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**REDEFINING "IMMIGRANTS": THE TRANSMIGRANT EDUCATIONAL
EXPERIENCE OF 1.5-GENERATION CHINESE YOUTH**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

EDUCATION

by

Xiangyan Liu

June 2015

The Dissertation of Xiangyan Liu is
approved:

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Abstract

Redefining "Immigrants": The Transmigrant Educational Experience of 1.5-

Generation Chinese youth

Xiangyan Liu

Through the intersection of immigrant education, diaspora studies, theories on transnational migration and transnational social field, this dissertation investigates the variation within the Chinese immigrant community and nuances resulting from the interplay between immigration and education in the United States. The group of 1.5-generation youth is defined as those born in Mainland China (i.e., excluding Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau) who immigrated to the United States before the age of 13, having had some schooling in China.

The research for the dissertation came in two phases: Phase I was conducted in San Francisco in 2010-2013 and was followed by Phase II in Silicon Valley in 2013-2015. In total, 60 people were chosen to participate in the research. It combines an ethnographic approach with narrative inquiry and includes extensive use of the Internet, leading to a redefinition of the research field and traditional boundaries between researcher and participants. Cyberspace has been an essential tool in providing a more thorough examination and analysis of the responses from these youth. Extensive data analysis for Phase I generated four main themes: 1/ changing perceptions of U.S. schooling; 2/ belonging to two countries; 3/ communicating globally; and 4/ a desire for insular grouping. In Phase II, three main themes were generated: 1/ variation in backgrounds of Chinese immigrant families; 2/

youth's perceptions on transmigrant status; and, 3/ parents' educational aspirations and desires.

This research focusing on the educational experiences of contemporary 1.5-generation Chinese youth compels us to rethink the complexity of diaspora, immigration, education and the interplay of historical, cultural, social, political and economic factors. Perspectives offered by the youth, their parents, and school educators provide alternative lenses through which we can interrogate differences between the mentalities held by a range of Chinese recent immigrant families. Hopefully the nuanced findings from this research will enable us to critically redefine the term "immigrant" in the context of globalization and transnationalism.

Acknowledgements

It is a journey of miracles. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to a group of people for their patience, advice, support and inspiration.

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I would like to thank other two dissertation committee members for their encouragement, comments and suggestions. I am lucky to have had rigorous and countless feedback from Dr. Rod Ogawa since my first year. Tears were in my eyes when he finally said, "You deserve it." I am also grateful to have worked with Dr. Alice Yang as a Teaching Assistant for World War II Memories, one of the popular classes on campus. Her expertise and advice reshaped my view of Asian American history and fueled my passion for conducting interdisciplinary research.

It is impossible to list every faculty's name to express my appreciation, but I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Cindy Cruz and Dr. Ron Glass in the Education Department, Dr. Gail Hershatter in the Department of History and Dr. Lisa

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Research Background

The U.S. 2010 census shows that the United States has the largest number of

immigrants in the world at more than 38 million; about one quarter of all youth are

immigrants (Suárez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias & Sutin, 2011). From 2000 to 2010, the

population of white children nationwide declined by 4.3 million, while that of

Hispanic and Asian children grew by 5.5 million (Frey, 2011). In 2011, Asians

surpassed Hispanics as the largest group of new immigrants to the United States (Pew

Research Center, 2012). Out of this group, about 23% are Chinese,[1] making up the

largest percentage of the Asian group in the United States. Approximately 61% of

Chinese in the United States are foreign born (U.S. Census, 2006-2010).

Based on the Act of 1965, immigration priority was given to family

reunification and skilled workers (Keely, 1971). Today Mainland China has a quota

of 20,000 immigrants per year, which is a major increase compared to the previous

quota of 105 that existed since 1944. Their continual flow to the United States not

only adds to the present population of Chinese but also complicates what it means to

be Chinese in the United States. While the increase of Chinese immigrants is a

relatively recent phenomenon, the Chinese started arriving in the mid-nineteenth

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[1] *American Factfinder* definition of Chinese at
http://factfinder2.census.gov/help/en/american_factfinder_help.htm#:
Chinese—Includes people who indicate their race as "Chinese" or report entries such as China or Chinese
American.

century, earlier than any other Asian group and even earlier than many European groups. However, this long history of migration has not changed the fact that the Chinese American community remains an immigrant-dominant enclave (Zhou, 2009).

For most immigrant families, adult parents are the ones who made the decision to immigrate even though the presence of their children is central to the decision-making process. Children fundamentally shape the nature and course of a family's migration experience (Orellana, Thorne, Chee & Lam, 2001). Studies have elucidated the active role of immigrant children as cultural brokers for their families (Morales & Hanson, 2005; Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003). A sizeable literature on migration and education has begun to address the importance of education in driving immigration flows and the role of children and youth in accumulating social and cultural capital within the immigrant families (Finch & Kim, 2012; Waters, 2005, Huang & Yeoh, 2005). This is also the reality for the new Chinese immigrant families in the United States. However, less attention has been paid to their education because they are often labeled part of the "model minority,"[2] who are viewed as not being educationally disadvantaged (Qin, 2006; Yeh, Pituc, Kim & Atkins, 2008). Chinese are not a homogenous group. As noted earlier researchers are dealing with a population that spans over a hundred years of residence in the United States with family reunification continuing at all levels, and skilled plus capital investment immigration initiated in the past two decades.

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[2] The term was first appeared in the popular press in 1966, in which Japanese Americans were praised for not being a "problem minority". In the same year, the success of Chinese Americans was published in the mass media too (Lee, 2009).

For studies that pertain to Chinese immigrant education, their themes primarily focus on academic achievement (Kaufman, 2004; Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008; Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang & Wang, 2003), English language proficiency, and second language acquisition (Lam, 2004; Tsai, 2006; Yeh, et al., 2008; Zhou et al., 2003), social capital, and network formation (Tsai, 2006; Wong, 2008; Zhou & Kim, 2006). In addition, most of the studies conducted in a single United States context, either school (Kaufman, 2004, Qin et al., 2008), home (Louie, 2001; Qin, 2006), or community (Tsai, 2006; Wong, 2008; Zhou et al., 2006), very few investigate their identity formation and transmigrant life trajectories by examining the affiliations that these youth make as they engage in social practices that often stretch across national boundaries (Lam, 2004, p.45).

As is known to all, immigrant students are not only brought to the public spheres such as schools and communities but the cultural and linguistic diversity is also moved with them. The large and growing number of immigrant students began to challenge the ideology of linking identity and belonging into one singular language and cultural tradition in educational settings (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2011). Meanwhile, the definition of education has been reshaped in the era of globalization. Students are no longer positioned singularly in a certain school; this is particularly true for immigrant students. Rather, they are situated in a complex historical, political, cultural and global context, where the negotiation of their memberships in multiple life worlds and cultivation of complex multiple identities took place (Hall, 1997; Levitt & Waters; 2002, Suarez-Orozco & Qin Hillard, 2004). Schools must

develop more diversified institutional structures and educational policies to nurture

the students with skills, competencies, and global consciousness (Spring, 2009;

Suárez-Orozco, 2007; Suárez-Orozco & Sattin-Bajaj, 2010).

In American scholarship, the dominant approach to immigrant education is the

U.S. based anthropological inquiry, which advocates a national assimilationist

framework. A large body of literature belongs to this tradition that emphasizes

immigrant youth and their education in the singular U.S. setting (Gibson & Ogbu,

1991; Igoa, 1995; Ports & Zhou, 1993; Rong & Preissle, 2009; Rumbaut & Cornelius,

1995), and some focus on those from Asia (Lee, 2005; Louie, 2004; Lee & Zhou,

2004; Nakanishi & Nishida, 1994; Zhou, 2009). This approach views immigration as

a unit of analysis in the U.S. context and tends to assume nation-state as a powerful

site for assimilation, incorporation, and mainstreaming into a nationally defined

society (Lukose, 2007). Immigration as a category is no longer adequate in providing

a lens to understand the back and forth movements of people in the United States

(Shukla, 2003). Under the current educational agenda, immigrant students are simply

and persistently ushered to follow the direction of becoming future U.S. residents and

later citizens. Education is utilized as an unquestionably efficient tool to provide the

immigrant students with strategies to better acculturate into the U.S. culture and

society. The U.S. based systems of education seldom recognize the students'

immigration experiences, let alone respond adequately to their various needs shaped

by transnational migration.

Until recently, the transnational migrant experiences of immigrant students have begun to catch scholarly attention (Brittain, 2002; Sanchez, 2007; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). However, how to capture and respond to the transnational experience of immigrant students has become a daunting task for many schools. Although school districts are aware of transnational movements among their students, there is no clear connection to link the global lifestyles with the pedagogy in the classroom (Sanchez, 2007). It is imperative that anthropological studies consider reconstructing a theoretical framework to examine the transnational context for immigrant students. This framework will further reform the institutional structures designed to meet the needs of students who arrive in the host countries due to larger global forces (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

Through the lens of diaspora and transnational migration, my dissertation investigates the variation within the Chinese immigrant community in terms of immigrant and generational status, region of origin, linguistic, socioeconomic (SES) background and the nuances resulting from the interplay between immigration and education. The field of immigrant education has benefited from the usage of the term 1.5-generation since the 1980s (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Lee, 2001; Louie, 2001; Wong, 2008). The group of 1.5-generation is defined as foreign-born youth who are younger than 12 upon their arrival in the United States (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Wong, 2008). Louie (2001) identifies them as foreign-born children who immigrated to the United States before the age of 11 and are educated and socialized in the United States (p. 467). Lee (2001) describes them as foreign-born individuals who arrived in

the United States as children and are largely educated and socialized in the United States (p. 507). Rumbaut and Ima (1988) have distinguished the group of 1.5- from first generation, who were formed in the homeland but made the decision to leave the home county (p.22). Based on their work, I define this group as those individuals born in Mainland China (i.e., excluding Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau) and who immigrated to the United States before the age of 13 with certain years of schooling in China.

