen at the first round of the Zoom interview and received a year of international online instruction at the second phase of the WeChat exchange, so their understanding of race and racism is predominantly shaped by their upbringing and growth in China.

In China, young adults aged from 18 to 21 are often called the post-90s/00s generation (九零后/零零后, *jiulinghou/linglinghou*). This generation grew up in China's economic prosperity and information age. More than half of the students (55%, 11 participants) are from first-tier cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangdong province (Guangzhou, Shenzhen). With the economic ideology of "letting some people get rich first" in China's Reform and Opening Up policy, growing numbers of wealthy and upper-middle-class Chinese families from coastal cities are able to afford international higher education abroad. More than 70% of participants (15) went to international high schools or public schools with an international division. When Chinese students opt for an international curriculum in high school, they have essentially forfeited the option of taking the college entrance exam (高考, *gaokao*) for admission to Chinese universities; thus, Chinese students and their families begin planning for study abroad at least three years in advance. Regarding participants' parental occupation, many were from professional fields, such as professors, doctors, journalists, and accountants, while the rest were managers in state-owned

enterprises, civil servants in the government and business people. Accordingly, 80% of the participants (16) were not first-generation college students. Moreover, due to the one-child policy implemented in 1979 (which was relaxed to two children in 2011 and to three in 2021), 75% of participants (15) were the only child in their families. Lastly, except for two students who did not know their household financial situation, more than 88% of participants (16) reported that their families had already saved up four years of tuition and living expenses (estimated around \$350,000-\$400,000) once they made the decision to study overseas. Thus, the majority of participants were from well-off family backgrounds.

Research methods in the study included semi-structured, in-depth interviews and follow-up informal Q&A exchanges. When I interviewed the participants via Zoom in July 2020, fourteen students were in the US, and six were in China. Interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, each lasting between sixty and ninety minutes. They were recorded with the consent of participants for later verbatim transcription. I initially transcribed the data verbatim in Chinese and then translated excerpts into English for presentation in this chapter. I assigned an English pseudonym to participants who used an English name, and a Chinese name to those who used a Chinese name. The second round of data was collected in April 2021 via WeChat. I followed up with the same group of participants: only six were still in the US, and the rest were in China receiving online instruction at home. We texted in Mandarin asynchronously. The questions in this round were specifically focused on racist incidents, social protests, and interviewees' shifts in their racial understanding in the previous year. In addition, I customized the follow-up questions around students' previous responses to racial questions. Each student was asked to answer 8 to 10 individualized questions. I particularly wanted to know whether they had reversed, modified, or maintained their perspectives on

race and racism. Unsurprisingly, those who remained in the US had more to share in the follow-up communication.

In my data analysis, I followed the guidelines of “versus coding,” an analytical tool of identifying and theming dichotomous terms, discussed in Saldaña (2013). I paid close attention to the contrastive words and phrases that students used to express their racial imagination and race-related identities, both before and after their migration and arrival on their US campus, as well as their lived experiences during heightened anti-Asian violence. In viewing and reviewing the interview transcripts and WeChat Q&A texts, I noticed that overall students had an obvious shift in their conceptualization of race and racism. Data chunks were identified and categorized into contrastive before-and-after themes to show the process of Chinese international students’ racial learning from a transnational perspective. In the following analysis, I offer the most representative examples illustrating students’ racial identity (re)orientation.

Findings

Chinese students’ legal categorization as international or foreign is consistent with their primary self-identification as Chinese, which is further strengthened by the ideology of Chinese patriotic nationalism. Conversely, imposed labels like “Asian,” “minority,” “racialized Other,” “people of color,” and “underrepresented population” are new knowledge to them. In the following analysis, I examine two key shifts of racial ideologies by participants before and after their migration. The first major ideological change that I found is that Chinese students had contrastive views on the concept of race and the second one is their contrary views on racism.

Race is avoidable versus Race is unavoidable

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, three freshmen (Yunxiang, Lele, Kelvin) could not geographically relocate in the US. They chose not to defer admission but instead receive online instruction from the university during 2020-2021, so their understandings of race and racism were predominantly shaped by their upbringing in China. The racial thinking of one such student, Yunxiang, reflected that of most Chinese students who had little experience with racial encounters. Yunxiang was an only child from Beijing. Her father was in real estate and her mother was a manager in a German corporation based in Beijing. She had attended a Chinese public high school with an international division. When I interviewed her in July 2020, Yunxiang was admitted simultaneously in two US public universities on the West Coast. Since she was torn between these two options, she paid nonrefundable deposits of \$200 to 300 to each university to confirm her admission. In the interview, I asked her views on racial issues (For space reasons, I present only English translations).

Jing: Can you tell me what do you think of racial issues?

Yunxiang: I think, just myself, I won't be involved, I won't discuss it. Make as many American friends as possible, but at the same time, it's just fine to stay in the ethnic Chinese circle. I don't have the expectations to make friends with Americans. In fact, I don't have to, but after all I'm studying abroad. All these things depend on serendipity.

Jing: You just said you won't be involved and won't discuss it. How is that possible?

Yunxiang: Why is it not possible? Because I won't talk to people about such issues, because I don't know when I will offend others. I try to avoid it as much as possible.

Jing: I understand, but the problem is that you're not involved, you don't discuss it, if you're unfairly treated, how do you deal with that?

Yunxiang: Actually, I don't know what kind of discrimination it would be. I heard many people said racism is very serious in America, I've prepared for the unfair treatment.

Jing: Why you are sure you will be discriminated against?

Yunxiang: Because we are ethnic Chinese, oh no, we are Asian, we are Chinese.

I invoked racial issues in the interview question, but Yunxiang viewed this topic through the prism of nationality and ethnicity, as seen in such phrases as ‘American friends’ and ‘the Chinese circle.’ Influenced by China’s state ideology of racial, ethnic, and national cohesion, Chinese people often consider China as a race or a culture. The strategy that Yunxiang adopted is ‘I won’t be involved, I won’t discuss it.’ As Fries-Britt et al. (2014) discovered, early in study abroad, international students in the US feel disconnected from race and racism as a result of their different lived experiences in their home countries. Yunxiang located herself outside of the US racial system by staying in the ‘ethnic Chinese circle’ (华人圈, *huarenquan*) to cope with racial complexities. I, as the interviewer, obviously held a different view. As a person of color who had first-hand experience of racialization in the US, I considered it impossible for any person of color in the US to avoid racial issues, because the mechanism of racialization is unavoidable. Hence, I repeated what Yunxiang said and asked her, ‘How is that possible?’ Yunxiang’s response again showed that she did not recognize her ascribed racial label as “Asian” and did not fully grasp what it means to be Asian in the US context. Since stability and harmony are sought, achieved, consolidated, and maintained through contemporary Chinese discourses (Shi-xu 2014), Yunxiang thought that if she did not bring up the topic of race and racism, a taboo topic in China, she would not ‘offend others.’ By ‘others,’ Yunxiang almost certainly means Black people, because in Chinese conventional racial thinking, race and racism are closely associated with Blackness. Similarly, a Chinese student in Mitchell et al. (2017)’s study shared how she approached

race: “I majored in English when I was in China, so we’ve talked about race and when I think of race, I don’t know, Black people come into my mind” (p. 5). Due to the lack of racial discussion in China, the US history of slavery is still the most influential topic in formal education in shaping Chinese people’s concept of race, and Black people are directly linked to racism and discrimination in their racial imaginaries. Exacerbated by US mass media products and China’s anti-Black prejudice, Chinese students have presumptions about African Americans as violent, subordinated, and impoverished.

Given Yunxiang’s strategy of racial avoidance, I asked the question more directly: ‘if you’re unfairly treated, how do you deal with that?’ She said she had ‘prepared for the unfair treatment’ because of her ethnic Chinese (华人, *huaren*), Asian (亚裔, *yayi*), and Chinese (中国人, *zhongguoren*) identities, which are devalued in US racial ideologies. Many students expressed the similar view that they would be discriminated against without a reason in the US and Lele was one of them:

Lele: Racism is always a problem in the US. You are certain to encounter it.
You are certain to encounter it.

Jing: Why? I come over to study. Why should I be discriminated against?

Lele: I don’t know about this. Anyway, it has nothing to do with you, because you certainly will not discriminate others, but others will discriminate you.

While Yunxiang and Lele wanted to position herself outside the US racial system based on her foreign status, she paradoxically internalized US-centric racial logics as a social fact, accepting the non-white identities she listed above as subject to racism and discrimination. In the follow-up research phase (April 2021), I was curious whether

Yunxiang had changed her previous opinions, so I used her original responses to ask for further clarification.

Jing: In the last interview, you said, “I won’t be involved, I won’t discuss it.” What do you think now?

Yunxiang: I feel I still try to avoid getting myself involved, and no involvement, no discussion.

Jing: Last time, you said as a Chinese, you will face unfair treatment, but you don’t know its concrete form. Do you have a clearer idea on that? Can you describe the possible discrimination you will encounter?

Yunxiang: I think now any form is possible, but at the same time, I’m now enrolled at the university. There are a lot of Chinese students there, so I think it’s okay.

After almost a year of online international instruction in China, Yunxiang had not changed her perspectives on racial issues. Her racial learning during the pandemic was still largely dependent on Chinese state-run media. Yunxiang mentioned that the presence of ‘a lot of Chinese students’ at her American university could bring her a sense of safety and belonging, which was also a common reaction for earlier Chinese diasporic groups dealing with discrimination and social exclusion (Lee et al., 2017). This co-existence of nationality-based racial identity and internalization of the US racial order (positioned in between whites and Blacks) can be explained by *ideological learning* through Yunxiang’s Chinese upbringing; because she had not yet been in the US, she could not draw on experiential learning about race. Despite the fact that Chinese international students do have agency and self-determination at the individual level to counter dominant narratives (Marginson 2014; Tran and Vu 2018), their prior racial knowledge is both rooted in China’s state propaganda which focuses on Black Americans’ struggles as largely in the past, and the perceived global hierarchy promoted by popular media.

In contrast to Yunxiang, another interviewee, Kress, firmly believed that race is unavoidable, and he felt forced to learn about how race and racism operate in the US context. When I interviewed him in July 2020, he was a rising sophomore, which means he had only spent one year living and studying in the US.

Jing: The Black Lives Matter movement hasn't ended yet. There are still heated discussions on social media. As an international student, how do you look at racial issues?

Kress: Racial issues are unavoidable because you can be discriminated against just walking down the street.

Jing: Why can I be discriminated against just walking down the street?

Kress: This is my personal experience. Once I was walking on a local street, and a foreigner was driving a car and waiting for the traffic light to turn green. He rolled down the window and yelled at me, "China Virus." I yelled back at him. Yes, there is no reason for this.

Jing: You feel there's no reason because of your skin color?

Kress: It's because of my race.

Jing: He doesn't actually know you're an overseas student?

Kress: Right, he has no idea, but he can tell that I'm yellow at first sight.

Kress' racial learning derived from his personal experience with racist abuse during the pandemic. He was verbally assaulted with the insult "China Virus" as he was walking down the street. In the interview, Kress immediately attributed this racist incident to his race. He said, 'he can tell that I'm yellow at first sight,' an understanding of race not as a nationality-based racial identity but as a phenotype-based imposed category. Contrary to Yunxiang's ideological learning, Kress's racial knowledge was developed through *experiential learning* in US society. Experience taught Kress that his 'yellow' race, a Western-constructed racial marker, is meaningful as a racialized label. Among the 20 students I interviewed, Kress and Qichen reported they were openly attacked around the campus area with the phrase 'Chinese

Virus,' which confirms the prominent global trends of rising hate speech, discrimination, and violence against Asians in academic, residential, and public spaces. Based on Okura's (2019) findings, Chinese international students who are more socially active with non-Chinese groups in the host country are more likely to be racialized in the US, while those who are socially isolated are less affected by US racialization. Research on the social isolation of Chinese international students should further interrogate how systems of racial domination, inequality, and oppression prevent them from pursuing cross-racial, cross-cultural interactions in US higher education.

Racism is violent and explicit versus Racism is subtle and implicit

In addition to some students' remarkable shift in their understanding of the concept of race based on experiential learning, Chinese students in my study also discussed changes in making sense of racist practices through experiential exploration in the US. Feifei, a senior female student majoring in Physics, shared her remarkable shifts in her understanding of racism.

Jing: What did you imagine (regarding racism) at the beginning of your study abroad? Can you describe it to me?

Feifei: At the beginning of my study abroad, I probably imagined that Chinese students wouldn't dare to go out after dark. It would be easy to be robbed on the road; professors would bring injustice to the surface; or maybe unfriendly neighbors.

Jing: After three years of lived experience, have you encountered any kind of injustice or unfair treatment?

Feifei: Definitely, but it's more subtle and implicit. For example, when you take an exam in class, the TAs make a point to stare at you. Lots of examples like that.

In Feifei's racial imagination prior to arrival in the US, racism meant physical attacks and verbal abuse, such as robbery, unfair grading by faculty, or pejorative comments from neighbors. Influenced by portrayals of violent Blacks and arrogant whites on global and

entertainment social media, it is “natural” for Chinese students as media consumers to internalize these stereotypical images and imagine racism against themselves as violent and explicit on the individual level. Nevertheless, after three years of overseas study, Feifei came to understand that racist practices have variable forms, and most racist acts are subtle and implicit. She shared an example of racism: ‘when you take an exam in class, the TAs make a point to stare at you.’ Feifei is describing a newly emerging cultural stereotype concerning academic dishonesty targeting Chinese international students (Moosavi, 2021). The racial stigma of academic misconduct is a new manifestation of a racist ideology that is profoundly embedded in American history that Asians and Asian Americans are morally suspicious and may be spies (Wang, 2007).