I locate my dissertation in the San Francisco Bay Area, which has a large Chinese population of new immigrants. According to the U.S. Census (2007-2011), the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont Metro Area (SF Bay Area), which includes about a total of 421,078 Chinese, has the highest percentage of Chinese—9.8% as compared to 3.8% in the Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana Metro Area and 3.4% in the New York–Northern New Jersey–Long Island Metro Area. Another reason to select the SF Bay Area as the research site is its historical significance for Chinese immigrants. San Francisco Chinatown is the oldest Chinatown in the United States. Many immigrants moved from Guangdong province, China to reconnect with their family members who had settled down in the SF Bay Area. Meanwhile, Chinese have flowed into the Silicon Valley[3] since the 1960s making themselves the largest immigrant group working in the high-tech industry (Wong, 2006). The "Silicon

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[3] In his book, Wong discusses four types of Chinese reside in Silicon Valley. The first type is Chinese Americans who were born in U.S. and have roots in San Francisco or Northern California. The second type is made of foreign students from Hong Kong and Taiwan who adjusted their visas to permanent resident since the 1960s. The third type is engineers from Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China with advanced degrees who started residing in the area since the 1980s. The fourth type is from Southeast Asia or other places during the 1970s and after 2000 (Wong, 2006, p. 22).

Rush" between the 1980s and 1990s attracted new Chinese immigrants from China, who were graduates with advanced degrees, which they had earned in U.S. colleges and universities. In the 1990s, families arriving from China tend to be better off financially and educationally than their forbearers, bringing cultural and economic capital to urban as well as suburban areas (Jiménez & Horowitz, 2013). Today, the large proportion of immigrant youth from China, especially those from middle/upper-class backgrounds whose parents demanded extensive academic preparation, has challenged the American concept of education, while it also has impacted local communities and educational institutions at various levels. Therefore, the SF Bay Area suits perfectly as the research site for my investigation on Chinese immigrant education.

Since education of youth is the central topic for my research, I conducted the fieldwork in the SF Bay Area with a focus on two public high schools. One is located in the city of San Francisco, which mostly draws from families who have come for family reunification, and the other is located in the suburban enclave of Cupertino, which attracted families based on the demand for education and skills. As the research proceeded, another group of Chinese immigrants through capital investment from my personal networks began to catch my attention. I documented their perspectives to complement with the views found in San Francisco and Cupertino. In total, 60 people were chosen to participate in the research.

My dissertation consists of two research phases. Phase I began in October 2010 in San Francisco. Phase II continued from September 2013 to May 2015 in

Silicon Valley. My study started with a single research question: "Why did your parents come to the United States?" The responses to their parents' motivation for immigration were overwhelmingly similar: to provide a better educational opportunity for themselves. This confirms the optimistic hypothesis of immigrants as discussed in Louie (2001) and Ogbu and Simons (1998) who note that better opportunities are perceived as being gained through immigration. In Phase II of the research, I explored the experiences of the youth and their families to challenge the oversimplification of Chinese immigrants as a homogeneous ethnic group in the United States.

From my study in Phase I, I examined how the youth have experienced their status as immigrants and what contextual factors shaped the experience. Throughout Phase II, I paid close attention to the variation in backgrounds of the families and critically examined the status of being an immigrant youth as part of the production of a national assimilationist framework, in particular how their education has been influenced by their transnational migration. I further analyzed educational aspirations and desires of the families in their children's education. Through in-depth interviews, observations, and participation in the schools and communities, this research assists in redefining the term "immigrant" in the context of globalization and transnationalism.

The Research Questions

It is hard to raise questions in any educational research unless the concept of education can be clarified. The view of education is contestable (Pring, 2000). From

my own experiences of living and being educated in China, education in the context of China is not limited to activities within the school setting. Education is situated in a larger context, where it also includes activities and practices in family and community. Therefore, my dissertation attempts to view education in a broadest sense as learning and teaching practices in and out of school. Educational experience refers to students' experiences in the intersection of school-family-community that help with their development and growth.

My research is not to find the causal relationship between the transnational migrant experience and education. Instead, I will portray how this group of youth perceive their transnational migrant experiences and interpret their positions. In order to identify some of these issues, my dissertation examines the following two questions: 1/ how do the 1.5-generation Chinese youth perceive their transnational migrant status and position themselves in and out of schools? 2/ what kind of educational aspirations and desires have been constructed by Chinese immigrant families in the process of their transnational migration?

Organization of the Dissertation

My dissertation consists of nine chapters. I first review the literature on Chinese immigrant education in Chapter 2 by looking at its relevance and implication for my dissertation. Chapter 3 attempts to explore how the post-1965 wave of Chinese immigration in the United States and the historical contexts for education in China develop a backdrop for education of contemporary Chinese immigrant youth.

Chapter 4 provides a theoretical framework of diaspora on immigrant education by a critical examination of diaspora and transnational migration theories, and an analysis of the Chinese diaspora in the United States. This theoretical framework assists in providing an alternative lens to examine the everyday practices and experiences of the youth. The next chapter lays out the research procedures by discussing strategies of combining ethnographic approach with narrative inquiry, access to the geographic research site and cyberspace, reflection of the researcher's role, and the relationships with the participants. Methods of collecting and analyzing data are also discussed.

Chapter 6 presents the findings from Research Phase I by focusing on the youth's perceptions on experiencing their status as immigrants. The findings also provide implementation for my Research Phase II to explore the transmigrant educational experiences of the youth. Chapter 7 presents the findings from Research Phase II by analyzing three key themes, these include variations in backgrounds of the Chinese immigrant families, youth's perceptions on their transmigrant status, and parents' educational aspirations and desires. Each key theme categorizes and interprets three to six subthemes. In total, 12 subthemes are generated from extensive data analysis.

Chapter 8 provides a thorough discussion on the findings about immigration and education. It also addresses the urgency of redefining immigrants and reconceptualizing the meaning of education in the context of globalization and transnational migration. I also provide implications to educators, parents, educational

researchers, and discuss the limitations of this research. Chapter 9 claims the

conclusion.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The fact that various immigration laws and policies prevented Chinese women from entering the United States in the pre-1965 era resulted in limiting the number of children born to Chinese parents. Before the 1970s, no research had been conducted on Chinese immigrant children due to the U.S. Exclusion Act of 1882 (1882-1943) and the fact that Chinese immigrant children were almost unknown in terms of quantity (Chao & Sung, 1977). It was not until recently that studies have begun to stress this issue. Accordingly, this chapter reviews the literature on education of Chinese immigrant youth conducted in the post-1965 era.

Research in the Post-1965 Era

Since the abolishment of the previous preference system, which favored certain countries in Europe, the Immigration Act of 1965 increased the number of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific Rim. Since the mid-1960s, Asia and Latin America have made up the main flow of the fourth wave legal immigration to the United States and changed the United States from a largely biracial society to a multiracial and multiethnic society (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. The Race-Ethnic Composition of the U.S. Population in 1790 and 2000
(Rong et al., 2009)

1970

- African 19%
- British 60%
- Others 21%

2000

- African American 12.8%
- Asian 4.3%
- Hispanic 14.4%
- Non-Hispanic White 67%
- Others 1.5%
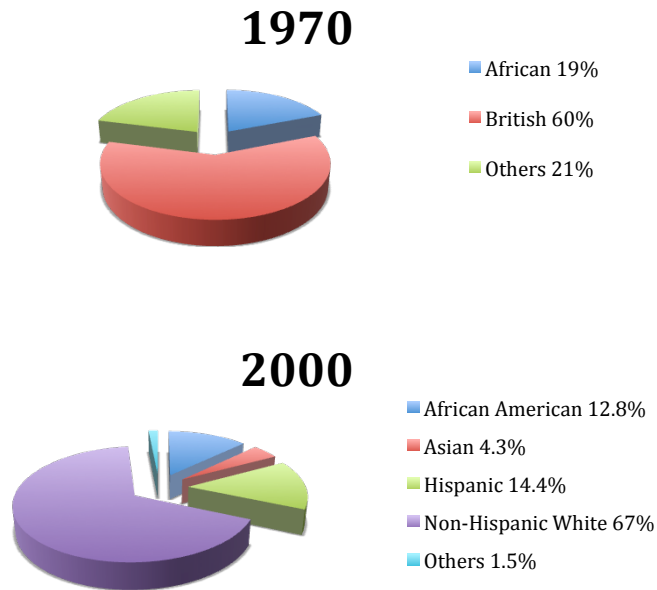
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (2003, 2007).

From 1960 to 1990, the growth of Chinese population in the United States almost doubled every decade (Li & Skop, 2010). Table 2.2 illustrates the increase from 1860 to 2008. The rapid growth since the 1960s is clearly shown in the table.

Table 2.2. Chinese population and immigration by decade, 1860-2008 (Li et al., 2010).

Law in Effect	
A:	Open
B:	Open until Burlingame Treaty in 1868
C:	Burlingame Treaty until 1882, then Chinese Exclusion Act
D:	Chinese Exclusion Act and 1924 Act
E:	Chinese Exclusion Act, then Repeal Act in 1943
F:	Chinese Repeal Act, then Asia-Pacific triangle in 1952
G:	Asia-Pacific triangle, then 1965 amendments
H:	1965 amendments and separate Taiwan quota; 1990 Immigration Act
I:	H-1B quota increased

The rapid growth of Chinese immigrants began to attract scholars' attention. Research has been conducted over the past few decades on Chinese immigrants, especially the youth from the perspective of psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and education. Various themes, for example, English language acquisition, language socialization, cultural adjustment, social network formation, child-parents relations, and academic achievement have been critically examined in the literature.

English language acquisition and socialization

In 1970, the *Lau v. Nichols* case was filed against the San Francisco Board of Education, alleging some 1,800 Chinese American students were discriminated against, because they did not receive linguistically appropriate special help in English and were denied equal education opportunities violating Title VII (Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which is also known as the Bilingual Education Act of 1968) (Sung, 1987). In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of these students and required equal educational opportunities to all students regardless of their cultural, linguistic, and national origins. This case laid a foundation for bilingual-bicultural education as an alternative education in American educational history. Wang (1974) concludes that the *Lau v. Nichols* case became a significant landmark in the history of American public education and a major legal step toward recognizing the pluralistic nature of U.S. society (p. 25). However, Chinese bilingual education is still a controversial topic. As Sung (1987) states, the ESL (English as a second language) program is easily confused with bilingual education, and the schools

themselves do not clearly distinguish one from the other. In her perspective, ESL is

the teaching of functional English to students who are already conversant in another

language, and Bilingual education is defined as using two languages as the medium of

instruction in subject areas where course content may be lost on a person who does

not have command of the second language (p. 100). Wang examines the language

programs in six schools in New York City, ranging from elementary school to high

school, and indicates that there has been much controversy about the value of

bilingual education in assisting immigrant children in their adjustment to a new life in

the United States. This controversy emerged from the implementation of Chinese

bilingual education programs in New York City's public schools in 1975. Different

from Sung's view on institutions, studies conducted by Lam (2004 & 2009) examine

language socialization of Chinese immigrant students from the linguistic perspective.

Her research analyzes the development of multiliteracies in a larger context of

transnational migration through media. She argues Internet communication provides

an important perspective in understanding English language learning for Chinese

immigrant youth within different communities and across the geographical

boundaries.

Tsai (2006) discusses the meaning of Limited English Proficiency (LEP)

program and the English as a second language (ESL) program designed for the

Chinese immigrant students in the Northwest metropolitan area of the United States.

She suggests the role of sociocultural context in shaping Chinese immigrant youth's

experience, in particular their friendship network formation. Two programs analyzed

in her study are intended to promote immigrant youth's language proficiency. Data

of her research are collected from a critical ethnography study between 1998 and

2000. In total, 16 Taiwanese immigrant youth and their parents participated in the

study. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to collect primary

sources. Demographic and Immigration Questionnaire (DIQ) is also used to collect

participants' demographic information and immigration history. The findings show

that none of the participants consider "Americans" (referring to Euro-Americans

primarily) as part of their friendship networks and both LEP and ESL programs create

an invisible reinforcement for segregation between immigrant and American youth.

She suggests irrational hatred or fear of foreigners (xenophobia) in addition to racism

toward immigrant students be examined in immigrant youth's formation of friendship

networks. My research will follow her suggestion of using the sociocultural context

framework to understand the issue of friendship formation of the youth in the United

States context. I will explore the issues, such as how to define their networks in the

context of Chinese diaspora, and to what extent their transnational migration

experiences influence their social network formation in the global context.

Cultural adjustment

In addition to the issue of language, the topic of cultural adjustment is widely

discussed in the literature. In their studies, Yeh, Kim, Pituc, and Atkins (2008)

explore Chinese immigrant youth's cultural adjustment from an ecological

perspective to understand the interactive relationship between acculturative contexts

and youth. They suggest that supportive networks, such as school-based and

community-based counseling interventions, are needed to foster Chinese immigrant youth resiliency. My dissertation will use the ecological perspective to explore the intersection of school, family, and community to conduct the research on education.

Similar to these studies, Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang, and Wang (2003) pay close attention to the school adjustment of the Chinese immigrant youth. They use the theoretical framework by Perry and Weinstein to analyze students' adjustment to school in three domains: academic (academic achievement and academic motivation), social (quality of peer and adult relationships), and behavioral (externalized and internalized distress). They compare the Chinese immigrant students in the United States with their peers in Mainland China and European American peers in the United States. Their research reveals that Chinese immigrant students report a higher level of depression, anxiety, and social stress and have less emotional and academic support in school than the other two groups.

The two studies are discussed from the psychological perspective. Their findings indicate that the term "model minority" is a façade, which masks the pressure under which Chinese immigrant youth live their daily lives. In her book, *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype*, Lee (2009) reviews the historical development of the term "model minority. Critiques of the model minority stereotype argue that its appearance in the middle of the Civil Rights Movement was an attempt to silence the charges of racial injustice raised by African Americans (Lee, 2009). With regard to education, critiques of the stereotype of Asian Americans as the model minority have tried to assert the diversity of Asian ethnicities and the variation in

their academic attainments (Neo & Lee, 2007). In terms of my research, the critique of model minority stereotype helps address the issue of diversity within the Chinese community in the United States.

In her ethnographic research, Wong (2008) looks at similar issues from an anthropological perspective by examining the educational, social, and emotional adjustments of Chinese American middle school youth in community-based organizations (CBOs). All participants in her study are from low-income and working-class families. Four of them are 1.5-generation and three are second generation. Wong indicates the 1.5-generation youth were born in China and Hong Kong. My research will distinguish the 1.5-generation from the second generation and merely focus on those who were born in Mainland China.

Parent-child relations

Research conducted on family context includes an ethnographic study by Qin (2006) that explores the role of social class in shaping family relations after immigration. Qin examines the parent-child relationships in two Chinese immigrant families, one from a middle-class and the other from a working-class background. Her case studies analyze data based on the five-year longitudinal study. Ethnographic observations and interviews are used to conduct the research. Two Chinese immigrant youth are 1.5-generation. Li (13-year-old) from the Lai family finished third grade in China before coming to the United States and Ling (sixth grade) from the Zhen family came to the United States in 1996. The findings show that a host of developmental, immigration-related, and cultural factors led to growing alienation in

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parent-child relationships. My dissertation will address the issue of family SES backgrounds on immigration in particular to critically understand the definition of family SES in the global context. Additionally, the findings of changing parent-child relationships shaped by immigration from her research suggest for me to examine the issue on dynamics of Chinese immigrant families and their educational aspirations and desires in children in the process of transnational migration

Academic achievement

The studies reviewed earlier broadly discuss Chinese immigrant youth in the United States. With respect to the educational research, I found most of the studies pertained to the academic achievements of the Chinese immigrant youth (Kaufman, 2004; Louie, 2001; Zhou et al., 2006). Both cultural and structural perspectives are explained in these studies as frameworks to illustrate factors that have determined the academic achievements of the youth. However, the intention of my dissertation is not to merely focus on academic achievement at school but to address the issue of immigration to better understand the role of sociocultural factors that played a part in education in a larger context.

Louie (2001) reviews two critical approaches of explaining the high educational aspirations and attainments of Chinese Americans. The cultural approach emphasizes the cultural resources of the parents, and the structural approach stresses the economic demand and opportunity structure. However, the roles of social class and ethnicity are ignored in former studies. Louie addresses the gap by noting education to the social-class backgrounds of Chinese American families. Both 1.5-

generation and second-generation students are included in her research. Her study finds differences between working and middle-class families in terms of parental resources, strategies, and children's responses to their parental expectations and investment. For example, suburban middle-class parents send their children to private schools or well-funded public schools. Those parents are actively involved in their children's education, while urban Chinese parents tend to draw on ethnic networks to compensate for structural disadvantages and are less involved in their children's education. Another important finding from her research is that students share the similar parent aspirations on education regardless of social class backgrounds. Her research draws on interviews conducted from 1998 to 1999 with 68 undergraduates from Columbia University and Hunter College. She also conducted interviews with seven parents whose children go to Columbia University. She suggests future research might involve more parental interviews, as I hope to conduct for my dissertation. About 42% of participants at Hunter College and 37% of participants at Columbia University were 1.5-generation. However, the generational differences are not deeply identified in her research. The preimmigration experience for the group of 1.5-generation might differ them from the second generation. In addition, reason of immigration, region of origins, linguistic backgrounds, and a future plan of staying in the United States will also distinguish the two groups. This is the reason why my dissertation will only focus on the group of 1.5-generation and further examine the diversity within the group.

Compared to Louie's review on high academic achievement of Asian Americans, Kaufman (2004) reviews explanations for both high and low academic achievements among ethnic groups from cultural and structural perspectives. Her study, which is located in a large public high school in New York City, explores the relationship between students' perceptions on schooling and social/cultural factors that shape their experiences at school. By comparing Chinese immigrant students with their second-generation Chinese-American peers, she finds that the immigrant students are more motivated to work hard and value demanding teachers, difficult curriculum, and discipline more than the second-generation students. Her study also suggests that the social environment and culturally driven actions within the environments will strongly influence the students' different perceptions of their own effort and academic success in school.

These studies, conducted by Louie and Kaufman, examine the dominant factors for determining academic achievement through a comparison of the immigrant students with their second-generation counterparts. Zhou and Kim (2006) take a different approach and compare Chinese with Korean immigrant communities to explore if and how the role of ethnicity is played out in educational achievement. They suggest an alternative framework that draws on both cultural and structural approaches to explain the educational achievements of Asian immigrant youth. Their analysis focuses on the ways in which community forces and social capital function in an ethnic environment and how these are conducive to academic achievement. It should be noted that an examination of Chinese language schools is not the focus in

this dissertation. Most of the youth speak fluent Chinese. However, my dissertation discusses the college prep programs and study abroad programs as examples to deeply explore the educational desires of the families.