Thus, without fully grasping how Chinese immigrants have been racialized and discriminated against, Chinese students cannot understand what it means to be Chinese in the US unless they learn by experiencing stereotypes and racist practices themselves. Compared to overt racism which was rarely reported in my data, many Chinese international students in another study of mine (Yu, under review) shared their experience of racial microaggressions in American higher education, such as racial ignorance and racial stereotyping. However, since the COVID-19 outbreak, there has been an increasing number of blatant racist practices towards people of Asian backgrounds. In my follow-up exchange with Feifei in April 2021, I asked her for her opinions on anti-Asian violence.

Jing: The previous interview was during the Black Lives Matter movement. Now it’s the Stop Asian Hate. Lots of racist incidents are happening in the US. What kind of concern and anxiety do you have?

Feifei: Stop Asian Hate makes me more anxious about security and convinces me that I will go back to China after I get some work experience in the US. I’m starting to be cautious about protecting my ethnic identity. For example, I won’t put

paper cuttings on the door and window. When I look for a place to move to, I'll try to avoid Chinese neighborhoods.

After witnessing how race and racism are enacted in the US context, Feifei was very worried about her personal security due to resurgent anti-Asian racism and violence. She asserted that the current racial reality made her decide to go back to China eventually. Her decision is not only due to anti-Asian racism but is part of a larger trend. According to the latest figures released by the Chinese Ministry of Education (2020), the number of overseas students returning home after graduation totaled 580,300 in 2019, a return rate of over 86%. Jiang (2021)'s study also demonstrated that for Chinese students, freedom, mobility, and prestige are no longer considered exclusive to Western countries, so the current generation "[study] transnationally with a desire to return" (p. 44). In this case, Feifei wanted to extend her time overseas to gain some work experience before returning. To deal with external threats related to race, her strategy was to hide her ethnic identity: 'I won't put paper cuttings on the door and window' and 'I will try to avoid Chinese neighborhoods.' Rather than associating with a familiar national or ethnic group as Yunxiang planned to do, Feifei chose to disidentify with her Chinese ethnicity by refusing to follow visible Chinese cultural practices and avoid living near co-ethnics. Park (2015) similarly found that the Korean international students in his book distance themselves from co-ethnics because of racial stigma. Likewise, Feifei's erasure of her ethnic identity is a situational tactic to avoid being targeted and racialized during the pandemic.

To sum up, when I interviewed Yunxiang and Lele in July 2020, they were just admitted to this US research university and when I followed up them in April 2021, they received one-year international online instruction in China, so their racial learning was

largely shaped in the Chinese context and their racial understanding reflects how race and racist practices are mostly conceptualized in contemporary China. However, for the interviewees, such as Kress and Feifei, their lived experiences in the US with racism and stereotyping led to their contrastive understandings in favor of the US-based racial schema: race cannot be avoided, and racism could be subtle and implicit. It is experiential learning that pushes Chinese students to understand what it means to be Chinese or Asian in the US and to develop their racial knowledge to identify the racial microaggressions that they witness and experience in the classroom and on campus. But even if they are aware of their marginalized status as temporary residents, they do not focus on undergoing a racial and ethnic identity transitions as they desire to return to China ultimately.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to contribute to the understanding of how Chinese international students develop a complex knowledge of race and racism after their arrival in the US. Moving beyond the existing literature's focus on race and racism within US territorial boundaries, this study has revealed that for the Chinese international students in this study, their racial learning is jointly shaped by their upbringing in mainland China and by racial encounters in the US. Influenced by China's state ideologies and global media, these Chinese students understand race through the paradigm of nationality and internalized US racial hierarchies. For this reason, they may place themselves outside the US racial system and express prejudice against other people of color, particularly Blacks. However, their lived experiences in the US dramatically shifted their conceptualization of race from a nationality-based identity to the phenotype-based imposed category of "Asian." They also revised their understanding of racist practices from mostly violent and explicit to mostly

subtle and implicit. I argue that these changes can be attributed to the disjuncture between their ideological indoctrination in the home country, where racism is ascribed to Western countries and the past, and their experiential exploration in the host country. Although international students seen as self-determining human agents in coping with the academic difficulties, homesickness, and interpersonal relationship (Marginson & Sawir, 2011), their racial knowledge is developed partly by top-down education in the home country and partly by bottom-up experience in the host country.

The empirical findings of this study have implications for concrete practices that can be employed by US institutions both to better prepare Chinese international students to confront US racial reality and to promote inclusion on campus. First, open discussions of race and racism need to be included in institutions' orientation for international students. My findings demonstrate that there is a great discrepancy in understanding race and racism before and after students' arrival. It is necessary to equip them with basic racial knowledge, such as how to identify racist comments and where to seek help when discrimination and stereotyping occur. Second, schools should structurally facilitate international students' engagement with domestic students. Due to the lack of interracial contact, Chinese students may express stereotypical attitudes or even racist beliefs towards people of color, especially African Americans, based on what little they may know about these groups. US institutions can proactively reinvest some of the revenue generated by international student tuition towards organizations and extracurricular activities to help both international and domestic students disrupt their preconceived notions about one another. In a word, US institutions should take the shared responsibility to help international students succeed academically and at the same time, make sure they do not drop into the complex racial milieu of the US

without a meaningful support system, where they themselves are often the victims of racism (see Chapter 4).

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CHAPTER THREE: “I Don’t Think It Can Solve Any Problems”: Chinese International Students’ Perceptions of Racial Justice Movements during COVID-19

Introduction

Now more than ever, international student mobility is the core element and driving force of the internationalization of higher education. As the largest international student population in US colleges and universities, international students from mainland China accounted for 34.6% of the total number of available slots (Open Doors Report, 2020). However, due to their foreign status and temporary residence, Chinese international students have been largely absent from recent discussions of anti-Asian racism and grassroots racial justice movements in the US (Koo et al., 2021; Yao et al., 2021). This chapter aims to fill this void by examining how Chinese international students understand class struggles and racial tensions in the transnational social field (Gargano, 2008) during turbulent racial times.

While the academic mobility of students from mainland China to Western countries is not a new phenomenon, their motivations and demographic characteristics are always changing. Unlike earlier generations in the US, who typically pursued STEM degrees and often chased their immigration status to legal permanent residency (i.e., a green card) after they completed their higher education (Min, 2015), the current wave of Chinese students is primarily from upper-middle-class families and tend to become overseas returnees who are pursue careers in China armed with Western academic credentials and cosmopolitan perspectives (Jiang, 2021; Lan 2019). According to the Chinese Ministry of Education (2019, 2020), of the approximately 662,100 students who left China in 2018 to study abroad, more than 90% were self-funded; the number of overseas students returning home after graduation

totaled 580,300 in 2019, a return rate of over 86.28%. Despite being perceived as an economic elite group, Chinese international students, like other Asian international students, are not exempt from racial, linguistic, cultural, and geographical inequalities at the host institution (Kubota, 2016; Piller, 2016; Tran & Hoang, 2019; Yao, 2018). Consequently, it is important to investigate how these affluent Chinese international students make sense of US racial identities and grassroots activism.

In this study, I address the following research questions: How do Chinese students develop knowledge of grassroots racial justice movements? How do they perceive US activist protests in pursuit of social and racial equality? I seek answers through semi-structured interviews via Zoom in July 2020 and follow-up exchanges via WeChat in April 2021. Drawing upon transnationalism theory in anthropology (Ong, 1999) and related concept of simultaneity in sociology (Park, 2020), I argue that students' development of knowledge about grassroots activism is jointly shaped by their political socialization in mainland China and by their observation of the US's lack of explicit action to tackle racism and discrimination. Both of these are in turn mediated by these students' elite social status. More specifically, my research finds that Chinese students perceive US racial justice activism as merely an emotional outlet, which cannot fundamentally address racial inequality and social injustice in multiracial America. My research further indicates that, despite being racialized in the US, Chinese students do not show much interest in fighting against racism and xenophobia. This chapter contributes a transnational perspective and intersectional analysis of how Chinese international students who simultaneously hold differently valued social statuses— as both financial elites and racialized Others—understand racial justice

movements. Implications for concrete practices to educate and support Chinese international students are discussed in the end.

Theoretical Framework

Educational scholars interested in the political beliefs of international students in the US have focused almost exclusively on the host society (e.g., Lien, 2021; Mitchell et al., 2017; Ritter, 2016), overlooking the ways in which these students' political understanding and ideological stances were internalized through their political socialization before their cross-border mobility. In bridging the local with the global, I draw on transnationalism theory in anthropology (Ong, 1999) to systematically examine how international students engage in "flexible citizenship" (ibid., p. 1) to develop a sense of their aspirations and expectations, and negotiate their experiences abroad in a range of diverse and complicated ways. As Ong (1999) argues, transnational Chinese immigrants' identities in the US are shaped not only by the residency regime of their new nation-state and the neoliberal logic of the global marketplace, but also by Confucian ideals of filial piety and social connections that govern relationships in Chinese culture. Moreover, my recent study (Yu, under review) argues that Chinese international students hold contrastive views on race and racism before and after their arrival, due to the disjuncture between their ideological learning in mainland China and their experiential exploration in the US. These studies suggest that failure to acknowledge the ideological impact of the home country on transnational populations will lead to incomplete and static analyses.

Advancing Ong's work on transnationalism, Park (2020) demonstrates how Korean international students simultaneously occupy incongruent social statuses in both South Korea and the United States. Employing the sociological concept of simultaneity, Park discovers

that Korean international students as “racialized transnational elites” (ibid., p. 4) face double marginalization from both sides of the border—racism and racialization in the United States and class and nationalist resentment in South Korea. To confront this dual alienation, Korean international students use a contradictory strategy when they study abroad. On the one hand, they invest in ethnic capital to avoid racism and racialization; on the other hand, they distance themselves from their ethnic group because of the racial stigma associated with it. For example, Korean international students embrace their ethnic identity to distinguish themselves from racially stigmatized Asian students, such as Chinese students, but at the same time, they reject ethnic identity when they want to separate themselves from the newly arrived and less acculturated Korean students who are often derogatorily called FOBs (Fresh Off the Boat). As Korean international students negotiate and oscillate between ethnic identification and dis-identification, their elite class status mediates and shapes these two contradictory responses. By tracing the making of racialized transnational elites, Park illuminates how intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and nationality play a central role in understanding Korean international students’ strategic identity construction beyond a particular social context. Because Asian international students experience intersecting forms of privilege and discrimination, an intersectional analysis should be incorporated into any examination of their perceptions of race, racism, and racial justice in the US.

Literature Review

In order to ground my analysis of Chinese international students’ understanding of anti-racist social movements, I first provide a historical overview of social movements and student activism in modern China and then discuss state-based repression of social protests in

China and how it shapes Chinese students' current attitudes towards civic engagement and political participation in contemporary China.

China has a well-established tradition of social movements, which can be traced back to the Mao era (1949-1976) (Zhao & Broadbent, 2011). During that period, mass mobilizations, such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), were considered as state-initiated political campaigns that acquired the characteristics of social movements (Zhou, 1993). The devastating consequences resulting from these political campaigns pushed China's economy to the verge of collapse, and the political system was in disarray. According to Hu (2018), at the end of 1976, China was an agricultural country, with 82.6% of its population living in absolute poverty. To eradicate extreme hunger and promote economic growth in 1978, the new leader, Deng Xiaoping, spearheaded a series of policy initiatives known as Reform and Opening Up (改革开放) to allow capitalist development and growth of the free-market economy. Meanwhile, the central government exercised tight political control to uphold social stability. Between 1978 and 1989, the direction of social movements shifted from large-scale reform movements to confronting communist ideologies (Zhao & Broadbent, 2011). Discontent in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) escalated under the socialist political regime, with the culmination being the 1989 pro-democracy movement held in Tiananmen Square to challenge the CCP's state legitimacy and to democratize the one-party political system. However, the movement was violently suppressed by the CCP on the night of June 4, 1989, and it remains a taboo topic in China. From then on, civil protests tended to be small- to medium-scale, focused on economic benefits and targeting local businesses and local government, and the Chinese government started to act as an arbiter or monitor of social protests rather than their target

(Zhao & Broadbent, 2011). When it came to the administration of Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao in the late 1990s and early 2000s, local activism and the rights consciousness of the Chinese people developed rapidly, leading to party-state policies that favored some of China's disadvantaged populations (O'Brien & Li, 2006). These social protests have not turned revolutionary because China's still booming economy allows the Party and government to mitigate social conflicts through money (Chen, 2012).

As part of these grassroots social movements in China's modern history, Chinese students have served as a powerful voice for political reform and social change (Wright, 2001). According to Shi (1990), after the violent crackdown of the 1989 pro-democracy movement, Chinese authorities repressed civil protests by using two main mechanisms: "media control, which limited the flow of information, and deprivation of the right of association, which prevented interest articulation" (p. 1195). Due to restrictions on freedom of expression and dispossession of participatory rights in formal politics, the Chinese public, including Chinese students, have gradually become more pragmatic, materialistic, and consequently uninterested in politics (Fong, 2011). Qian Liqun, a professor of Peking University, famously coined the term 'sophisticated egoism' (精致的利己主义者) to describe today's university students, who are trained to leverage rules for personal advantage, rather than taking social responsibility to optimize what they can do for society. In short, the unspoken golden rule in contemporary China is political indifference and apathy.

This stance has become especially evident, since Xi Jinping took up leadership in 2013 and assumed the title of military commander in chief in 2016. Xi has introduced far-ranging control measures to strengthen state political repression, surveillance, and censorship through a highly centralized government structure, and the government has declared a

sweeping transformation in politics, from anticorruption campaigns to curbs on political expression in Hong Kong (Dillon, 2021; Lam, 2015). To avoid the negative ramifications of political involvement, most Chinese people are instead focused on academic and professional self-advancement in the supposedly meritocratic credentialing system.