Summary

After reviewing the literature on Chinese immigrant youth in the post-1965 era, I realized little research had been conducted on their educational experiences (Kaufman, 2004; Louie, 2001; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Few studies have challenged the oversimplification of Chinese immigrants as a homogeneous ethnic group. Seldom is there a distinction made between Chinese immigrants who were born in China and second-generation Chinese who were born in the United States. (Kaufman, 2004; Louie, 2001). Even fewer studies make a further distinction with the "1.5-generation": people who immigrated as a child before the ages of 11 or 12 (Louie, 2001; Wong, 2008). It is this latter group my research has set out to examine. In addition, most of the studies on education put an emphasis on students' academic achievements and attempt to provide cultural and structural explanations to better understand the dominant factors. The fact that not every Chinese youth immigrated to the United States from China reminds us that their immigration experiences should be examined to comprehensively explain their education. Various flows of Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Mainland China, and other countries have complicated the demographics of Chinese in the United States. The variation of Chinese diasporas need to be taken into consideration to discuss the 1.5-generation group.

In addition, I found most of the studies focus on one single context, either school (Kaufman, 2004), home (Louie, 2001; Qin, 2006) or community (Tsai, 2006; Wong, 2008; Zhou et al., 2006), and very few investigate interactions among these three significant contexts (Sung, 1987; Yeh et al., 2008). My research will use the ecological-systems perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to refocus the attention on not just one single context but on various social systems, including the schools, families, and Chinese ethnic communities. More importantly, my research will go beyond the single U.S. context to include a global context. I am using this lens in large part because, during my review, I found that most studies see the United States as the destination of a one-way trajectory of immigration. Few discuss the context of China in understanding immigrant youth and their families. In my dissertation, a diasporic and transnational lens is needed, through which my analysis will not be limited within a single frame of geographic boundary to examine the issue of educational experiences.

Chapter 3

Historical Context

Introduction

Immigration to the United States is a complex phenomenon interwoven with historical, social, economic, and political aspects of relations between the United States as the "host" country and the "home" country. In my research, the home country is China. This chapter argues why it is imperative to link the historical context as an object of analysis with discussion of immigrant education, in particular the education of Chinese immigrant youth in the United States.

From the 1850s to this day, history has witnessed various waves of Chinese immigration to the United States during which U.S. immigration policies have shaped the Chinese community as an immigrant-dominant enclave. Variations of U.S. immigration policies and their influences across political and social domains are inextricably linked to educational policy on immigrant children's education (Rong et al., 2009). While this is true, I argue that education of contemporary Chinese immigrant youth in the United States have been further affected by the history of immigration as well as historical contexts for education in China. American schooling policies and practices toward the youth are reflected in the ups and downs of the Chinese flows during different periods. However, diversity of regions from which Chinese have arrived in the United States, along with differing languages, customs, and histories of why they left China, influence the adaptation of the students and their orientation to education (Gordon, 2012). This research focuses on the 1.5-

generation who further exemplify this complexity as they have experienced schooling in both countries, China and the United States. It is necessary that we take the historical contexts of both countries into consideration when studying the current educational situation for this group.

I examine how the history of Chinese immigration to the United States post-1965 provides a context for understanding the impact of U.S. immigration policies on experiences of the immigrants. This examination will sharpen our perceptions on the contemporary demographics of immigrants from China, and these include family histories of immigration, region of origin, linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds, and future plans to stay that are relevant to the education of youth. In addition to the U.S. historical context, I also explore historical contexts in China by focusing on the impact of the exam-oriented system and the development of the education system after the opening-up policy implemented in1978, in order to analyze the role of historical context of education in China in shaping the youth's educational experiences and aspirations and desires from the families. The historical perspective will bridge two fields in the relevant U.S. scholarship, Chinese American studies and Chinese studies, through conducting this specific research. It is important to close the gap, which is often ignored in the literature of immigrant education by looking at and comparing the historical contexts of both "home" and "host" countries.

Significance for Immigrant Students

Ogbu and Simons (1998) classify minorities in the U.S. into three categories: autonomous, voluntary (immigrant), and involuntary (nonimmigrant) minorities. The

status of being a minority is not determined by race or ethnicity but rather by a group's history—"how and why a group became a minority and the role of the dominant group in society in their acquisition of minority status—that determines its voluntary or involuntary status" (p.167). Based on his classification of immigrants, Chinese immigrant youth are referred to as a voluntary minority. While most of the research on education refers to academic achievement or performance, I would like to suggest that a historical perspective be applied to examining immigrant education by focusing on their educational experiences, which refers to a broader sense.

History is a central idea in linking individual trajectories and broader social structures (Nasir & Hand, 2006). The sociocultural theories value the critical role of history in understanding how the sociopolitical arrangements of power and access situate individuals and pervade the practices they establish (p. 465). This perspective allows me to develop the approach of school-family-community intersection within a global context, which moves the focus from individuals to the sociopolitical contexts. The term of history is discussed in a more specific manner in Ogbu's research (1990). He argues that the contrasting historical experiences of immigrants (voluntary minorities) and involuntary minorities result in contrasting cultural models and social identities that influence their school experiences or acquisition of literacy. He reasons that some minorities are more academically successful than others because of the initial terms of their incorporation into U.S. society. Voluntary immigrants tend to form a cultural model of education conducive to academic achievements. His

approach emphasizes the nature of cultural models, which can be constructed through collective historical experiences by the members of and ethnic community.

Cultural models fall into four types in which voluntary and involuntary minorities differ: frames of reference, folk theories of 'making it' (and role models), degree of trust of White people and their institutions, and beliefs about the effect of adopting White ways on minority identity (Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 169). From Ogbu and Simons' perspective, voluntary immigrants have a positive dual frame of reference. One is based on their situation in the United States, the other is based on their situation "back home," or their place of origin. This dual frame of reference makes them believe they have more educational opportunities in the United States than back home. Their folk theory of making it believes that hard work, following the rules, getting a good education will lead to good employment and success in U.S. society. In terms of beliefs about the effect of adopting White ways, immigrants are willing to learn to speak English and accommodate to the rules of the public schools and other institutions. Therefore, this optimistic and practical attitude allows voluntary immigrants to trust White-controlled institutions like public schools. Without a doubt, the concept of cultural models broadens the vision of my research from focusing on individual minority students to community forces that shape the education of youth. In addition, cultural model views history as an analytical unit that deepens my understanding of sociocultural dynamics on immigrant youth's education.

Greenfield (1994) examines the nature of cultural scripts from the perspective

of developmental psychology. She addresses the relation between contact culture

(dominant culture) and culture of origin (heritage culture) to examine the

development of minority children in the United States. As she states, compared to the

culture of origin, contact culture has been paid too much attention. As an editor for

the book, she indicates the aim of the book is to "balance" the two cultures (p. 145).

To do this, she reviews the concept of cultural history and discusses its impact on the

socialization and development of minority children. A theoretical framework on

developmental scripts of independence and interdependence is provided to reveal the

socialization and development of minority groups. She argues that cultural scripts

move with minority groups when they move from a homeland to a new country and

influence the adaptation to the new sociocultural environment (p. 148). She points

out that understanding development of diverse groups can help schools to appreciate

distinctive styles of socialization and learning in minority groups, and vice versa.

Further understanding of the cross-cultural roots of minority child development will

help society and research move away from a deficit model of minority-child

development and view their learning difference as rooted in historic cultural values

that can make a significant contribution to our diverse society (p. 157). This

perspective will assist me with examining the deficit model of immigrant youth

education, especially English language learning that might be held by schools,

families, or communities. Greenfield suggests that longitudinal studies of

immigration in both country of origin and country of destination be conducted. This

transnational approach between home country and host country and vice versa includes the influence of host country on immigrants, which is seriously considered for my research design. She gives an example of research conducted by a scholar who follows Puerto Rican immigrants longitudinally between Puerto Rican and the New York metropolitan area. One of my research questions attempts to explore the youth's transmigrant experiences between China and the United States.

Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, and Plank (1994) argue that the value a minority group places on education is historically determined and interfaces with the group's socioeconomic position in the host society. They develop a conceptual model of academic achievement in their research of East Asian academic success in the United States. Their work views East-Asian academic success and high educational aspirations as the result of a multilevel process of interactions among parents, children, teachers and peer groups. They conclude that the differences between East Asians and Euro-Americans strongly link to East-Asian cultural values that emphasize the significance of education for "self-improvement, a respect for authority, and a sense of duty and honor to the family" (p. 325). Their research suggests we develop an approach of examining education of immigrant students in a larger sociocultural context, through which historical, cultural, societal, and economic factors play out and interact with education.

Scholars in different fields all agree ways that members of a particular minority group understand or interpret their world will lead to behavior in that world that partly determines their schooling experiences and performances. They illustrate

their perspectives by suggesting terms, such as cultural models, cultural scripts, and cultural values to appreciate the collectively shared social, cultural, and historical contexts for education of minority students in the United States. My research benefits from understanding the impact of historical contexts on educational experiences. My dissertation borrows the framework of historical contexts and examines that both in the United States and China, in particular Chinese immigration to the United States and the educational systems in China, to provide a backdrop to investigate contemporary Chinese immigrant youth's transmigrant educational experiences.