Today's Chinese youth ('the post-90s/00s generation,' 九零后/零零后) therefore are experiencing a very different kind of political upbringing in China compared with previous generations. First, they have been raised and socialized in an environment where grassroots political participation and civic engagement are strongly discouraged or even forbidden. Despite differences in family socialization and personal experiences, this generation of Chinese youth is heavily impacted by China's state political ideologies through the Patriotic Education Campaign of the early 1990s (Wang, 2008). Second, as China grows increasingly wealthy and politically powerful, Chinese youth are more likely to trust in the governance of the CCP and contest any other mode of leadership (Dong, 2017). In particular, it has been shown that those who study abroad in Western countries tend to become more patriotic (Hail, 2015). While abroad, overseas Chinese students are unprecedentedly outspoken about their national pride and strive to represent, promote, and defend their home country in the face of foreign (i.e., non-Chinese) peers' criticism of China's ethnic oppression and human rights abuses. Another recent study (Fan et al., 2020) shows that Chinese international students became more likely to express support for China's authoritarian rule when they observed anti-Asian racist commentary and encountered discrimination in the US during the COVID-19 pandemic. Third, in response to political activism in Hong Kong, from the 2014 Umbrella Movement against mainland-imposed electoral reforms to the 2019 protests against an extradition bill that was viewed as a mechanism for silencing dissent, Chinese international

students in the United States, Canada, Britain, and Australia publicly staged demonstrations to show support for Hong Kong's police force and the Chinese central government (Wang, 2019). In sum, under the influence of CCP's leadership and the current pragmatic cultural mindset, Chinese students hold relatively negative opinions towards social movements and grassroots activism in China and beyond.

This study emerged from a broader critical qualitative research project investigating Chinese international students' agency, decision-making, and perceptions of race and racism against the backdrop of US-China geopolitical tensions and the global pandemic (e.g., Yu, 2021a, 2021b). I collected the data at the climax of two anti-racist social movements: Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. Given the alarming increase in racial discrimination and racist violence during the COVID-19 crisis, this is a critical moment to examine how Chinese international students make sense of these widespread social protests and grassroots activism.

Data and Methods

Participants

The study was conducted at a US research university in the University of California system that was ranked number seven in the 2020 listing of the "Top 30 Public National Universities" by *US News and World Report*. According to the campus profile (2019-2020), the school enrolled 3,261 international undergraduate students, three quarters (2,445) of whom are from mainland China, which is consistent with international student mobility trends (IIE, 2001-2019). Participant recruitment was through the WeChat accounts of the Chinese Student and Scholar Association and the Chinese Student Association as well as my own social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, Twitter). Altogether, I recruited twenty Chinese undergraduate students spanning all class years: incoming freshmen (n=3), sophomores

(n=6), juniors (n=5), and seniors (n=6) at the time of the study. All participants were between the age of 18 and 22, and are therefore part of China's post-90s/00s generation. To protect the privacy of these participants, they were assigned pseudonyms. Table 1 shows each participant's detailed demographic information.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Participants

#	Grade level (July 2020)	Name	Gender	Cities/Provinces	Majors	Types of high school	Only child?	First-gen?	Saved up four-year expenses (\$350,000-400,000)?
1	Incoming Freshman	Wenwen	Female	Shanghai	Pre-biology	American High School	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Incoming Freshman	Yunxiang	Female	Beijing	Stats and Data Science	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Incoming Freshman	Lele	Male	Shanghai	Physics	Chinese Public	No	No	No
4	Incoming Freshman	Kelvin	Male	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (international division)	No	Yes	Yes
5	Sophomore	Qichen	Male	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (2 year) + American Private (2 year)	Yes	No	Yes
6	Sophomore	Kress	Male	Guangdong Province	Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
7	Sophomore	Karen	Female	Liaoning Province	Economics & Geography	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
8	Sophomore	Angela	Female	Guangdong Province	Pre-economics	Singaporean High School	Yes	No	No
9	Sophomore	Yiyi	Female	Beijing	Math & Philosophy	American High School	Yes	No	Yes
10	Sophomore	Xiang	Male	Guangdong Province	Sociology & Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
11	Junior	Ruby	Female	Liaoning Province	Theatre & Dance	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
12	Junior	Eva	Female	Tianjin	Mathematical Science	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
13	Junior	Cheng	Male	Shanghai	Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	No	Yes	Yes
14	Junior	Shelly	Female	Liaoning Province	Financial Math and Stats	International high school (Canadian curricula)	No	Yes	Yes
15	Junior	Rui	Male	Sichuan Province	Economics	Chinese Private	No	No	Yes
16	Senior	Shi	Male	Jiangsu Province	Electric Engineering	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
17	Senior	Elly	Female	Guangdong Province	Econ Accounting & Financial Math	American Private	Yes	No	Yes
18	Senior	Feifei	Female	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
19	Senior	Renping	Female	Henan Province	Earth Science	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Don't know
20	Senior	Han Zhang	Female	Zhejiang Province	Psychology & Brian Sciences	Chinese Public (international division)	No	No	Don't know
21	Senior	Teng	Female	Chongqing	Chemical Engineering	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes

More than half of the students (55%, n=11) were from first-tier cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen (colloquially known as ‘Bei-Shang-Guang-Shen’ 北上广深). With Deng Xiaoping’s slogan ‘Letting some people get rich first’ (让一批人先富起来) used to justify sweeping economic reforms, a growing number of wealthy and upper-middle-class Chinese families from coastal cities are able to afford international education for their children. More than 70% of students (n=15) went either to international high schools or to public schools with an international division (国际部). As I found in another study (Yu, 2021a), when Chinese students choose an international curriculum in high school, they have essentially forfeited the option of taking the college entrance exam (高考) for admission to Chinese universities. That is to say, the study-abroad decision is both a multi-year investment and a family project. Participants’ parents were from professional fields, such as professors, doctors, journalists, and accountants; the rest were managers in state-owned enterprises, civil servants in the government, and people with business backgrounds. Consequently, 80% of the students (n=16) were not first-generation college students. Moreover, due to the one-child policy implemented in 1979 (which was relaxed to two children in 2011 and to three in 2021), 75% (n=15) were the only child in their families. Lastly, all the participants were funded by their families rather than by the Chinese government or by American universities as in previous cohorts (Min, 2015). Except for two students who did not know their household financial situation and two students whose families did not fully prepare, more than 88% (n=16) self-reported that their families had already saved up four-year tuition and living expenses (estimated around \$350,000-

\$400,000) by the time they made the decision to study overseas. Thus, the majority of the participants in this study were from affluent family backgrounds.

Data Collection

Research methods included semi-structured, in-depth interviews and follow-up informal Q&A exchanges. When I interviewed the participants via Zoom in July 2020, fourteen students (70%) were in the US, and six (30%) were in China. Mandarin was used as the medium for the interviews to facilitate effective communication, because it was the first language of the researcher as well as the participants. Each interview lasted appropriately 60 to 90 minutes. Interviews were recorded with the consent of participants for later transcription. I initially transcribed the data verbatim in Mandarin and then translated excerpts into English for conference presentations and publication.

The second round of data was collected in April 2021 via WeChat, the most frequently used social media platform among Chinese in China and overseas. When I followed up with the same group of students: I learned that only six students (30%) were still in the US, while the rest (70%) were back home in China receiving remote instruction from the university. The students and I texted in Mandarin asynchronously through WeChat messages. The questions in this round were explicitly focused on Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate protests and interviewees' general impressions of these two racial justice movements. In addition, I customized 8-10 individualized follow-up questions to elicit feedback on each participant's response to my previous interview questions about race, racism, and race-related political activities in the US. I particularly wanted to know these students' views on the rising racism and violence against people of Asian descent related to the COVID-19 pandemic, and how they understood these kinds of activist protests in pursuit

of social and racial equality. Unsurprisingly, those who remained in the US had more to share in the follow-up communication, while those who went back to China shared less or declined to discuss this topic. This lack of engagement further reflects most Chinese people's generally indifferent attitudes towards sensitive topics (race and politics) and also reflects the widespread belief among Chinese people that the WeChat platform is strictly monitored and censored by the Chinese government.

Data Analysis

Data collection and data analysis occurred almost simultaneously, with initial coding occurring as soon as I finished the Zoom interview. This approach helped me cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new data in the follow-up Q&A exchange (Merriam, 2009). Informed by the data and the theoretical underpinnings of the study, transnationalism and simultaneity, I conducted two cycles of coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). For the first cycle, I searched for repeating words and phrases (e.g., 'violent', 'riot'), allowing me to identify patterns while remaining open to new and emerging qualitative data. The second cycle of coding utilized thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019) to cluster the previously identified segments into core categories or themes relating to the research questions. To enhance the trustworthiness of the results, I conducted member checks (Shenton, 2004) and incorporated reflexive practices to reflect on my own positionality (Yao & Vital, 2018).

Without a doubt, the researcher's positionality deeply affects the process of data collection and data analysis, so I continuously engage in reflexive practices in the process of my research. My identity as a Chinese international student of Han ethnicity as well as a novice researcher helped me understand the participants from a partial insider's perspective.

Due to their strong national identification, participants often considered me as “one of us” and used 老外, 外国人, or 洋人 to refer to those of other nationalities, including Americans of Chinese descent. Sharing the same cultural background and racialization with my participants, I could easily relate what they told me to my own experiences living and studying in the US. However, I am slightly older than the participants and come from a more modest economic background. My class status positions me as an outsider when participants discussed disadvantaged populations and class struggles. This difference led me to further investigate the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and nationality in my data. In the following section, I analyze the most representative examples to illustrate elite Chinese students’ sense-making of grassroots activism and civic movements.

Findings and Discussion

During the Zoom interviews and text messaging, I noticed that all the students explicitly compared and contrasted the Black Lives Matter and the Stop Asian Hate as racial justice movements. They held a common understanding that the Black Lives Matter is more widespread, influential, and long-lasting, with protesters being involved regardless of race and ethnicity, while they viewed the Stop Asian Hate as relatively small-scale, ineffective, and spontaneous, with only Asian Americans and Asian diasporas participating. Despite Stop Asian Hate rallies being perceived as less impactful, students still expressed surprise that Asians are no longer silent and finally stand up, which was thought to be a good starting point to fight for equal rights in the US. However, most students still held very negative views towards perceived violence in Black Lives Matter protests. The following interview excerpts illustrate students’ attitudes and perspectives.

“A Bunch of People Are Rioting”

Eva was an only child from Tianjin, a coastal metropolis in Northern China. Her father was a geological engineer, and her mother was an accountant. When I interviewed Eva in July 2020, she was a rising junior in Mathematical Science receiving remote instruction in China. She had had almost one year of online learning when I later texted her in April 2021. Her understanding of race-related activism reflected that of most Chinese students, who reported that they were largely exposed to news reports from China’s state-owned media.

Eva: I just feel Black Lives Matter is very violent, ‘zero dollar shopping’ (零元购), a bunch of people are rioting, but there’s not any results. Stop Asian Hate is not influential, which’ll fade away very quickly. Now I feel numb, this kind of protest can’t change anything. It is what it is.

The term ‘zero dollar shopping’ circulates in social and other media both in China and in the Chinese American communities to refer to individuals who under the guise of the Black Lives Matter smashed shop windows and burned stores. The term also indicates that, in Chinese people’s opinion, the American police are unable to protect people and property. Since violence and vandalism are closely associated with Blackness in Chinese people’s racial imagination, largely due to racist Western representations (Yu, under review), riots and looting were repeatedly mentioned among students in the interviews and text messaging. This racist image of Black protesters as violent and illegal circulated widely on both social and state media and confirmed Chinese students’ prior uncritical acceptance of anti-Black ideology in their home society. Finally, Eva said, she felt numb to civil protests, because she thought this kind of resistance is chaotic and useless.

“I Don’t Think It Can Solve Any Problems”

Karen, a sophomore double majoring in Economics and Geography, shared a similar view with Eva that racial justice movements cannot solve anything. She provided a speculative illustration:

Jing: As an international student, what do you think of racial issues in the US?

Karen: Based on my study of American history, even if you won the Civil War, abolished the Slavery, passed 1964 Civil Rights Act, but can’t fundamentally solve the problem. I just personally think this divide can’t be eliminated.

Jing: Do you feel the Black Lives Matter movement will essentially solve the problem of racism?

Karen: No. I don’t think it can solve any problems.

Jing: So it’s very superficial, right?

Karen: I personally feel although there are many protests here [in the US], power after all is still in the hands of a few elites. Like the Trump administration, their strategy is to leave people to make trouble as an emotional outlet, they finally still need to go back to normal life, and their (the Trump administration’s) goal is achieved then.

When I asked Karen whether the Black Lives Matter movement is superficial, she confirmed this view and considered such grassroots activism as an ‘emotional outlet’ and speculated that Black Lives Matter protests support the US federal government’s ‘strategy.’ The government deliberately leaves a space for the racially oppressed to make some noise and vent their anger. Karen claimed that nothing would happen afterwards because ‘power after all is still in the hands of a few elites,’ implying that the US political system is ruled by elite leaders.

The political logic that protests align with a government strategy is not uncommon.

Eva also expressed this idea when she shared her views on America’s identity politics.

Eva: For example, political correctness, it’s totally controlled by the rich. They hope to see people at the bottom divided. How should I put it? I felt those people at the bottom are being used, including Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. No one wants to solve the problem of division and racial issues. Those who uphold political correctness just want to differentiate people from each other, which makes the US more divided.

From Eva's and Karen's accounts, they both believed these bottom-up social movements only incite huge societal unrest and instability but cannot make any substantive changes to eliminate systemic racism and discrimination.

It is important to emphasize that Chinese students are not a tabula rasa devoid of any prior political understanding of social movements. Their political beliefs are heavily impacted by CCP's top-down decision making, whereby a cluster of powerful central commissions headed by Xi and his deputies steer the governance system. Since 1989's pro-democracy movement, Chinese people have been deprived of participatory rights in formal politics and civil movements, so they increasingly depended on the "Big Government" (Levi-Faur, 2012) to distribute resources, enact justice, and maintain social safety. It is unsurprising that many express support for China's authoritarian political regime at the expense of their personal freedom, as seen in Fan et al. (2020)'s study that anti-Chinese discrimination increases Chinese overseas students' support for CCP's rule. Thus, Chinese students' negative opinions towards grassroots movements are both influenced by their previous political upbringing as apolitical pragmatists and by CCP's dominance through its highly centralized, top-down approach to governance.