Significance for Chinese Immigrant Education

The regional and historical contexts are often missed in attending to the needs of "Chinese students" (Gordon, 2012), which is largely ignored in the literature on Chinese immigrant youth in the United States. Few scholars address the Chinese historical context or the United States historical context in discussing Chinese immigrant education with the exception of these scholars, Weinberg (1997), Brittain (2001), and Zhou and Kim (2004). Weinberg reviews how the historical backgrounds and current social factors of Asian countries have influenced Asian American education. He traces the roots of the examination system in China and further explores its development throughout history. He presents a specific picture of Chinese immigrants' schooling in San Francisco, Hawaii, New York City, and Mississippi over the past 150 years. Most importantly, he challenges the myth of Confucianism for Chinese achievement in education and argues that class is the main determinant of education for Chinese in the United States. I agree with him on

criticizing the myth of Confucianism on education. Chinese cultural values cannot be analyzed solely to understand their achievement of education. I critically examine the term of class in my dissertation and suggest both the United States and Chinese contexts should be taken into consideration. I also analyze the role of SES in shaping education and how it has interacted with other social influences, such as ethnicity, region of origin, and language within a historical and global context.

The ethnography conducted by Brittain (2001) uses transnationalism, in particular the transnational social space, as her theoretical framework to investigate the schooling experiences of Chinese and Mexican immigrants. Through analyzing three different types of messages including prior messages, welcoming messages, and current messages, her study shows how perceptions of U.S. schools are constructed among transnational human collectivities of conationals and how the specific values or expectations of American schooling are derived from the messages that Chinese and Mexican immigrant children bring with them (p.233). This transnational perspective contributes to our understanding of immigrant student assimilation in American schools (p. 53), which inspires me to develop my theoretical framework of diaspora. But, different from her perspective of transnationalism, the framework of diaspora used in my research allows me to examine immigrant education beyond the assumption of assimilation. While Brittain provides a brief overview of Chinese immigration history and reasons for immigration as well as the current education system in China, her work lacks an examination of how the historical and contemporary social contexts in China add to our understanding of the immigrant

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youth's educational experiences in the United States, which is discussed in my dissertation.

In their article on supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities, Zhou and Kim (2006) construct a brief history of immigration, the development of ethnic-language schools and supplementary education systems in the Chinese and Korean communities in the United States. The two communities share similar cultural values in Confucianism and education and also differ in histories of immigration, homeland contexts, premigration socioeconomic backgrounds, and accommodation to the U.S. society. Through reviewing the historical contexts for ethnic supplementary education in the United States, they argue structural factors interact with cultural factors to affect the development of Chinese and Korean ethnic-language schools and ethnic systems of supplementary education. Their research demonstrates how culture and social structure both matter in determining the academic achievement of Asian Americans.

These former studies provide a relatively clear and reasonable scope of the historical contexts in both countries for my research. These contexts include, for example, history of Chinese immigration, education systems in China, and premigration socioeconomic backgrounds. This scope is followed in my dissertation by constructing a comprehensive historical context both in the United States and China for further exploring education. In the next section, I focus on reviewing the literature that documents the post-1965 Chinese immigration, contemporary U.S. immigration policies, and development of education systems in China since 1978.

Historical Contexts for my Research

The U.S. immigration policies post-1965

Rong et al. (2009) analyze four waves of immigration to the United States in terms of countries of origin and emphasize the varying perspectives and approaches of educators and policymakers in understanding the needs of different immigrant groups. Although the very first Chinese to America cannot be identified through reliable historical records, the first large wave of Chinese immigration began during the 1850s based on the U.S. Census. The immigration record shows that the total number of admitted Chinese was 46 by 1850 (Lee, 1960). Over the past 150 years, Chinese American history had a twisted journey with Chinese being welcomed or denied, discriminated or admired. Their experiences of tragedies and triumphs were largely shaped by shifts in U.S. immigration laws and policies.

Numerous works have addressed that history with the aim of interpreting the history of Chinese Americans as an integral discourse within American history (Lee, 1960; Kung, 1962; Chinn, Lai & Choy, 1969; Chen, 1980; Lai, 1992; Shen, 1993; Chen, 2002; Kwong & Miščević, 2005; Yung, Chang & Lai, 2006; Zhao, 2002 & 2010). Their studies clearly demonstrate that Chinese immigrant experiences correspond to the variation in U.S. immigration policies. Four distinct waves of Chinese immigration are clearly divided: early period (pre-1882), exclusion period (1882-1943), limited period (1943-1965), and the integral period (post-1965). Since my research focuses on contemporary immigrant youth, I will focus on the post-1965 period.

The post-1965 wave of immigration[4] has radically changed the Chinese

community into a more diverse group in terms of region of origin, education,

language, occupation, and socioeconomic backgrounds (Wong, 1998). In addition,

the U.S. immigration policies implemented since 1990 that focused on increasing

numbers of skilled and capital investment immigration made the demographics of the

Chinese immigrants in the U.S more diversified (see Table 3.1). For example, more

than 80 percent of capital investment applicants were from China in 2014.[5]

Table 3.1. U.S. Immigration Policy and Periods: Post-1990 (Li et al., 2010)

1990	Immigration Act: Family-sponsored; Employment-based; Capital investment
1998	The American Competitiveness and Workforce Improvement Act Raises the cap from 65,000 to 115,000 skilled H-1B workers
2000	H-1B visa increased to 195,000/year; 2003: revert back to 65,000/year
2005	An additional 20,000/year for master's or higher degrees obtained in the US

However, to understand this increase, another factor needs to be taken into

consideration: the United States-China diplomatic relationship was not established

until 1979. Prior to this, the flow of Chinese immigrants between 1965 and 1979 was

mainly from those who came from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Sociopolitical issues

created the dynamics of the flows of Chinese during that period. Even though people

from Hong Kong and Taiwan are referred to as Chinese, very few of them emigrated

from Mainland China during that period. The current demographics of Chinese in the

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[4] This wave started from 1965 when the U.S. Immigration Act abolished the restrictive national origins system, which was originally passed in 1924, in favor of a quota and preference system.

[5] EB-5 investor visa issues foreign investors a conditional green card for a capital investment of half or 1 million in a U.S. business. Jahangiri, A. (2014, September 26). Chinese EB-5 visa retrogression:good for program diversity. *The Huffington Post.* Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ali-jahangiri/chinese-eb5-visa-retrogre_b_5884602.html

U.S. have been complicated by region of origin, linguistic and socioeconomic differences of various flows from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as well as other countries over the past few decades. Thus, my research will challenge the oversimplification of Chinese immigrants as a homogeneous ethnic group and try to uncover its heterogeneous character by focusing on the group of youth from Mainland China.

Throughout reviewing the U.S. policies on Chinese immigration, we can clearly see how the history has shaped the growing number of Chinese immigrants and heterogeneity within this group, which in turn have influenced the U.S. school demographics. However, very few educational researchers have investigated the Chinese immigrant education through these historical factors. For example, the growing number of Chinese immigrant students in schools, especially from middle/upper class backgrounds whose parents demanded more academic programs or afterschool programs might have challenged the concept of education held by U.S. society. Historical perspective helps analyze the various backgrounds of the Chinese immigrant families and their desires for children's education.

Chinese policies: from *yingshi* (exam) to *suzhi* (quality) education

In this section, my scope is narrowed to the impact of China's exam-oriented educational (*yingshi jiaoyu*) system and its development to education for quality (*suzhi jiaoyu*). Specifically, I will briefly explore how this system has developed over various historical periods, and how it has shaped aspirations and desires for education in Chinese society today in order to

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further investigate its influence on educational attitudes of the Chinese families in the United States.

In China, education is often referred to as *dushu* (reading the books) (Zhao, 2009). More narrowly, it is viewed as learning with a concrete purpose of performing well on exams in order to go to college and eventually get a decent job in the future. Entrance exams *(shengxue kaoshi)* at different levels of schooling are powerful deciding factors for one's trajectory in life.[6] Attaining top grades is collectively desired by the whole society. The mentality that one's hard work will be paid off through acceptance to a good university that will then provide more opportunities is the strongest motivation for persistence in school, even in China today (Kipnis, 2011).

Scholars in the field of the history of education try to trace the roots of the exam-oriented system back to the Imperial Examination System *(Keju),* because they view the Chinese examination culture as a derivative of Confucius culture (Ross & Wang, 2010). Education became a way to strengthen the power of the new upper class against the older aristocratic families under Han Wudi (140-88 BCE) (Fairbank, 1992). While the Imperial Examination System started in Sui Dynasty (AD 581-618) and further developed in Tang Dynasty times (AD 618-907), it did not dominate the process of official selection until later. During the 15th century, rulers of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) reconstructed the examination system by making through

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[6] There are exams for middle school (*xiaoshengchu*), high school (*zhongkao*), university or college (*gaokao*), graduate school (*kaoyan*) in the education system in China. Outside of the education system, there are various exams for recruiting employees in both public and private sectors by the government to issue licenses and awards (Kipnis, 2011, p. 121).

mastery of the Confucian classics and their accompanying commentaries a

prerequisite for all candidates (Kaplan & Sobin, 1981). Similar to Fairbank's

perspective, Weinberg (1997) also traced the roots of education in China to the Han

Dynasty. He indicated that the Han emperors built a system of selection through

examinations to decide on state high officials, which was to result in a dependable

corps of loyal defenders of the emperor (p. 12). On the contrary, the system did not

provide much access to upward social mobility nor produce many imperial office

holders in officialdom. Interestingly, Kipnis (2011) traces the roots of prevalent

educational desire in China to the governing practices of imperial China. He calls it

"the imperial governing complex," and argues this "complex" is not a structural

functional one but rather a result of manipulation of cultural forms by the governing

agents and their critics. These practices are interacting and overlapping social

practices and imaginaries, which have included the pedagogy, social, and political

practices of constituting and legitimating hierarchies (p. 90).

The old Examination System was abolished in 1905. The period between the

1910s and the 1920s witnessed huge influences respectively by the Japanese and the

U.S. models on education (Kaplan & Sobin, 1981). Since the 1930s, the Soviet

models began to shape education in China, particularly in the communist areas. After

the new China was established in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

criticized the old order of education and implemented the new education system. In

the early 1950s, it was imperative to improve the quality of education to meet the new

demands of specialization in modern science and technology based on the Soviet

model (Pepper, 1991). Thus, *gaokao* (college entrance exam) system was established in 1952. In 1958, the party leaders initiated the "Great Leap Forward" movement with the aim of mass mobilization for economic development, which provided educational opportunities to almost everyone in China. About 9 out of 10 school-age children entered primary schools, while opportunities for college entrance were very limited (Weinberg, 1997). Only children from educated families and those of party leaders were able to gain access to universities through high scores on the exams due to their cultural capital. The CCP contested this pattern and attempted to redirect educational access away from the children of the elite and towards families of workers and peasants. To accomplish this Mao Zedong instituted The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), which claimed to provide China with an egalitarian educational philosophy that would be implemented throughout the society.[7]

In June of 1966 the CCP Central Committee and the State Council announced the abolition of *gaokao* system for universities and ordered the closing of all higher institutions (including higher schools) for six months. The entire school system in China was shut down. Fully supported by Mao, students formed groups known as "Red Guards" to destroy the "four olds" (old ideas, customs, culture, habits) of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries. By the end of 1966, millions had joined the movement, which spread throughout China's cities, schools, factories, and communes. All schools applied Mao's policy of "education serving proletarian

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[7] The discussion of the Cultural Revolution is still debatable. Fairbank analyzes the assumption of conspiracy in his book. As he noted, the Cultural Revolution is now understood not as a pursuit of abstract ideals but as "an unprecedented wave of state-instigated persecution, torture, gang warfare, and mindless violence." (1992, p. 402)

politics and education being combined with productive labor"; accordingly, schools

were directed to shorten their courses of study and transform the teaching methods

and materials (Kaplan et al., 1981, p. 223).

Gaokao was closed during the 10-year Cultural Revolution. As a result, the

proletariat educational revolution became the main task in universities and people

who were identified as peasants, workers, and soldiers became university students

(Kang, 2004). College entrance was no longer determined by applicants'

examinations but by recommendations and their political commitment (Weinberg,

1997). Four selection stages included application of students, evaluation of fellow

workers, recommendation from the administrative leaders, and examination by the

university between 1966 and 1976 (Kwong, 1983, p.94). By the mid-1970s,

corruption became widespread, and attending a university was criticized as the

prerogative of those with political power (p. 96). In 1976, *Gaokao* were reintroduced

as an initial step to help solve the problem of corruption after the Cultural Revolution

ended. Applicants' family backgrounds or political commitments were almost

considered irrelevant, while their academic achievements were considered as the most

essential criteria for selection. In that year, 5.7 million students were reported to have

taken the exam (Kaplan et al., 1981).

To a certain extent, we can conclude that the Cultural Revolution had a huge

impact on Chinese society in terms of education. All parents in their 40-50s in my

research had experienced that particular historical period. It is impossible to ignore

the impact of this movement on their attitudes toward education, especially their

understanding of meritocracy and expectation for *gaokao* to reward them with social mobility. In the interviews with the parents, some of them emphasized great diligence and efforts they paid in pursuing their college degrees and expressed their aspirations and desires of transferring that mentality to their children in the United States.

The "opening-up" policy that was implemented in 1978 determined the direction of the development of Chinese society in the following decades. The ideology of "Politics in command" by Mao Zedong was downplayed by the slogan "Seek truth from facts" stated by Deng Xiaoping. The ideology of modernization in agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense was widely accepted in China. The new rationale clearly indicated that the key to modernization lay in science and technology, and the key to these lay in education (Pepper, 1991). Thus, it was urgent for China to learn and seek the assistance from the West, especially the United States, as a source of expertise, since science and technology have been developed to an advanced level in the United States. When the normalization of Sino-American relations was completed in 1979, about 10,000 Chinese academic and technical specialists were studying in the United States (Fairbank, 1992). The individual desire for education was reignited and mixed with the governmental desire of catching up with the West. The post-Mao Administration clearly claimed that the quantitative goals of education must be sacrificed to quality with the aim to serve the immediate needs of economic development (Pepper, 1992).

The "one-child" family policy was implemented at the same time when China initiated its goal to accomplish the Four Modernization. Since 1979 most of the children born in China have benefited from the "one-child" policy. Being the only child, they were raised and protected by more than six family members; however, the whole generation was dominated by children who were the only child, which forced a careful consideration of practice both in education and in childrearing (Davin, 1991). Kipnis (2011) also argues that the one-child policy by the central government enhanced the desires of parents to invest in the education of their children. He even suggests that the birth control policy should be the starting point for any discussion of educational desire in contemporary China (p. 58). Through my own personal experience as being an only child and conversation with many Chinese parents both in China and the United States, I agree with his insights.

Kipnis further analyzes Chinese parents' psychological state of hoping one's son becomes a dragon and one's daughter a phoenix (*wangzi chenglongde xinli*), which is "continually described both as the cause of educational desire and as a result of the birth control policy" (p. 61). The policy of "education for quality" (*suzhi jiaoyu*) by the government aimed to moderate or redirect the desire that caused a degree of competitiveness in the education system and a bias toward academic over vocational forms of education (p. 65). However, as noted in Kipnis, in discussions with rural parents from Shandong Province over the value of technical diplomas and college degrees, parents told him that even if technical degrees secured a reasonable career, they were not as desirable as college degrees for their children (p. 61).

During the 1980s, the educators advocated the "education for quality" (*suzhi jiaoyu*) system over "exam-oriented" education system. Their efforts were rewarded in 1999, when the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council established the goal of Chinese education as providing all children with quality education, an initiative to promote "key competencies" of twenty-first-century education. The idea of "competence education" originated in North American ideals, which focus on learning "competencies" rather than exam-taking skills (p.66). A series of significant changes took place in China's education system according to the goal of quality education that promotes moral, academic, physical, and aesthetic excellence. These changes included the abolishment of the entrance examination for middle school, the implementation of their own graduation examinations by secondary and elementary schools, new approaches for evaluating and accessing schools, teachers, and students, reform of college entrance exams and admissions, more access to higher education, and reform of curriculum and textbooks (Zhao, 2009). For example, new curriculum standards replace the national syllabus; any publisher can publish textbooks following the curriculum standards; and local governments can choose textbooks (p. 61).

The current Chinese education system consists of three categories: basic education, higher education, and adult education. Basic education includes pre-school, primary, and regular secondary education. Secondary education is divided into academic secondary education and specialized/vocational/technical secondary education. Higher education at the undergraduate level includes two- and three-year

junior colleges (sometimes also called short-cycle colleges), four-year colleges, and universities offering programs in both academic and vocational subjects. Adult primary education includes Workers' Primary Schools, Peasants' Primary Schools, and literacy classes (Jiaoyubu, 2004).

Variations of schooling in China reflect the fact that the educational desire manipulated by the policymakers directed the desire away from a narrow emphasis on scoring highly on competitive exams in order to attend college (Kipnis, 2011). Variations of schooling allow parents to reconsider their desires for their children's education, especially for wealthy families or those who have overseas relatives. Sending children abroad or immigrating could become one of the strategies for those families, through which educational opportunities could be provided.

Today, quality education reforms are still ongoing. At the same time, the current examination system, which was reintroduced in 1977, has now been implemented for more than 30 years. *Gaokao* is still competitive and affects every aspect of China's education system (Zhao, 2009), but everyone shares a mutual understanding with the government that "before the system of grades, everyone is equal" (Kwong, 1983). Some scholars, such as Kwong, raise concerns about inequality of educational opportunities by social class backgrounds, which is true in today's China. He concludes that the Examination System is not the root of social inequality but it certainly reflects, maintains, and even exaggerates it (p. 107). In his analysis of current Examination System, Kipnis (2011) further proposes that the function of the Examination System is to avoid nepotism or corruption in the

selection process. As he notes, "Examinations have played a crucial ideological role in the CCP's claims to be able to fight corruption" (p. 92). He also states that the success of examinations is a matter of skill at rote memorization or the imitation of models. Similarly, Ross et al. (2010) challenge the effectiveness of the examinations. They argue that the high-stakes *gaokao* "hinders system-wide reform, hamstring institutional autonomy and knowledge innovation, reducing schooling to a soulless competition, and unfairly advantaging urban children who have had access to greater educational opportunity than their rural peers" (p. 5).

In reality, their argument does not exaggerate the negative aspects of the examinations. As a resident of Beijing, I attended my entire schooling from elementary to graduate school in China. Countless news stories and discussions with respect to examinations, in particular the *gaokao*, were widely broadcasted and shared during my many years in China. While some were extremely inspiring, many were considered absolute tragedies. The exams caused a powerful impact on the daily lives of Chinese people and their desires for education. It has become a vast topic of great importance not only to China but also to the Chinese who live aboard.

When seen from a historical perspective, which is overlaid with the political and social factors discussed above, it is clear that an awareness of China's exam-oriented education system and contemporary quality education system, mixed with the "one-child" family policy, is the initial step in understanding the complexity of educational aspirations and desires manipulated by the government as well as held by the Chinese people, including Chinese immigrants in the United States.