"Actions Are Rarely Seen and Done"

In addition to their ideological learning in China, Chinese students' lived experiences have significant bearing on their political subjectivity. Qichen, a sophomore majoring in Physics, narrated his observation of his school's and department's response to Stop Asian Hate protests:

Qichen: After Stop Asian Hate protests broke out, all the public figures, including the school, including my department. I'm in the Physics major, including the Physics Department, issued a generic statement in solidarity with the minority. In fact, you are always wondering if they're all talk and no action. Currently, there are many slogans, but they are already ineffective. Actions are rarely seen and done.

After living and studying in the US for a period of time, Chinese students came to understand the university administration's support for Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate protests as tokenistic and superficial. The official statements that Qichen mentioned in our interview are common reactive practices that US institutions symbolically adopt to publicly stand by minoritized groups pursuing social equality and racial justice. Yet, Qichen suspected that 'they're all talk and no action.' He witnessed his university and department immediately issue public statements of solidarity; however, those anti-racism statements are seldom translated into concrete goals and actionable steps to truly disrupt the status quo and change the system. As seen in the lived experiences of Qichen, Chinese students' knowledge of the futility of racial justice movements is partly attributable to the US's lack of explicit social action to dismantle systemic racism and improve racial equality.

“But for the International Students, It's Really Different”

Throughout my interviews and message exchanges with all the participants, the most striking pattern to me was students' racial insensitivity and political indifference. As I have discussed in another study (Yu, under review), Chinese students' racial formation is predominantly shaped by both ideological influence in China and by experiential learning in the US. Moreover, I discovered that class status also plays a significant role in Chinese international students' responses to US class struggles and systemic oppression. Compared to earlier Chinese immigrants who largely had the goal of settlement and assimilation (Min, 2015), today's Chinese students are more like “flexible citizens” (Ong, 1999), who aspire to

acquire cosmopolitan habits, tastes, perspectives, and lifestyles. Growing up in relatively affluent families in mostly coastal cities, they are the beneficiaries of China's state policies supporting Mandarin language-based education and the dominant Han culture, so they are rarely aware of the structural power and privileges they enjoy in their home country. In previous research, I also found that Chinese international students often exercise their agency to shift their thinking about career plans, country of residence, and transnational itinerary based on the current Sino-US political relationship and racial climate in US society (Yu, 2021b). Therefore, despite being positioned as racialized Others during their prolonged stay overseas, Chinese students did not express much interest in fighting for a more equal America. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that as "foreigners" they are not permitted to engage in political activity, and given that the US government has accused Chinese people of cheating, stealing, spying, and more, it is understandable that many international students would try to lay low and not cause trouble.

When I interviewed Rui, a rising senior in Economics in July 2020, he was considering his future plans after graduation. In responding to a series of xenophobic executive orders signed by President Trump in the summer of 2020 amid COVID-19, he applied to graduate schools in the US and other major Western countries and also searched for jobs in both China and the US. When I followed up with him in April 2021, he told me that he had received both job offers in China and graduate school admissions offers from the US, UK, and Canada. He noted that, compared to earlier Asian immigrants, international students have many opportunities to avoid being the targets of racism and discrimination.

Rui: For example, I just came here for study abroad. After I finish my undergraduate study, if I feel I can't stay in the US (because of racism), I can go to the UK, or Canada (for graduate study). This way, I can actually circumvent that kind of racial problem. However, for those Asians living here, this is a big problem that they certainly need to face. But for the

international students, it's really different, because they have opportunities to choose from, so they don't think this is a big problem to them.

Although Rui naively thought he could avoid racial issues in the UK and Canada, his wealthy family background did provide him with sufficient financial resources to be flexible within turbulent racial times. Entangled in social dynamics of race and class, the current generation of Chinese students are associated not only with wealth and social status, but also with global cultural knowledge and mobile options in an interconnected world. While Chinese students' incongruent status as a racialized minority does not immunize them from racism and racialization in the US, their privileged class status mediates their social lives and enables them to flexibly engage in their overseas learning and self-making in the transnational social field, allowing them to opt out of personal engagement in anti-racist movements.

Conclusion and Implication

This chapter contributes to the literature on transnational education by illustrating how Chinese international students perceived US racial justice movements amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Moving beyond US national boundaries and the US-centric perspectives, this study has revealed that Chinese students' development of knowledge about Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate movements is jointly shaped by their political upbringing as Chinese citizens accustomed to CCP's top-down governance and by their witnessing of racial hypocrisy in American politics and educational institutions. Due to strong Chinese nationalism at the current moment and their own observation of America's lack of action to tackle racism, Chinese students hold strongly unfavorable views towards grassroots movements pursuing social justice and racial equality. They believe that activism is just an emotional outlet authorized by rulers. This research also contributes an intersectional and transnational analysis of race, class, and education. Chinese international students, as part of

a transnational elite in the making, are deeply pragmatic in advancing their own interests and feel little emotional resonance with those who are economically oppressed and struggle at the bottom of society.

The goal of this study was to better understand how Chinese international students view class struggles and racial tensions. However, they are extremely diverse population, whose political thinking and development of race-related knowledge cannot be captured by any single study. This study specifically focuses on full fee-paying Chinese undergraduate students, whose elite family backgrounds strongly affect their views on racial justice movements in the US. I also want to emphasize that as young adults ranging in the age from 18 to 22, they are still in a formative life stage, and their identities and political opinions are therefore not fixed and solid but subject to constant construction and negotiation.

The empirical findings of this study have implications for concrete practices that can be employed by US institutions. Whether Chinese international students plan to return to China or stay in the US, they are the emerging power elite and future ruling class, so cultivating their sense of social equality is an urgent obligation of US universities. First, international students should be routinely included in the current campus discussions of race, racism, and civic movements. From my interviews as well as Gomes's findings (2015), Chinese students spend a large amount of time absorbing news and entertainment programs in their mother tongue. This ideologically limited media exposure may strengthen their preconceived political beliefs against political participation. Second, US institutions should proactively reinvest some revenue generated by international student tuition towards student organizations and extracurricular activities to support international students' understanding of race and racism in the US. My findings demonstrate that Chinese students, like all people,

are not immune to prejudicial attitudes toward people of color, especially African Americans, even though they themselves experience racism in the US. More interracial contact and cross-cultural communication can help both international and domestic students disrupt their stereotypes about one another. Lastly, universities should incorporate civic education into the existing undergraduate General Education curriculum. Influenced by their previous political socialization in their home country, Chinese students are biased against grassroots political activities, such as civil disobedience, demonstrations, and protests. Hence, formal education is necessary to raise their consciousness of civil and human rights and to cultivate their social responsibility for promoting equality. As COVID-19 evolves and US-China relations remain uncertain, Chinese international students will play a key role in geopolitics, economics, diplomacy, and education. Understanding their views on race, racism, and racial justice movements is one step towards building a more inclusive campus climate in these American higher education landscape.

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CHAPTER FOUR: Exploring Chinese International Students' Experiences of Racism in Times of Crisis through Global Asian Critical Race Theory

Introduction

Chinese international students' lived experiences have garnered substantial attention in US higher education research due to the ever-increasing numbers of such students as well as China's love-hate relationship with the host country. In contrast to previous studies that attribute Chinese students' difficulties to their supposedly unique learning beliefs (Chan & Rao, 2010; Li, 2012), cultural traits (Cortazzi & Jin, 2013; Gu & Maley, 2008), communication styles (Byram, 1997; Liu, 2001), and sociocultural backgrounds (Heng, 2021; Zhu, 2016), critical scholars have demonstrated that race, racism, and power are central factors that contribute to the negative experiences of international students of color in US higher education institutions and the wider societal context. For example, Jenny Lee and her colleagues (Cantwell & Lee, 2010; Lee & Rice, 2007; Opio and Lee, 2011) found that non-white international students experience more neoracism, in the form of verbal assaults, false accusations, sexual harassment, and even physical violence, compared to their white European counterparts. Unlike old-fashioned phenotypical distinctions or blatant xenophobia, *neoracism* refers to discriminatory behaviors based on perceived cultural differences and countries of origin, which is deeply rooted in white supremacy (Suspitsyna & Shalka, 2019; Stein & de Andreotti, 2016) and racial-colonial capitalism (Kauppinen, 2012; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). While the current generation of Chinese international undergraduates is an economically elite group (Fong, 2011; Ma, 2021), they cannot escape racial, cultural,

linguistic, and geographical inequalities on the global level (Kubota & Lin, 2009; Kubota, 2016; Piller, 2016; Yao, 2018).

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged to capture racism as lived experience in the US, and then spread to other fields of scholarship. As an epistemological and methodological tool, CRT is used to analyze the ways in which racial inequality shapes the reality of historically marginalized populations within social and institutional dynamics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). It has been adopted by education scholars to explore how seemingly neutral educational policies and practices lead to social, economic, political, and ideological structures that privilege white students and oppress students of color (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

More recently, the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed underlying structural inequalities, reinvigorated old stereotypes, and unleashed new manifestations of Sinophobia. As a consequence of Donald Trump's racist rhetoric during his presidency as well as escalating US-China geopolitical tensions, hate crimes against Asian ethnic groups in the US increased by 150% in 2020 (Yam, 2021) and Chinese scientists who were accused of being a threat to US national security were criminalized (J. Lee, 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic combined with the US-China rivalry and anti-Chinese sentiment has made Chinese international students face multiple challenges and continues to affect their feelings of insecurity. Some particular tenets of AsianCrit (Iftikar & Museus, 2018) and Global Critical Race theory (Christian, 2019) can be acknowledged to illustrate their racial realities beyond national boundaries, but either theory is not sufficient to address their racial issues and experiences of racism.

Therefore, I propose to combine AsianCrit developed in Asian American Studies and the global critical race and racism framework from Sociology to take an intersectional approach to race and globalization in the lives of Chinese international students. Simultaneously considering the historical and global dimensions of this issue is crucial because it reveals how race and racism operate both between and within nations embedded in global white supremacy and academic imperialism. I specifically examine Chinese students' experiences of racism and racialization within US higher education in the times of the COVID-19 crisis. Through Zoom interviews with 21 economically elite Chinese undergraduate students in a predominantly white research university in the US, this study demonstrates that, as both Asians and foreign students, they constantly suffered racism and discrimination, through implicit but ubiquitous racial ignorance before COVID-19 and through blatant acts of racial hatred during COVID-19. Two salient themes emerged in the interview narratives: 1) the intersectional stigma of racism and xenophobia and 2) interest convergence between international students and US institutions: Chinese students' racialized experiences are compounded by their foreign status which evokes xenophobic exclusion, as well as by their dehumanizing social positioning as a "cash cow" in the study-abroad market. These narratives reveal that Chinese international students experience unique forms of racism in the transnational social field (Gargano, 2009). This chapter argues that the combination of Asian and Global Critical Race Theories, or what I refer to as Global Asian Critical Race Theory, has the potential to produce a powerful lens for tracing the racial issues confronting Asian people on the move within the global context.

Theoretical Framework: Towards a Global Asian Critical Race Theory

With its roots in critical legal studies, CRT was developed beginning in the 1970s by lawyers, activists, and legal scholars to accelerate the pace of racial reform (e.g., Bell, 1980; Crenshaw, 1993; Harris, 1994). The theory articulates how hegemonic structures and ideologies maintain systemic whiteness (i.e., white supremacy) across sociopolitical contexts. Delgado and Stefancic (2017) offered one widely cited set of central tenets and perspectives: 1) racism is ordinary and natural in the everyday experience of people of color, 2) the dominant ideology promotes interest convergence; in other words, white Americans are willing to create laws and policies that support people of color only if whites benefit as well, 3) race is not objective, inherent, or fixed, but socially constructed and manipulated within systems and institutions, 4) minorities are differentially racialized, 5) intersectionality and anti-essentialism are crucial to understand race and racism, 6) the voices of people of color must be recognized in order to counter dominant hegemonic narratives through storytelling. Gradually, a set of more specific theories extended from CRT, such as Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) (Valdez, 1996), Tribal Critical Theory (TribalCrit) (Brayboy, 2005), and Asian Critical Theory (AsianCrit) (Iftikar & Museus, 2018).

Building upon CRT and Asian American studies, Iftikar and Museus (2018) advanced an AsianCrit framework that provides a more complex view of Asian American racial realities, as much of the traditional scholarship on race had focused on the Black/white binary. The key insight of AsianCrit is *Asianization*, the particular ways Asian Americans as a monolithic group are racialized by white supremacy in the US. The classic model of their experiences of Asianization is “racial triangulation,” which was proposed by Claire Jean Kim (1999) to portray a racial double bind position for Asian ethnic groups in relation to Black

and white. On the one hand, Asian Americans are cast as the *yellow peril* and as *perpetual foreigners* regardless of their immigration status or cultural practices, but on the other hand, they are typically seen as *model minorities* or *honorary whites* due to some groups' academic achievements and socioeconomic success (S. Lee, 2005; Takaki, 1998; Tuan, 1998; Zhou, 2004). Racialization scholars (Poon et al., 2016) have warned that the liberal-democratic myth of Asian Americans as the model minority is dangerous not only because it easily leads to the internalization of anti-Black racism among Asian Americans and thus disrupts Black-Asian interracial solidarity, but also because this supposedly positive depiction is used to argue that the US is an equal-opportunity society obscuring the struggles of Southeast Asian Americans and other communities of color, which ultimately sustains a global system of racial hierarchy and white supremacy. In short, Asian Americans are simultaneously limited in their collective political voice and held up as an example of self-sufficient minority success, despite being racially marginalized in the white-supremacist society of the US.

CRT was also expanded beyond the confinement of US borders to include an international context that applies to migrant populations (Gillborn et al., 2012; Kitching, 2015; Vass, 2015). Since racism as a modern global project takes shape differently across geographies, it is necessary to consider how transnational connections and attachments inform racialization of non-white people. As shown in a conceptual piece (Yao et al., 2019), *intersectionality* and *interest convergence* are the most vital aspects for understanding how international students' racialized experiences are embedded in global imperialism and academic capitalism in the US. The concept of intersectionality, which originates in CRT, asserts that people who face discrimination are often disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression, including race, gender, class, and national origin. (Crenshaw, 1993; George

Mwangi et al., 2018). As for interest convergence, Stein and de Andreotti (2016) illustrated how it works in the case of Asian international students, who are paradoxically framed as source of cash (providing income through their tuition dollars), as competition (threatening outsiders), and as charity recipients (beneficiaries of the West’s supposedly universal knowledge). In particular, the authors argued that before their arrival, international students are welcome as *cash* to satisfy the economic needs of a racialized global capitalist system. After their arrival, international students are marginalized as *competition*, who “might either return home and enable their home country to compete better economically with the West, or who might overstay their conditional welcome and threaten the entitlements of national citizens” (ibid., 233). Meanwhile, during their stay, international students are framed as *charity*, recipients of knowledge that is deeply rooted in colonial logics of “Western onto-epistemological supremacy” (ibid., 235). Taken together, these different strands of CRT have the capacity to incorporate a critical global perspective into the critical analysis of racism to make sense of the racialized experiences and social positioning of Chinese international students.

Combining the principle of Asianization in AsianCrit with intersectionality and interest convergence in Global Critical Race Theory, I attempt to put forward an innovative theoretical framework, Global Asian Critical Race Theory or GlobalAsianCrit, both to move the analysis of race and racism beyond US territorial boundaries and expand from the traditional focus on immigrants and their descendants to include Asian groups temporarily on the move within the global context—for example, Chinese international students. In the next section, I review the existing empirical studies on the utility of AsianCrit in the field of higher education as well as how emergent issues of anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19

have been viewed through a critical global lens. In the analysis, I combine these perspectives to demonstrate the value of GlobalAsianCrit for understanding the lived experience of Chinese international students.

Literature Review

AsianCrit and Higher Education

A growing body of AsianCrit scholarship has been utilized as an important analytical frame to explore the racialized experiences of Asian American students in education (Lee et al., 2017; Museus, 2013; Nguyen et al., 2018). Existing empirical evidence indicates that Asian American college students encounter extensive racial hostility on campuses, including racial bullying, racial slurs, and racial profiling (Museus & Park, 2015). Besides overt racism, these students are also vulnerable to subtle, indirect, and unintentional racist practices termed *racial microaggressions* (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). According to Sue et al. (2007), racial microaggressions are defined as “commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults” (p. 278). These practices are so pervasive that are often unacknowledged or glossed over as innocuous; however, because of their frequency, they are “many times over more problematic, damaging, and injuries to persons of color than overt racist acts” (Sue, 2003, p. 48). Racial microaggressions targeting Asian Americans include seemingly innocuous questions such as “Where are you from?” and “Where were you born?” and even apparent compliments such as “You speak such good English!” and “But you speak without an accent.” Although racist expression may not be consciously intended by the perpetrator, the assumption underlying these questions and statements is that the recipient is foreign-born or not a US citizen, thus perpetuating the stereotype of perpetual foreigner of

Asian Americans in the US racial system. In addition, education scholars have underscored that the model minority narrative creates systematic pressure on Asian American students to be pigeonholed into STEM disciplines and to internalize the unrealistic expectation of always being academically perfect, leading to increased depression and anxiety (Lee et al., 2017; McGee et al., 2017).

Due to the process of Asianization, Asian international students at US universities endure similar racialized experiences to Asian American students. A recent study (Yeo et al., 2019) demonstrated that Asian American students, who are often mistaken for Asian international students, experience xenophobic remarks around race and culture. Since Asian American students are born and raised in the US, they are more aware of implicit biases based on skin color, English proficiency, and nationality, compared to Asian international students. Thus, Asian international students are not immune from widespread prejudice and discrimination but are subject to most of the racial stereotypes associated with Asian American students (e.g., model minority) and at the same time confront new manifestations of racial stereotypes (e.g., academic dishonesty, cash cows) widely circulated by mainstream media and public discourses (Cantwell, 2015; Choudaha, 2017). Such stereotypes tend to generalize across different groups of Asian international students. Correspondingly, since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, East Asians and Southeast Asians with no connection to China are more likely to be subject to racial slurs and physical abuse because of the erroneous perception that China is the cause of the coronavirus (Pew Research Report, 2020). Therefore, given the panethnic lumping process (Espiritu, 1993), Asian ethnicities are routinely mistaken for a wide variety of other country-of-origin groups and experience racism in diverse and contradictory ways.

Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia in Pandemic Times

Racism, discrimination, and violence against Asians and in particular the Chinese has deep roots in US immigration history. In the early 19th century, Chinese laborers were racially constructed as the “yellow peril”—bearers of disease and an existential threat to Western civilization (Espiritu, 1993; Lowe, 1996). This racist ideology led to the national Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which not only prohibited immigration from China but also forbade legal US residents from becoming US citizens (Daniels, 1988). As a result of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 in the second half of the 20th century, the demographics of Asian immigrants started to shift from less educated, low-skilled laborers to highly skilled professionals in science and engineering (Min, 2015). Over the past five decades, the Asian American population has been one of the fastest-growing demographic groups in the US, and the model-minority racial stereotype has largely reframed Asian Americans from uncivilized and unassimilable to exceptional and successful. However, the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic brought the hate discourse of yellow peril back with full force (Wu & Nguyen, 2022). Since the virus has been identified as foreign, more specifically: “associated with China,” historical legacies of white nativism in the US have produced xenophobia and hostility with Asians, positioned as “forever foreigners” bringing in and transmitting the virus (Tessler et al., 2020). Thus, racial scapegoating during the pandemic has brought beliefs to the surface that had always been lurking in the racialized social structures of the US.

The resurgence of yellow peril and xenophobia has driven a wedge between Asian Americans and non-American Asians in the US. Shi (2020) found many slogans challenging anti-Asian racism are based on birth-right citizenship and national identity, such as “Asian



Figure 1. The slogan “Asian Americans are Americans!” in the #StopAAPIHate campaign, March 27, 2021. (Source: TuftsNow)

Americans are Americans,” implying “I was born in this country, so I should not be treated as a foreigner or as an outsider” (Figure 1). However, the declaration of an apparently deracialized form of nationality is inherently reductive and counterproductive, because, after all, the majority of anti-Asian racist incidents are based on superficial phenotypical characteristics rather than birthplace or nationality. Such narrow-minded nationalistic framings also exclude the Asian international friends and allies of the movement who were not born here or do not hold a US passport but are victimized by the same type of anti-Asian racism, harassment, and xenophobia. Hence, incorporating a global critical view into anti-

racist conversations is very necessary to attend to the intersecting identities beyond the nation-state and to build international solidarity across racial, ethnic, and national divides.

In addition to an intersectional analysis of race and nationality, Chinese international students' racialized experiences should also be viewed through an interest convergence lens. As the largest international student group in the US, they are typically the most visible sources (and resources) for college campuses. In the summer of 2020, the Trump administration used executive and political power to force the international student population to attend in-person classes during the pandemic or risk deportation through an Immigration and Customs Enforcement Order (Department of Homeland Security, 2020). In response, many higher education institutions (e.g., Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and international higher education organizations (e.g., NAFSA: Associations of International Educators, American Council on Education) immediately issued public statements pushing back against this discriminatory policy. However, a critical analysis showed that the rationale for supporting international students in these statements (Figure 2) is framed in "a type of nationalistic and protectionist argument" (Yao & George Mwangi, 2022, p. 11) to emphasize these students'

Statement by ACE President Ted Mitchell on ICE Guidance on International Students

July 06, 2020

Some one million international students attend U.S. colleges and universities annually, contributing greatly to this country's intellectual and cultural vibrancy. They also yield an estimated economic impact of \$41 billion and support more than 450,000 U.S. jobs. The Trump administration has indicated in the past that it

Figure 2. Statement by ACE President Ted Mitchell on ICE on International Students. (Source: American Council on Education)

economic contribution to the US. The researchers argued that positioning international students as an economic commodity further perpetuates their status as dehumanized out-groups and sustains global white supremacy. In sum, the conflicting framings of Chinese international students as yellow peril and as economic contribution are not discrete but rather are two sides of the same derogative ideology, which again confirms that even the seemingly positive framing in dominant narratives still does harm to a complex, heterogeneous, and diverse group of color. In the analysis, I take both a racial/ethnic and critical global perspective to explore Chinese international students' experience of racism and racialization in times of crisis.

Data and Methods

This study is a part of a broader critical qualitative research project investigating Chinese international students' decision-making, personal agency, and lived experiences against the backdrop of US-China geopolitical tensions, the global pandemic, and anti-Asian racism (e.g., Yu, 2021a, 2021b). For the current analysis, because my aim was to identify and understand the ways that racism and racialization manifest in the lives of Chinese

international students in US higher education, I utilize interpretive qualitative techniques to analyze the data as richly as possible (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 2009).

Upon Institutional Review Board approval, participant recruitment started in the 2020 Spring 2020 (April to June) at a medium-sized, public, predominantly white research university on the West coast. According to the campus profile, in 2019-2020 white students were the largest student group on campus, accounting for one-third (7,076) of the total enrollment, followed by Chicax/Latinx students (4,534) and Asian/Pacific Islanders (4,165). Like many other US public universities, the school has witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of Chinese undergraduate students, which grew from 51 in 2009-2010 to 2,445 in 2019-2020, almost a fifty-fold increase within ten years. Through the WeChat accounts of the campus's Chinese Student and Scholar Association and Chinese Student Association as well as my own social media platforms (i.e., Facebook, Twitter), I recruited 21 Chinese undergraduate students, spanning all class years: incoming freshmen (n=4), sophomores (n=6), juniors (n=5), and seniors (n=6) (Table 1). I assigned an American pseudonym to participants who signed up for the interview using their American name and a Chinese pseudonym to those who used their Chinese name (Most students used a different name in the US and in China, due to Americans' lack of familiarity with Chinese names).

Before the interview, participants were asked to fill out a brief demographic survey. Questions included their hometown, major, type of high school they attended, parents' education and occupation, and family financial situation. Based on the results, more than half of the students (57%, n=12) were from first-tier Chinese cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, and more than 75% of the students (n=16) went either to international high schools or to public schools with an international division (国际部,

guojibu). Due to the transformative social changes over the past thirty years in mainland China, there is now a sizable upper-middle-class and middle-class population that has a strong desire for their children to receive a Western

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Participants

#	Grade level (July 2020)	Name	Gender	Cities/Provinces	Majors	Types of high school	Only child?	First-gen?	Saved up four-year expenses (\$350,000-400,000)?
1	Incoming Freshman	Wenwen	Female	Shanghai	Pre-biology	American High School	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Incoming Freshman	Yunxiang	Female	Beijing	Stats and Data Science	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Incoming Freshman	Lele	Male	Shanghai	Physics	Chinese Public	No	No	No
4	Incoming Freshman	Kelvin	Male	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (international division)	No	Yes	Yes
5	Sophomore	Qichen	Male	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (2 year) + American Private (2 year)	Yes	No	Yes
6	Sophomore	Kress	Male	Guangdong Province	Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
7	Sophomore	Karen	Female	Liaoning Province	Economics & Geography	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
8	Sophomore	Angela	Female	Guangdong Province	Pre-economics	Singaporean High School	Yes	No	No
9	Sophomore	Yiyi	Female	Beijing	Math & Philosophy	American High School	Yes	No	Yes
10	Sophomore	Xiang	Male	Guangdong Province	Sociology & Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
11	Junior	Ruby	Female	Liaoning Province	Theatre & Dance	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
12	Junior	Eva	Female	Tianjin	Mathematical Science	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Yes
13	Junior	Cheng	Male	Shanghai	Physics	Chinese Private (international division)	No	Yes	Yes
14	Junior	Shelly	Female	Liaoning Province	Financial Math and Stats	International high school (Canadian curricula)	No	Yes	Yes
15	Junior	Rui	Male	Sichuan Province	Economics	Chinese Private	No	No	Yes
16	Senior	Shi	Male	Jiangsu Province	Electric Engineering	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
17	Senior	Elly	Female	Guangdong Province	Econ Accounting & Financial Math	American Private	Yes	No	Yes
18	Senior	Feifei	Female	Beijing	Physics	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes
19	Senior	Renping	Female	Henan Province	Earth Science	Chinese Public	Yes	No	Don't know
20	Senior	Han Zhang	Female	Zhejiang Province	Psychology & Brian Sciences	Chinese Public (international division)	No	No	Don't know
21	Senior	Teng	Female	Chongqing	Chemical Engineering	Chinese Public (international division)	Yes	No	Yes

higher education, and for whom the introduction of international tracks of study into traditional Chinese public high schools became trendy (Liu, 2020; Ma, 2021). In addition, two-thirds of the students (n=16) were not first-generation college students and their parents' occupations were largely in professional fields, state-owned enterprises, government, and business. Moreover, all the participants were self-funded rather than through fellowship or financial aid, and more than 80% (n=17) reported that by the time they made the decision to study overseas in the US, their families had already saved up four years' worth of tuition and living expenses (estimated around \$350,000-\$400,000). Thus, the majority of the participants in the current study were from economically elite family backgrounds in top-tier cities and relatively developed regions in their home country.

Each student participated in one individual Zoom interview with me in July 2020, which lasted approximately between 60 and 90 minutes. An online semistructured approach (Salmons, 2015) was used to acquire participants' responses and probe more details to understand the role of racism and racialization in their overseas learning experiences. All the interviews were conducted in Mandarin and audio-recorded with the consent of participants for transcription. I initially transcribed the data verbatim in Chinese and then translated excerpts into English for conference presentations and publication. To keep with the original research intent, participants were asked to discuss their experiences and perceptions of racial issues in the US, especially regarding Trump's xenophobic policies and rising anti-Asian racism.