This chapter attempts to suggest that an understanding of the historical contexts for education is needed for my research. This argument is supported by reviewing the literature on the impact of historical contexts for education of immigrant students, in particular the research focusing on historical contexts for education of Chinese youth. Inspired by historian Jonathon Spence (1990), I believe there is no easy way to understand the issue, but the attempt is worth making, because history will reveal the reason why the families left home and what kind of aspirations and desires they brought with them for their children's education in the United States. We can call it a puzzle or mythology, however, it will no longer be a mythology when we put every piece of the puzzle together.

Chapter 4

Theoretical Framework

Introduction and Terminology

Diaspora and its cognates appeared only once or twice as keywords in dissertations since the 1970s, about 13 times a year in the late 1980s, and 130 times in 2001 (Brubaker, 2005). Besides this dramatic increase in capturing academic attention, these concepts are also engaging the general public. On February 4, 2013, a Google search listed over 44 million results for the single word "diaspora," which is about four times larger as compared to the 10 million results listed in 2010 (Knott & McLoughlin, 2010). It is difficult to ignore the fact that over the last couple of decades we have witnessed a proliferation of reference to the term "diaspora" both in scholarship and the general public.

Some scholars, such as Skeldon (2003), who examine international movements, agree that the word "diaspora" has come to almost displace the term "migration." This is true for a range of scholars working in apparently disparate disciplines, including anthropologists, historians, geographers, and literary critics (Ma, 2003). Others have indicated "diaspora" may have become an exhausted concept emptied of meaning by overuse (Knott et al., 2010) or a "weak" concept (Naujoks, 2010), which is also true. A "'diaspora' diaspora" has been vividly used to critique the abundance of diaspora studies by Brubaker (2005) as "a dispersion of the meanings of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space" (p. 1). He further claims, "The universalization of diaspora, paradoxically, means the

disappearance of diaspora" (p. 3). Clearly if the term diaspora captures all, then

nobody is part of a diaspora.

This chapter is shaped by two specific questions: 1) how the theoretical

framework of diaspora studies have been developed in the English-speaking world of

scholarship, mainly in the United States[8] and 2) to what extent the framework sheds

light on the field of immigrant education, in particular, the education of contemporary

Chinese immigrant youth in the United States? I hope this effort will assist in

providing an alternative lens to my research.

Through a review of the literature, I found the terms "transnationalism,"

"transmigration," and "globalization" closely linked, and sometimes interchangeable,

with the usage of "diaspora" (Ma & Cartier, 2003; McKeown 1999; Tölölyan, 1991,

2012; Van Hear, 1998). My evaluation emphasizes discussion of their relationships

with the concept of diaspora.

Transnationalism

Van Hear (1998, p. 248) views a transnational community as one that

"embraces" diaspora. Three features of being a transnational community are

presented in his definition: spreading across borders, maintaining their presence

outside of the homeland, and participating in the activities of community groups.

Van Hear further emphasizes the dispersal of community groups to different

countries. Ma (2003, p.4) suggests diaspora be included in the concept of

transnationalism. Diaspora and transmigration are the major elements that constitute

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[8] Some of the works discussed in this paper have been written by scholars in Europe. Diaspora studies in Chinese
scholarship have not been reviewed because most of studies focus on the field of diasporic writing rather than
conceptualizing and theorizing diaspora or diaspora studies.

the concept of transnationalism. Similarly, the title of the journal *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* apparently carries a message of overlapping usage between the two terms. Serving as its major editor, Tölölyan states that equal emphasis is given to both diaspora and transnational studies. He views diasporas as "the exemplary communities of the transnational moment" and "emblems of transnationalism" (1991, p. 5-6).

In contrast with Van Hear, Ma and Tölölyan, Shukla (2003) critique immigration in the United States as a category which is no longer adequate in providing a lens to understand the back and forth movements of people. In her view, transnationalism focuses on "cross-border activities of migrants," while diaspora studies pay more attention to the "imagined communities" and "cultural production of migrants" (p. 12).

Transmigration

Ma (2003) argues that a geographic perspective will help us understand diasporas as complex sets of spaces and places that have been created by transmigration and transnational economic activity. Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc (1995) define transmigrants as "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose identities are in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48). They define transnational migration as a process through which immigrants are able to create multiple social relations and link themselves both to home and host countries. Their view on

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immigrants through the transnational migration perspective is very useful, which

allows me to critically examine the definition of immigration.

Globalization

Lukose (2007) distinguishes diaspora from globalization in the following way.

Diaspora is viewed as cultural productions and identity formations of migrant

communities, which have shaped the political, economic, and cultural transformations

of these communities. In contrast, globalization is marked by the process of

transformation, which focuses on identity formation of migrant communities (p. 409).

More interestingly, Tölölyan (2012) instructed a course entitled "Diasporas,

Transnationalism and Globalization" in 2008 at Wesleyan University. The

description of the course in the catalog suggests the phenomenon of diasporas be

understood in the context of ever-increasing transnationalism and globalization

(2013).[9] I agree with his view that diaspora has become an "imbrication with the

terms transnationalism, globalization, migrancy, ethnicity, exile, the post-colonial and

the nation" since the late 1960s (p. 4). He cites a Chinese-Canadian literary scholar

Cho's analysis: "Diaspora emerges as a subjectivity alive to the effects of

globalization and migration, but also attuned to the histories of colonialism and

imperialism" (p. 8).

In this chapter, I am not attempting to argue to what extent the term diaspora is

linked to transnationalism, transmigration, or globalization. Neither do I have enough

space to analyze different usages of these terms in different contexts. Many scholars

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[9] For further information about the course, please refer to the website:
https://iasext.wesleyan.edu/regprod/!wesmaps_page.html?crse=009297&term=1131

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have done so. However, I hope my evaluation of the existing scholarship will enable
me to further develop the framework for my dissertation. As Ong (1999) suggests for
anthropological research, the studies of each field, such as transmigration studies,
diaspora studies, and globalization, are different as cultural flows in their methods
and frameworks, while they share some similarities (p. 14-15).[10] Scholars will
continue to challenge the linkages among them in their future interrogation.

What I found through discussing the terminology is the usage of terms by the
scholars has impacted their methods, theoretical frameworks, and even questions[11] for
their research. For my dissertation, I prefer to use the term diaspora, because as a
framework I believe it will appropriately provide an approach to better understand
and interpret the "imagined communities" and "cultural production" of the Chinese
immigrant youth in the United States. Furthermore, diaspora is expressed in Chinese
with words that share the concepts of moving/flowing and scattering/spreading
(*liusan;流散*), or separating/leaving and scattering/spreading (*lisan;离散*).[12] It well
captures the features of leaving and being dispersed from the center (homeland). At
the same time, I use the term "transmigrant" to refer to the group of youth in my
research. I also remained open-minded and paid careful attention to any terms the
students used to view themselves in the ethnographic fieldwork. Although they are

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[10] Ong gives an example to explain the difference in her book. She sees people using the political-economic
framework to analyze the role of transmigration played in the host and home countries and approaches of
globalization and diaspora to focus on discussing cultural, imaginative, and subjective aspects of travel and
interconnections (1999, p. 15).
[11] For example, both home countries and host countries are contexts for studies of diaspora, transnationalism and
globalization respectively, but "homeland" or "home" to whom is not a major focus for the latter two studies.
[12] For its translation as *liusan*, please refer to *The English-Chinese Dictionary*, Shanghai Translation Publishing
House, 2nd Edition, 2007. For its translation as *lisan*, please refer to *Ying Han Ci Hai*, National Defense Industrial
Publishing House, 1990.

both immigrant and migrant at a legitimate level, neither immigrant nor migrant as a term can comprehensively capture the characteristics of this group of youth, let alone from their own perspectives.

As a category of analysis, "immigrant" emphasizes the experiences of immigrants within the host country, which usually ignore the factors from the home country. In addition, "migrant" is often taken to describe the internal movement or flow in terms of population in the Chinese context, for example migrant workers (*nongmingong;*农民工). Usage of this term will confuse the readers, as well as the youth themselves, about their motivations and their sociocultural status in the United States. Most importantly, this research will explore how the 1.5-generation Chinese youth will position themselves not only in the United States but also in a global context with the aim of bringing their own ways of viewing their transnational migration experiences to the scholarship of immigrant education, which hopefully will be the contribution of my work to the field.

Defining Diaspora

The term "diaspora" has been used over many centuries. Its usage can be traced back to Greek language, which is a translation of the Hebrew word *galût*. The Greek noun diasporá is derived from two verbs *dia-* and *speírein*, which is used widely in the fifth century BCE among philosophers and Hellenist writers (Baumann, 2010). However, its use in the social sciences since the 1970s is a recent one (Anteby-Yemini *&* Berthomière, 2003).

Through examining specific diasporas over the world, for example the Jews, Armenian, Polish, Chinese, Black communities of the Americas, the Hispanic (or Latino) communities in the United States, Safran (1991) conceptualizes the consciousness of diaspora and their desire to return to their homeland, which is a metaphor as well as a key to understanding the concept of diaspora. He characterizes this consciousness as eschatological, which means a defense mechanism to make the actual life more tolerable by holding out a utopia (p. 94). He suggests that social scientists may use the complex and flexible positioning of ethnic diasporas between host countries and homelands in analyzing the relationship between "insiders" and "outsiders" and between state and society (p. 95). He uses the idea of a longing for a homeland to support the idea of a Jewish nation-state, which is viewed as "classical diasporas" (Sheffer, 1986 & 2003). However, this approach of defining diaspora has been critiqued by Gilroy (1993), who argues nationalist paradigms failed to discuss cultural history when confronted by the intercultural and transnational formation, such as the Black Atlantic. Clifford values his insights and claims that a diverse Black diaspora culture cannot be reduced to any national or ethnically based tradition" (1994, p. 316). I also appreciate Gilroy's acknowledgement of going beyond the nation-state boundaries to explain cultural production as it pertains to the ethnic diaspora.