I employed the thematic analysis approach for recognizing themes in qualitative data (Saldaña, 2015). During the first stage of analysis, I used open coding to make sense of the data. GlobalAsianCrit served as a guiding lens to generate codes to describe the forms of

racism and racial microaggressions that students encountered. This procedure produced descriptive codes, such as ‘ignored,’ ‘isolated,’ ‘foreign,’ ‘excluded.’ I then engaged in axial coding to draw connections between codes and group them to generate broad categories. Next, broad categories were clustered into themes, taking into account their connections to the central tenets of Asianization, intersectionality, and interest convergence in GlobalAsianCrit. Lastly, four themes were developed to capture the main aspects of experiences of racism that were repeatedly mentioned by participants throughout the interview narratives. To enhance trustworthiness of my findings, I incorporated reflexive practices to reflect on my own positionality (Yao & Vital, 2018).

At the time of the interview, I was a doctoral student at the same institution as my interviewees. Being a Chinese international student myself, I could easily relate to students’ racialized experiences and made this issue explicit and asked for their clarification of their feelings during the interview. Meanwhile, during my research, I acknowledged the influence that my experience and identity exerted on the participants and my interpretation of the qualitative data. I want to emphasize that race and racial politics are still sensitive topics within the Chinese context, which are barely discussed in public physical or online spaces. For example, when I followed up with the same group of students for more information via WeChat on their views of current US racial justice movements (i.e., Black Lives Matter, Stop Asian Hate) for a separate analysis (Yu, under review¹), those who had returned to China rather than remaining in the US shared less information or directly refused to give any responses on this issue. Therefore, building rapport and understanding local knowledge are very important for the researcher to elicit complex views from Chinese international students and to interpret the research findings from a critical racial perspective.

Findings

Informed by the data and the theoretical concepts of Asianization, intersectionality, and interest convergence, four major themes were identified to encapsulate participants' experience of racism and racialization in US higher education: racial ignorance, explicit racism, double alienation, and revenue generator. These findings indicated that the specific experiences of the Chinese international students in this study were illustrative of and consistent with general patterns of Asian international and Asian American students in the US. The findings also shed light on Chinese students' distinct challenges in the time of a global health crisis.

Racial Ignorance

Racial ignorance is the core dimension of US racialized social system. Even well before the pandemic, Chinese international students were subject to various forms of racial microaggression from American peers, faculty members, and administrative staff (Yao, 2018). Ruby was an only child from Liaoning, a coastal province in Northeast China. When I interviewed her in July 2020, she was a rising junior in the Department of Theatre and Dance. One of the shifts in the current generation of Chinese students is in the selection of an academic major. Rather than being routed into STEM disciplines, more and more students tend to choose STEM and non-STEM double majors (such as Physics and Sociology) to balance personal interests and career demands, or they may simply choose a social science or humanities major to cater for their academic interests. Students, like Ruby, who majored in humanistic disciplines was inclined to be more cognizant of social structures of racial ignorance, exclusion, and power in the US.

Jing: What do you think about racial issues in the US?

Ruby: I feel racial issues in the US, honestly speaking, are about Black people. Like a term paper I wrote in a religious studies class. It seems that when we talk about people of color, our first reaction is Black people, but Asian is also a race. When we discuss rights and interests, we think more of Black and white people, so [in the paper] I am saying that I hope when we discuss the issue of equality in the future, Asian is also a very important component.

From Ruby's learning and living experiences in the US, she observed that Asian as a racial category is often missing from racial discussions to advance equal rights. This point has been often raised by scholars who reveal how research epistemologies (Scheurich & Young, 1997), academic curricula (An, 2016), American history (E. Lee, 2016), and popular media (Oh, 2013) perpetuate the erasure and silence of Asian Americans and reinforce pervasive racial stereotypes. The Black/white binary narrative is still pervasive, rendering people of Asian descent and discrimination against them invisible. Ruby later shared two examples of her personal experiences in the courses she was taking on theatre directing:

Ruby: I took a series of directing courses. There were only six students last quarter, five students this quarter. Except me, all are white, including the professor, all are white. Because it was a very small group, we often exchanged our opinions on political events in the class. I remember last semester, we had an anti-Asian racism training. We all attended it and later we shared our feelings in the class. I said, as a Chinese, an Asian, I think our department is not very diverse, because there are very few Asians, especially Asian international students, so I was rarely able to hear the same voices as me, I can't meet people who think like me. At first, I thought it was just cultural differences, which is good, but when my ways of thinking are repeatedly different from others, I can't help but doubt myself. Is it possible that I thought about it wrong? Because I am a minority, I can't hear the same voices as me, I can't really meet people who can fully empathize with me, which makes me very isolated.

Ruby: Every [student] director [in the class] needs to direct two performers. Including all the directors and performers, all are white, except me. One time, the professor taught us how to communicate and I was taking notes, and she said, "You know, we are all Americans, we smile a lot." I just stopped writing, I'm not American, but I didn't say it aloud. She is right, but the only thing that made me uncomfortable is that she didn't remember I'm not American. That made me feel ignored. I know she didn't intend to; she didn't mean to isolate me. But its unintentional acts like that speak to the problem. How to put it? In a group of six people in total, the Asian often gets neglected, let alone in a larger group.

In a learning environment surrounded by white people, the presence of students of color is salient and visible, but their contribution to intellectual knowledge is ignored and

insignificant. Due to the lack of racial minority representation in the class, Ruby always felt invalidated and dismissed in her ways of thinking and expressing herself. This is an explicit manifestation of epistemic hierarchy that privileges Western ways of knowing and reasoning over non-Western insights (Kubota, 2020). Racially minoritized students are often made to feel inferior and undermined because of the way they think and speak. Even so, Ruby initially remained positive and thought the explanation might be ‘cultural differences.’ Nevertheless, she barely saw her ethnicity and heritage culture reflected in curricula, and she was never acknowledged and recognized by her peers and the instructor. This negative experience resulted self-doubt regarding ‘whether I thought about it wrong.’ Being born as part of the majority in a much more racially homogeneous society, Chinese international students have difficulty in understanding what it means to be a minority in a multiracial country until they learn by experiencing racist stereotypes and practices themselves. Compared to overt racism, epistemology of ignorance is more insidious at the individual, cultural, and institutional levels. Thus, most of the time, Chinese students are silenced, marginalized, and excluded without recognizing it as an act of epistemological racism. In her second story, Ruby mentioned that she knew her instructor’s exclusionary comment was unintentional, but she also realized that these unconscious acts of racial microaggression are both prevalent and naturalized within US higher education. Ruby’s experience demonstrates how white supremacy and white thinking evade white Americans to patronize and belittle other racial groups on a daily basis.

Explicit Racism

While the incidents Ruby described took place before the pandemic, Asians and Asian Americans have faced a resurgent wave of anti-Asian racism and hate incidents since

the outbreak of COVID-19. Fueled by fear of the pandemic and negative rhetoric about the “Chinese virus,” Asians have been suddenly demoted to the racist construction of the “yellow peril” from the “model minority.” Kress, a sophomore majoring in Physics, shared his personal experience of being verbally assaulted during the pandemic:

Jing: The Black Lives Matter movement hasn’t ended yet. There are still heated discussions on social media. As an international student, how do you look at racial issues?

Kress: Racial issues are unavoidable because you can be discriminated against just walk down the street.

Jing: Why can I be discriminated against just walk down the street?

Kress: This is my personal experience. Once I was walking on the local street, and a foreigner drove by in his car and waited for the traffic light to turn green. He rolled down the window and yelled at me, “China virus.” I yelled back at him. Yes, there is no reason for this.

Jing: You feel there was no reason because of your skin color?

Kress: It’s because of my race.

Jing: He doesn’t actually know you’re an overseas student?

Kress: Right, he has no idea, but he can tell that I’m yellow at first sight.

My recent study (Yu, under review²) shows that Chinese international students understand race through the paradigm of nationality, but their lived experiences in the US shift their conceptualization of race from a nationality-based identity to the crude phenotype-based racial category of “Asian.” Rather than being an instance of neoracism, which is rooted in the idea of inherent cultural differences and hierarchies of nationalities as a more benign signifier to justify differential treatment, this was a blatant act of racism that led Kress to immediately associate race with skin color as a result of his experience of Asianization. When I asked him whether the racial attack was ‘because of [his] skin color,’ he replaced ‘skin color’ with ‘race,’ and highlighted that his ‘yellow’ race—a Western-constructed racial marker, is visible and salient at first sight. This finding, and similar stories like it in my data, indicates that

people who “look Chinese/Asian,” regardless of nationality or ethnicity, are not exempt from virulent forms of entrenched racism and stigmatization during the highly racialized COVID-19 health pandemic.

Double Alienation

In addition to explicit racism based on skin color, Chinese international students experience intersectional stigma on the basis of race and nationality. Since Trump took office in 2016 and even after his defeat in 2020, US neo-nationalism has not equally targeted all other countries. It reserves animosity mainly for China, especially in relation to the trade war and competition for technological supremacy (Zhang et al., 2020). As Chinese students who study abroad in the US, my study participants strongly sensed that they might become political pawns or scapegoats who would be blamed for the geopolitical competition between the US and China, as seen in the next example. Wenwen had received her high school education in a private Catholic school in the US. When I interviewed her in July 2020, she had just been admitted to the university, as a rising freshman.

Jing: How do you think the relationship between the US and China actually affects you?

Wenwen: I think it affects me a lot, because the US government can't directly punish the Chinese government. The easiest body that can be sacrificed is international students, so if they have any dissatisfaction with China, they can just refuse to issue the visa, so international students are like scapegoats for political issues.

Wenwen's account revealed that her fear of being abandoned, stuck in a limbo between the sending and receiving countries. To international students who move from one political regime to another, transnational mobility means that they lose half of their rights, privileges, security, and sense of belonging (Gaulee, Sharma, & Bista, 2020). In other words, their non-citizen visa status puts these students in danger of being deprived of their international education. As the US-China relationship deteriorates and neo-nationalism continues,

Wenwen expressed that she was afraid that Chinese students might become ‘scapegoats for political issues’ because of the politicized pandemic and geopolitical strain. In short, the intersection of racial and national identity shapes the negative conditions within which Chinese international students live and study in the US, including pervasive fear and anxiety of governmental retaliation against them as Chinese citizens.

Revenue Generator

The COVID-19 pandemic unveiled racist and xenophobic practices and policies that are deeply rooted in neo-nationalism and protectionism. Despite campus lockdowns, travel bans, and the evolving pandemic, US higher education institutions still have a vested interest in the recruitment and enrollment of international students from mainland China due to their economic contribution (Yao & George Mwangi, 2022). Shelly, a junior majoring in Financial Mathematics and Statistics acknowledged this reality when she expressed her opinion on those xenophobic policies issued by the Trump administration:

Jing: How do all these xenophobic policies affect you and your overseas study?

Shelly: For me personally, it’s not a big deal. Those policies will affect those who are involved in high tech. As for me, I’m responsible for paying the money for tuition. They have no reason to ban me.

Shelly recognized her cash value to the host country and emphasized that because she was an economic asset, she did not worry too much about xenophobic policies that targeted Chinese graduate students and scholars in technological fields. International students are often perceived as resources that benefit US higher education through multiple means, but the global health crisis revealed that the benefit of direct tuition dollars has overshadowed other advantages that these students represent, such as being valuable talent for garnering knowledge, cheap laborers for global competitiveness, and a diversity token for enhancing

the institutions' global reputation. Hence, Chinese international students in my study, all of whom were funded by their parents for their undergraduate education, felt less insecure than those who depend on fellowship or government support for their graduate education.

But although international students may benefit interest convergence in some ways, the priority for decisions is always rooted in the supremacy of the white dominant majority. Many Chinese students echoed Shelly's view that her value to the university lies in her financial contribution. Cheng, a Junior majoring in Physics, connected his cash value to a capitalist logic:

Jing: So you know you're an economic contribution?

Cheng: Yes, but it's a pathetic truth. They like us because of money, which makes me really sad. You'll find it's not a thing that you can be proud of.

Jing: You can understand that?

Cheng: I can understand it, and it's very much in line with the capitalist society of the US.

Cheng admitted that 'it's a pathetic truth:' international students are welcome at US universities based not solely on their academic merit but also on their ability to pay. Through an analytic frame of interest convergence, it shows that international students contribute to the US national and institutional pursuit of dominance. Driven by neoliberalism (Kubota, 2016) and academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), US higher education institutions aggressively recruit and retain Asian international students in order to fulfil the economic demands of the host campus and the larger society. Therefore, similar to the conflicting stereotypes of Asian Americans as both model minorities and perpetual foreigners, Chinese international students are simultaneously welcome and unwelcome, depending on the context. The current health pandemic makes the primarily financial interest of US higher education in Chinese students more transparent and salient to these students and

parents and makes a US education less appealing. In short, the pure pursuit of economic gain not only undermines the academic reputation of US institutions in the study-abroad market but also weakens initiatives to internationalize US higher education and makes them unsustainable in the long run.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, I have examined four themes: racial ignorance, explicit racism, double alienation, and revenue generator, in the racial experiences of Chinese international students that align with the key ideas of Asianization in AsianCrit and the lenses of intersectionality and interest convergence in Global Critical Race Theory. The findings contribute to scholarship in several ways. First, this study shows that, despite being racially minoritized through the process of Asianization in the US, Chinese international students do not have sufficient racial knowledge to identify and cope with it, especially the structural inequalities and systemic racism they face. While previous studies have shown that international students of color experience more discrimination than those coming from European countries (Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007), it is important to point out that Chinese students, like others who come from largely homogeneous societies, lack the lived experience to recognize implicit bias and racial hostility in a learning environment where they are surrounded by white people. The feeling of invalidation and marginalization increases students' self-doubt and self-criticism, and finally results into an increased likelihood of fear, anger, sadness and mental health concerns, such as stress, anxiety, and depression. Exacerbated by the long-lasting pandemic situation, uncertain US-China relations, and anti-Asian violence, such chronic exposure to racial ignorance causes racial battle fatigue and undermines students' psychological well-being.

Second, the findings of the current study confirm the prominent global trends of rising hate speech, discrimination, and violence against Asians and people of Asian descent in academic, residential, and public spaces. The harms of racism and harassment should not be overlooked because their purported targets are foreign rather than domestic. After all, those of Asian background who are Chinese citizens or are not ethnically Chinese cannot thereby avoid racism: as the Stop Asian Hate movement has highlighted, they are still attacked both verbally and physically due to their phenotypical traits. The surge of racist incidents accompanying the spread of COVID-19 shows that the “yellow peril” and the “model minority” are two sides of the same racist coin, which whites possess the absolute power to flip as needed. The negative and hostile circumstances that discriminate against Chinese are not confined to the US but are found in many other white-dominated countries as well, including Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Russia, Ukraine, and Croatia (Roberto et al., 2020). Therefore, as Shi (2020) argues, building a global anti-racist coalition is not in conflict with local anti-racism efforts, but rather is vital to combat international dimensions of racism and to dismantle global white supremacy.

Lastly, incorporating both a racial/ethnic and critical global view, this study puts forward an innovative theoretical framework, Global Asian Critical Race Theory (GlobalAsianCrit), to aid in understanding and analyzing the range of lived and educational experiences of racism faced by Chinese international students in US higher education. The tenets of Asianization in AsianCrit and the lenses of intersectionality and interest convergence in Global Critical Race Theory generate new insights both about how global white supremacy has shaped the racial realities of Asian individuals on the move within the global context and about how racial oppression works differently in different contexts. This

study also aims to raise the awareness of university administrators, policymakers, and educators of the complex issues involved when Chinese international students experience intersectional anxiety from racism and xenophobia as well as from their commodification by their own universities.

The COVID-19 pandemic has amplified the negative experiences of people of color in every aspect with far-reaching effects on their mental health and well-being (Anandavalli et al., 2021). Chinese international students have particularly been made vulnerable as they have been targeted in a time of global health crisis and uncertainty. As revealed through GlobalAsianCrit in this study, Chinese students are subject to both implicit and explicit discrimination, intersectional stigma, and the derogatory image of themselves as mere cash cows. The findings of this analysis indicate that Chinese international students are in urgent need of institutional support and preventive strategies to protect them from these and other forms of racist hatred. To sustain their hard-earned reputations worldwide, US higher education institutions should proactively include the international student population in making policy decisions and intentionally work to improve the racial and cultural climate of the university and beyond.

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CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, combined with the current US-China rivalry and anti-Asian racism on US higher education, is dramatic, even seismic, and no doubt will be longstanding. As academics are scrambling to adapt to new conditions, structures, and modes of work in the ongoing era of the coronavirus, it is important to identify strategies to make international higher education more socially equitable, inclusive, and sustainable. Greater critical reflexivity can enhance our understanding of and engagement with international students. Based on findings drawn from the three preceding chapters, in this concluding chapter, I discuss the implications for theory of this dissertation, practice, and future research to build a different way of relating with international students in the context of current economic, political, and pedagogical challenges.

To begin with, the COVID-19 has taught us that the neoliberal model of international education is falling apart (De Wit, 2020). There is therefore a renewed interest in and urgency for educators, scholars, and practitioners to rethink the field of international higher education. In considering the theoretical implications of this fact for research, ethical and political dimensions should be centrally incorporated to consider the issues of rights, responsibility, justice, and equality within global higher education. In recent years, more and more researchers and scholars have started to critically reflect on international student mobility and academic knowledge production (Stein, 2019; Yang, 2020); however, critical research on the racial realities of international students' lived experiences is still largely underdeveloped and under-researched. Given escalating hate crimes against Asians and uncertain global politics, we urgently need to make sense of Chinese international students' racialized experiences and provide appropriate ways of supporting their overseas study in the

US. Moreover, to embrace the idea of higher education for the common good, a more humanistic, multi-dimensional, and cosmopolitan framework is much needed to advance the academic discourse about international students and to promote educational equality beyond a nationalistic framing.

In addition, critical race theory (CRT) should be expanded beyond a US-centric theory of race to better understand the systems of oppression that affect international students of color, who are racialized on US college campuses. In Chapter 4, I put forward a theoretical framework, Global Asian Critical Race Theory or GlobalAsianCrit, both to move the analysis of race and racism beyond US territorial boundaries and to expand critical research from the traditional focus on immigrants and their descendants to include Asian groups temporarily on the move within the global context—such as Chinese international students. Incorporating both a racial/ethnic and a critical global view into CRT help readers understand how global white supremacy has shaped the racial realities of Asian individuals and how racial oppression works differently in different contexts. GlobalAsianCrit can be the starting point to explore the world racial system and uncover multiple layers of racism and its reproduction. It is also a perspective on scholarship that problematizes traditional one-way progressive immigration-oriented models and unravels the mechanism of power asymmetry in transnational social fields.

Next, the COVID-19 and the related rise of anti-Asian racism has taught us that international students of color are by no means immune from discrimination and racism in the US context (Koo et al., 2021; Mittelmeier & Cockayne, 2020). Despite the fact that diversity and inclusion are continuously advocated in the wake of the racial justice movements, Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate, international students' racial and

educational equality and support structures are less discussed. Thus, institutional policies should start by including global perspectives to uphold principles of educational justice for international students. For example, diversity, equity, inclusion (DEI) initiatives in US higher education institutions should be extended outwards, beyond national borders, to apply to international as well as domestic students. Meanwhile, Offices of Diversity and Inclusion should be aligning with these initiatives by having international student representatives on social justice and diversity committees. Moreover, when US institutions collect demographic data for redistributing educational resources, international students' race and ethnicity should also be taken into account to acknowledge the heterogeneity within the highly reductive category of "nonresident alien" and to understand the diverse nature of these students' learning experiences.

Lastly, I propose three practical strategies for appropriately supporting Chinese international students. First, open discussions of race, racism, and power need to be included in institutions' orientation sessions for international students. My findings in Chapter 2 demonstrate that there is a great discrepancy in students' understanding of race and racism before and after their migration. It is necessary to equip them with basic racial knowledge, such as how to identify racist comments and where to seek help when discrimination and racial stereotyping occur. Administrators and practitioners can provide much-needed space for open conversations and transparent communications around racialized incidents on campus. Further, providing general education on the sociohistorical background of race, racism, and free speech in the US can help international students better understand the complex racial reality of US institutions and the wider society. Correspondingly, speaking

honestly and openly about the state of race, racism, and race relations will help US institutions advance their DEI efforts, with the goal of moving beyond the status quo.

Secondly, administrators and staff should use an asset-based approach to designing services and workshops for international students. While various activities are designed for international students to quickly adapt to US campus culture, most available programs are still based on a deficit view of Chinese students or are rooted in racialized logics and white supremacy. For example, international student staff and administrators draw heavily on the work of immigration-oriented models (Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Berry, 1997; Oberg, 1960), believing students start off feeling positive, dip into a psychological crisis, and then recover and adjust to the new learning environment. The limitation of these models and theories is that the supposed ideal outcome for international students is either integration or adjustment to the host country instead of considering the complexities of students' identities and experiences. The asset-based practices that I recommend are intentional ways of acknowledging and leveraging the strengths of international students, including their everyday experiences, knowledge, and cultural practices to serve as resources for teaching and learning. Domestic students should not be excluded from these activities, for critical cultural awareness and cross-cultural communicative skills are essential qualities for all students to work with people from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds in various professional situations.

Thirdly, universities should structurally facilitate international students' engagement with domestic students and wider local communities. My findings in Chapter 3 show that Chinese students may express prejudicial attitudes toward other people of color, especially African Americans. More interracial contact can help both international and domestic

students disrupt their stereotypes about one another. Hence, this form of support for international students can foster their sense of belonging or cohesiveness in a specific campus organization or athletic association. In Phan et al.'s study (2019), Vietnamese international students reported that the most practical strategy to connect students of different backgrounds was through student clubs. In light of such work, US institutions can reinvest some of the income generated by international student tuition toward creating and supporting student clubs and extracurricular activities. After all, feeling oneself to be a member of an interest group is much easier compared to the broad idea of integration into the dominant group.

Finally, I propose that the following topics should be investigated in a post-pandemic world. First, it is important to explore the mental health issues of international students. Against the backdrop of the global pandemic and the resurgence of anti-Asian racism, international students, especially those of Asian descent, suffer more blatant racism, which results in an increased likelihood of fear, anger, sadness, and mental health concerns, such as stress, anxiety, and depression (Anandavalli et al., 2021). More research should explore the effects of anti-Asian racism on mental, physical, and social health. Second, international undergraduate and graduate students have confronted different challenges, so exploring heterogeneity within this diverse group of students can support the specific needs of both international undergraduates and graduates. For example, how do these two groups perceive, experience, and reflect on racism, geopolitics, and their future careers? Do they hold similar views or not? What are the underlying reasons for their views? Third, the intersectionality of international students, along lines of class, gender, age, and nationality are important to investigate to reach a better understanding of how these identities shape students' learning

experiences and perspectives. Fourth, based on my own research outcomes as well as previous research studies (e.g., Yao et al., 2019; Yeo et al., 2019), it is clear that international students of color are also “raced” in the US, so the process of racialization that these students undergo is a crucial topic to investigate. Lastly, considering the worldwide spread of geopolitical tensions and neonationalism, student mobility as the core of internationalization is a key topic for future work. More efforts should be made to make international student mobility more socially equitable and sustainable.

Taken together, in the sociopolitical context of US-China geopolitical tensions, the global COVID-19 pandemic, and anti-Asian racism, Chinese international students have been made particularly vulnerable. I conclude with a recent remark by African American educator and scholar Gloria Ladson-Billings. She said, instead of being a process or a condition, “Race in the United States is a project, because it is an ongoing, dynamic, evolutionary, never-ending concept of being” (Ladson-Billings, 2020, p. 225). To make sure Chinese international students do not drop into the complex racial milieu of the US without preparation, all the entities involved in the international higher education process (US higher education institutions, organizations, policymakers, education researchers, and practitioners) should make concerted efforts and take active steps to prepare the international student population to navigate, confront, and change a racist world.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

A-1 Recruitment notice posted through social media (e.g., WeChat, Facebook, Instagram) — Chinese version



线上访谈研究被试招募

亲爱的UCSB本科同学们，

正如你们所知的，这场突如其来的新冠疫情，彻底打破传统意义上的留学经历，除此之外，美国总统所颁布的公告使中国学生的境遇雪上加霜，不仅更难获得签证，而且使重返美国继续学习也变得困难重重。


因此，我想要在这个暑假开展一项及时的研究计划来了解中国本科留学生对于疫情下留学的看法和态度。

凡是完成一小时左右线上访谈的同学 (无论你目前在美国，还是在中国)，即可获得价值**20美金的亚马逊电子购物卡**。


如果你有兴趣参与这项研究，或是想进一步了解这项研究，请邮件联系我，jing02@ucsb.edu，或者加我微信，[yujing200318090](https://www.wechat.com/p/qr?qr=7200318090)

UC SANTA BARBARA

本项研究已经通过加州
大学圣芭芭拉分校项目
伦理委员会批准
(IRB# 68-20-0420)



A-2 Recruitment notice posted through social media (e.g., WeChat, Facebook, Instagram) — English version



**PARTICIPANTS NEEDED
FOR ZOOM INTERVIEWS**

Dear Chinese undergraduate fellows at UCSB,

As you've noticed, this sudden COVID-19 pandemic has totally disrupted traditional student mobility experiences. In addition, the president's proclamation made it even more difficult for Chinese students to get student visa and re-enter into the US for overseas study.


Hence, I would like to conduct a timely research project this summer to explore Chinese undergraduate students' perspectives and attitudes toward study abroad.

Upon completion of the hour-long zoom interview, any participant will be rewarded the value of **\$20 Amazon gift card for your time.**

If you are interested in participating or learning more about this study, please email me at jing02@ucsb.edu or add me through WeChat, [yujing200318090](https://www.wechat.com/qrcode?qr_code=16311111111111111111)

UC SANTA BARBARA

This research has been approved by UCSB IRB 68-20-0420



Appendix B

Participant Consent Form: Chinese Undergraduate Students

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. Jing Yu, who is a doctoral candidate from Department of Education at University of California Santa Barbara. Ms. Jing Yu is conducting this study for her dissertation. Dr. Mary Bucholtz is her advisor for this research project.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Before deciding whether to participate, please read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand. You are being asked to participate in this study because you are Chinese international student enrolled at University of California Santa Barbara.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The general purpose of this research is to explore how COVID-19 affects Chinese students' perspectives on their decisions to continue, defer, or drop study abroad for the next academic year and beyond. Likewise, the study will examine students' attitudes toward how the U.S. government and their university are coping with the virus.

PROCEDURES

If you choose to be in this study, Ms. Jing Yu will have an interview with you to learn more about your insiders' perspectives on study abroad decisions in the midst of COVID-19 pandemic crisis. The interview will be conducted and recoded using Zoom, which will last about one hour. Please be aware that under Zoom's terms and conditions, Zoom may have access to audio/or video recordings.

You can skip questions that you do not wish to answer or stop the interview at any time. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your grade, standing in any group, organization, etc.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All the electronic data and hardcopy data will only be used for research purpose and will not be used for any public purpose. Small segments (2-3 minutes) of such recordings may be used during research conferences, but any names the participants mention in their interviews will remain audibly unaltered in the file, any transcripts or reports made based on this data contain only pseudonyms for participants and any other names mentioned. With your permission, your identity will not be made known in written materials resulting from this study.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

You will receive the value of \$20 Amazon gift card for participation in this study. There is also no cost to you for participation.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATOR

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Ms. Jing Yu

PhD Candidate
Gevirtz Graduate School of Education
University of California, Santa Barbara

Goleta, CA 93117

614-364-6788

Jing02@ucsb.edu

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

The University of California, Human Subjects Committee, Office of Research, Santa Barbara, has reviewed my request to conduct this project. If you have any concerns about your rights in this study, please contact Human Subjects Committee at 805-893-3807 or email hsc@research.ucsb.edu.

____Signature of participant Printed Name Date

Appendix C

Notification statement

Dear Chinese undergraduate fellows at UCSB,

My name Jing Yu. I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Education. I am writing to talk about a research study that I am conducting and want to ask for your help and participation.

My research relates to international student mobility and lived experiences of international students in the context of American higher education. As you've noticed, this sudden COVID-19 pandemic has totally disrupted traditional student mobility experiences. In addition, the president's proclamation made it even more difficult for Chinese students to get student visa and enter into the US for overseas study. Hence, I would like to conduct a timely research project this summer to explore Chinese students' perspectives on decisions to continue, defer, or drop study abroad for the next academic year and beyond. This research is helpful to provide institutional admissions and international student offices with sufficient information to restructure strategies for better accommodating Chinese international students' needs in the midst of COVID-19. As such, your participation will be really valuable and important to make that happen.

I plan to recruit 20-25 Chinese undergraduate student participants enrolled at UCSB for focus-group or individual Zoom interviews. Please be aware that all this information will be confidential, and your privacy will be protected. If the results of the study are published or presented, I will not use the name of people, department and any other information to

disclose your identity. Upon completion of the hour-long interview, any participant will be rewarded the value of \$20 Amazon gift card for your time in this study.

Thank you very much for your consideration, If you are interested in participating in this study, please email me at jing02@ucsb.edu or add me through WeChat, [yujing200318090](https://www.wechat.com/qrcode/add?qr=yujing200318090).

Sincerely,

Jing Yu

Appendix D

D-1 Interview questions via Zoom (July 2020)

COVID-19 online learning:

1. 整体来说，你觉得网上授课怎么样？优点有哪些？缺点有哪些？
2. 在疫情期间，你觉得上网课最大的挑战是什么？最大的担忧是什么？
3. 疫情是怎么样打乱你的生活节奏的？什么发生了改变？可以谈谈学习方面的，也可以谈谈生活方面的。
4. 疫情是怎么样打乱你的留学经历的？（有没有什么你原本想做的，但是因为新冠而选择放弃或者转变想法？）
5. 那你是怎么应对这些挑战的？
6. 那你是怎么调整你自己来适应这个“new normal”新常态的（尤其是心理上）？
7. 你觉得美国政府这次应对疫情的做法怎么样？
8. 你觉得 UCSB 这次应对疫情的做法怎么样？你觉得有什么地方是可以被改善的？
9. 你觉得在跟学校沟通或者了解信息等方面，是否顺畅？你对学校有些什么建议？
10. 你觉得这次疫情期间你获得足够的学校支持吗？
 - OISS
 - 你自己系里的支持？
 - 你自己 academic advisor？
 - 课程的教授？ TA？
 - Resident housing？
 - 心理咨询 CAPS？
 - Student health？
 - Food Bank？
 - CSSA？ CSA？

你觉得有什么地方是可以被改善的？

11. 秋季主要还是网上授课，你会继续你的学业吗？
如果会，什么原因让你继续？
如果不会，什么原因让你 defer or drop (safety? Well-being? Travel ban? Finance?)
12. 你和父母或者同学有没有聊过，现在回过头来，对于留学美国这个决定，你们是怎么想的？你父母是怎么觉得的？你同学是怎么说的？那你自己呢？

Xenophobic policies:

13. 你知道美国颁布的一系列的公告吗？
 - a. Military-civic fusion strategy?
 - b. 禁止 H1B, J1 入境
 - c. ICE Ban on international students

你觉得一系列排外的政策对你留学有影响吗？
你觉得越来越糟的中美关系对你的留学有影响吗？

14. OISS 也接连在公告颁布之后，发了邮件给国际学生，你觉得 OISS 或者学校在应对上做得怎么样？你觉得有什么地方是可以被改善的？
15. 你毕业后打算上研究生，还是直接找工作？
 - a. 你还想在美国读研究生？（GRE 取消了，会促使你考研吗？）
 - b. 你对于你未来的就业是怎么看的？
你觉得中美贸易战会影响你的就业选择吗？
你觉得中国的崛起会影响你的就业选择吗？
你觉得美国的反移民的政策会影响你的就业选择吗？

Media questions:

16. 你有没有看到类似的媒体报道？你当下是什么心情？
Positive image: (口罩。。捐款。。。)
Negative image: (show 祖国建设你不在。。。巨婴，富二代，间谍。。。)
中美关系 (it's new Chinese exclusion act...)

官方眼中的留学生？中国官方/中国民众
大众眼中的留学生？美国 higher education/民众
你自己在心态上会怎么应对？

17. 最近 Black Lives Matters 抗议游行在社交媒体讨论得也比较热烈，你觉得身为留学生你是怎么看美国的种族问题？你觉得身为少数族裔，你是否在美国感受过种族带来的不公，偏见，甚至歧视？

Fact Check:

父母的职业？

是否 once made the decision to study in the US, already have the 4-year tuition in hand?

是否是家中 only child?

D-2 Individualized questions via WeChat (April 2021)

#1 Wenwen

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动，Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 你之前表达过你高中亚裔的同学想让你转学去加拿大，觉得那里会更加安全，你也说到本来你是想在美国境内转学，但是考虑到现在的中美关系，你可能会转学到其他国家，现在你是怎么想的？我刚刚提到的一些事件会影响到你吗？
3. 你同时也说到，亚裔好像不怎么敢发声，这次的 Stop Asian Hate 运动有没有改变你的看法？
4. 你平时和同学或者父母会聊到美国最近亚裔发声的事情吗？你们一般聊什么？

#2 Yunxiang

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？你最后去 UCSB 还是 UW？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 上次采访中，你谈到“不涉及不讨论”，你现在还是这么想的吗？
3. 你上次谈到“我们也不会上街游行，然后就在家待着好好学习”关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？这次的 Stop Asian Hate 运动很多亚裔甚至亚裔留学生上街游行，你会觉得惊讶吗？为什么？
4. 上次采访中，你说你肯定会被歧视，但是不知道会以怎么样的形式，现在你会更加清楚吗？你觉得你可能会受到怎么样的歧视？

#3 Lele

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 上次采访中，你说你不知道为什么他们要来歧视你，现在你清楚一点吗？
3. 上次采访中，你提到两种方式应对可能的歧视，一种是报警，另外一种就是避而远之，你觉得现在你还会这么做吗？为什么？

4 Kelvin

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

1. 你现在是在美国还是中国？
2. 你有没有继续网上授课？
3. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 3.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 3.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 3.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 3.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

5 Qichen

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

- 我看到你的朋友圈，你现在是在中国，对吧？你有没有继续网上授课？
1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
 2. 上次采访中，当我问你关于 racial issues 的时候，你说“人家亚裔都是什么 domestic 的，你 international student 根本就不在考虑范围之内的”关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？
 3. 上次采访中，你谈到亚裔在美国的历史，你了解的很有限，你有在这方面获得更多的讯息吗？

#6 Kress

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，

1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？

1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？

1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？

1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

2. 上次采访中，你说到你在马路上莫名其妙被喊“Chinese Virus”你当时有没有预感到美国会爆发这么多仇恨亚裔的事件？

3. 上次采访中，你也谈到了因为肤色的原因，被歧视是不可避免的，但有些同学认为自己是中国人的，亚裔的事情跟自己关系不大，关于这个观点，你是怎么想的？

#7 Karen

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，

1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？

1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？

1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？

- 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 上次采访中，你谈到 Black Lives Matter 有一点过了，那你觉得这次的“Stop Asian Hate”呢？你是怎么看待亚裔争取权益的？
3. 上次采访中，你同时也谈到 Black Lives Matter movement 是在发泄自己的情绪，不能真正解决问题，关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？

#8 Angela

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

- 你现在是在美国还是中国？
你有没有继续网上授课？
1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
 2. 在访谈中，你谈到因为你的高中是在新加坡读的，你觉得“新加坡各种种族人比较融合，就融洽的生活在一起，然后大家都会忘记是来自不同种族，其实肤色甚至口音或者习惯不太一样，但都能打到一片完成一块，但是在美国的话，你就经常看到抱团，就是白人只跟白人玩，然后 ABC 抱一个团，然后来自中国留学生报一个团就很难接触在一起”你能展开说说吗？你觉得会是什么原因呢？美国可以从新加坡这里学到什么？
 3. 在访谈中，你也谈到有时你都分不清是歧视呢还是排外，因为都是跟政策相关的，比如实习的机会，比如奖学金，你能展开说说吗？

#9 Yiyi

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

2.上次采访中，你谈到 racial issues 会比较敏感，你不会在公开场合去讨论，关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？

3. 上次采访中，你谈到好像黑人一直在强调他们是弱势群体，是有区别的，自从废除黑奴之后，这种强调没有消失过，关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？

4.上次采访中，你谈到虽然留学生是边缘群体，但是你认为“保护自己国民的利益的的话，给自己国家的人更多的机会，是没有错的。”关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？

#10 Xiang

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 上次采访中，你谈到你不属于任何一个 racial group, 关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？
3. 上次采访中，亚裔群体不是特别团结，你觉得这次的“Stop Asian Hate”运动有没有改变你的想法，为什么？

#11 Ruby

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 上次采访中，你谈到“种族问题，我觉得就属于美国的文化中的一个部分。所以如果我想要完全的逃离他，那是不可能的”但有些同学认为自己是中国人，亚裔的事情跟自己关系不大，关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？
3. 上次采访中，你同时谈到，亚裔在美国不受重视的原因，亚裔习惯息事宁人，不去争取自己的权益，你觉得这次的“Stop Asian Hate”运动有没有改变你的想法，为什么？

#12 Eva

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

2. 上次采访中，你无意提到国际生回国，即使有些人有偏见，但是起码长得是中国人的脸，但是在美国，你走在大街上，你长这个样子可能就会有人来打你，我当时觉得你夸张了，但是一年不到，你说的的确在美国发生了，你当时有没有预感到美国会爆发这么多仇恨亚裔的事件？

3. 上次采访中，你同时提到“在美国受到不公平的对待，这个已经是一个你能接受的基本事实了”关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？

#13 Cheng

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？

1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？

1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

2. 上次采访中“Black lives matter”运动可能会缓解一点。但实际上没有太多本质上的改变，关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？

3. 上次采访中，你提到被歧视的一般是社会底层，那中国留学生在美国所处的是什么位置？

#14 Shelly

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你有没有继续网上授课？

1. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，

1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？

1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？

1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？

1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

2. 上次采访中，你说种族问题就是黑人和白人之间像是那种内斗，然后其实亚裔就完全没有融入，没有进入过这场内斗，你觉得 Stop Asian Hate”运动，有没有改变你的看法？

3. 上次采访中，你提到亚裔在美国是“外人”，那中国留学生在美国所处的是什么位置？

#15 Rui

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，

- 1.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 1.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 1.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 1.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
2. 上次采访中，你说“中国留学生觉得种族问题跟自己的关系不大，4年之后他们可能就回去了，他们 it's not really related to them”，你觉得美国发生的一系列仇视亚裔事件是否很大程度上改变了他们的看法？
 3. 有些同学认为自己是中国人，亚裔的事情跟自己关系不大，关于这个观点，你是怎么想的？

#16 Feifei

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

1. 你现在是在美国还是中国？
2. 你毕业后是选择工作，还是读 graduate school？
3. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 3.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 3.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 3.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 3.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
4. 上次采访中，你谈到你没有受到种族的不公，理由是可能是加州亚裔比较多，你感觉还很好，但是我们知道这次发生得最多的就是亚洲人多的地方，所以亚裔多好像也不能避免歧视，偏见和不公，对比，你是怎么看？

#17 Elly

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

1. 你现在是在美国还是中国？
2. 你毕业后是选择工作，还是读 graduate school？
3. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 3.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 3.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 3.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 3.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
4. 上次采访中，你提到种族歧视是不可避免的，在国外生活的时候也必须考虑到这个原因，就是多多少少别人都会问你有偏见，关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？
5. 上次采访中，你提到“留学生只能形成一个自己的团体，能团结亚裔的跟留学生的只有长相，其他都是很不一样的”关于这个观点，你现在是怎么想的？
6. 上次采访中，你说明显的种族歧视会越来越少，比如骂你眼睛小什么的，但是这次仇视亚裔的暴力事件越来越多，你怎么看？

#18 Shi

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。

基本情况：

你现在是在美国还是中国？

你毕业后是选择工作，还是读 graduate school？

我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，

3.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？

3.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？

3.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？

3.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

#19 Ranpeng

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。

基本情况：

1. 你现在是在美国还是中国？
2. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 2.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 2.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 2.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 2.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？
3. 上次采访中，你也说到留学生不是在多种族，多民族的环境里长大，所以种族问题上的知识也很有限，你觉得“Black lives matter”和“Stop Asian Hate”有没有帮助你更好地了解美国社会？

#20 Han Zhang

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

1. 你现在是在美国还是中国？
2. 你毕业后是选择工作，还是读 graduate school？
3. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 3.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 3.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？

3.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？

3.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

#21 Teng

谢谢你去年七月接受我的采访，时间过得真快，我这里想 follow up 一下，看看你的观点和看法是否随着时间的流逝和事态的变化有所改变。你能打一段小作文给我吗？再次表示感谢

基本情况：

1. 你现在是在美国还是中国？
2. 你毕业后是选择工作，还是读 graduate school？
3. 我之前采访的时候，正值“Black lives matter”运动，所以我相应得问了你一些关于种族之类的问题，现在“Stop Asian Hate”运动也进行得如火如荼，
 - 3.1 你对 Stop Asian Hate 运动有所了解吗？
 - 3.2 你通常获取信息的渠道有哪些？
 - 3.3 在你看来，你觉得 Black lives matter 运动， Stop Asian Hate 运动，这两个事件什么让你印象最为深刻，你能分别说一下吗？
 - 3.4 最近在美国发生的一系列事件，会对你的留学造成影响吗？你会有什么样的焦虑？

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