Together with Gilroy, Hall (1990) is another leading scholar in Cultural Studies. His classical work "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" elaborates on two different positions in viewing cultural identity: being and becoming respectively from

an essentialist and positioning perspective. He posits that the diaspora experience is "not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity" (p. 235). He defines the diaspora identities as being producing and reproducing themselves anew through transformation.

Tölölyan defines the term of diaspora through in a broader context, which is not limited to a certain group of people. As he notes, "The term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, and ethnic community" (1991, p. 4). He even suggests diaspora be concerned with the context of transnationalism and globalization, which includes the flow of capital, cultural practice, double allegiance of populations, and the plural affiliations of populations and of transnational corporations (p. 5). Following Tölölyan's suggestion, my research will be examined in the context of transnationalism and globalization.

Ma (2003) argues that the negative characteristics of classic diasporas, such as the loss of homeland, the collective memory of oppression, and the longing for return have been suppressed, while the positive parts, such as mobility and flexible identities of transmigrants as well as multiculturalism and transnational flows of capital, have been addressed more (p. 6). In her view, diaspora cannot be limited to a group of people but can also be a process, a geographic area, and a spatial network (p. 7). In the same way, Brubaker (2005) proposes that diaspora should be treated as a category

of practice, a project, claim, and stance (p. 13). Knott and McLoughlin argue the definition of diaspora moves from a historically and politically loaded concept to a neutral one (2010, p.2). Their conclusion clearly demonstrates the shifting meaning of the concept over the past two decades. The homeland myth that is not only metaphorized but also elucidated by Safran is less significant in description of diaspora by these scholars. My dissertation will apply this approach to understand the cultural practices of the youth in the process of transnational migration.

Criteria of defining diaspora as community

In addition to generally defining diaspora, some scholars also suggest features of diaspora as community whose members share collectively. I will focus on three scholars' criteria (Safran, 1991; Bulter, 2001; Brubaker 2005) with the aim of seeking the similarities and differences of their features as well as an understanding of whether the criterion is imperative to the discussion of diaspora. Safran (1991) criticizes the broad definition that has been applied to diaspora and provides a list of characteristics of diasporas, in particular those describing the expatriate minority communities. It includes six strands: 1) they dispersed from a specific original "center" to more than two "peripheral" regions; 2) they retain a collective myth about their homeland; 3) they are not and cannot be fully accepted by their host society; 4) their ancestral homeland is the place where they would or should return; 5) they are committed to the maintenance of their homeland; 6) they continue to relate to the homeland by the relationship.

Bulter (2001) critically summarizes three basic characteristics of diaspora based on a review of features noted by most scholars in this field and adds a fourth distinguishing one, which considers the temporal-historical dimension: 1) a minimum of two destinations after dispersal; 2) some relationship to homeland; 3) a self-awareness of the group's identity; 4) existence over two generations.

Based on the definitions discussed by the diaspora scholars, Brubaker (2005) specifies a "short version" of characteristics of diasporas through analyzing its three core elements, which he suggests are widely accepted as foundational for diaspora: 1) dispersion in space; 2) orientation to a "homeland"; 3) boundary-maintenance.

Although a few scholars have challenged the definition of diaspora proposed by Safran (Gilroy, 1993; Clifford, 1994), the classical criteria provided by him without a doubt allow many scholars in the field to further examine the characteristics of diaspora as community. The three core elements analyzed by Brubaker are broadly shared in Safran and Bulter's description, while three different aspects among their definitions are clearly observed. First, compared to Bulter and Brubaker, Safran emphasizes "homeland" as the key word to determine whether a group of people are a diaspora. Features 2, 4, 5, and 6 are directly linked to the homeland. Second, Brubaker indicates the feature of being dispersed as essential for diasporan communities. However, he does not clearly identify the number of destinations, which is indicated as more than two places by both Safran and Bulter. Last, the role of generation is omitted in both Safran and Brubaker's definition, but Bulter specifies the factor of generation as the fourth element of the criteria. She suggests diasporan

communities must be multigenerational and maintained over two generations in the host society, even though the details of generation have not been further provided. For example, are all generations required to physically stay in the host countries? What is their connection (physically and/or emotionally) to the homeland?

While providing criteria for defining diaspora might be a better way to distinguish diasporan communities from other groups of people in movement, it is also problematic, as pointed out by both Bulter and Brubaker. Through this approach, it is easy to view diaspora as an ethnic label from an essentialist perspective rather than a framework of analysis. Therefore, a shift is needed to move from defining diaspora as an ethnicity to a methodological and theoretical approach to explore the formation of community (Bulter, p. 194). Similar to Bulter, Brubaker critiques the groupness of diasporas and suggests diaspora be better viewed as a category of practice, project, claim, and stance rather than a bounded group (Brubaker, p. 13).

Diaspora and disciplinary space

Knott and McLaughlin (2010) examine the experiences of diasporic groups as well as the varied courses of diaspora studies as an interdisciplinary field. Their book attempts to fill the gap between the key terms used in general and those that have been dominant in the scholarship. The second part of the book examines the intersection of diaspora(s) with major crossing-cutting disciplinary and intellectual agendas, for example, economics, politics, security, development studies, race, gender, sexuality, literature and literary studies, film, and the media. However, education is absent in their examination. Brubaker (2005) also portrays the

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dispersion of diaspora in disciplinary and social space and includes education in the conversation. He states the term is used throughout the humanities and social sciences within the academy and provides an example of forty dissertations on diaspora that were conducted in forty-five fields and subfields, covering history, literature, anthropology, and sociology through Black studies, women's studies, religion, philosophy, communications, folklore, and education to art history, cinema, dance, music, and theatre (p. 4). He cites Tölölyan (1996, p. 27) that the "theory-driven revolution in the humanities" has been central to this disciplinary (and trans-disciplinary) dispersion (p. 4).

Historical mapping of the concept "diaspora"

The proliferation of diaspora studies across disciplinary spaces since the 1990s reflect the reality that international migration has benefited from global economic opportunity, rapid development of technology, and improvements in transportation and telecommunications while it has been affected by regional forces of economic instabilities and political conflicts (Reis, 2004), which factors will be further examined in my research. However, the epistemological development of diaspora studies has lagged behind the proliferation of writings in the field (Butler, 2001). For example, what has made diaspora a distinct category? Most importantly, why do we need this term to explore certain social phenomena, if it can be explained by using other cognates, such as migration, transnationalism, and globalization, among others? When did people begin to use the term either with the general public or in academia? It is difficult to further investigate other issues without clarifying

these questions first. Similar to any term, diaspora has not been naturally created by the scholarship itself or named by anyone specific who has participated in the practice; rather, it is a concept, which has its own historical trajectory and stories.

I will use two articles to clarify the historical changes of its concept. In her article, "Theorizing Diaspora," Reis (2004) criticizes three limitations of interpreting diaspora in the scholarship, including the state-centric model, Eurocentric analyses, and Jews as the quintessential or archetypal diasporic group (p. 42). She explains that the state-centric model used in international relations has made the nation-state a less valuable unit of analysis in the emerging global political economy. The Eurocentric analyses could hardly capture the role of diaspora as transnational actors in the international political economy, and the perspective of the Jewish diaspora has determined and limited our understanding of other diasporic communities. I agree with her critiques and believe her contribution to the field is a warning to theorists, to not limit themselves to a critique of conventional diasporic literature but rather to use a post-colonial perspective to overcome the limitations of interpreting diaspora. Her approach of explaining diaspora is to historicize the phenomenon into three major phases around time-periods: the classical, modern, and the contemporary of late-modern period (41). For example, the first period is primarily associated with the ancient Greece and Jewish exilic experience. The second period refers to the years between 1500 and 1945. The period after World War II to the present day is considered the final phase.

Reis clarifies the features of diaspora with a focus on a comparative analysis of the classical and contemporary periods. In her discussion of classical period of diaspora, she argues the Jewish diaspora has been established as the archetypal diaspora to determine the criteria of who or what can be a diaspora regardless of time and space (p. 44). She views it as one of the major flaws of diaspora theory. In her view, Armenians, Moors, Gypsies, and Greeks also form part of the classical diaspora. She surveys the contemporary studies on the topic of diaspora and divides the principal diaspora theorists into two camps. One camp of theorists use the Jewish experience as a reference to examine the phenomenon of diaspora and the other camp of theorists attempt to understand the diaspora phenomenon in the contemporary context of transnationalism and the reason for globalization (p. 46). She explores the complexity of contemporary diaspora as the process of dislocation and regeneration in the post–World War II period by analyzing the political conflict, economic instabilities, and developments and opportunities in the global economy.

She divides the major three phases based on chronological order and categorizes the Jewish diaspora into the classical period. However, with regard to the contemporary period, the Jewish experience is a watershed dividing two camps of contemporary diaspora theorists. Reis attempts to establish a historiography of comparing the features of classical and contemporary diaspora (p. 42). The key question here is why can the Jewish diaspora be understood as a historical phenomenon or social practice for the classical period, whereas the Jewish diaspora is used as a tool of analysis for the latter period. The reason needs clarification. This is

also part of the fundamental question of defining diaspora. How we view it, either as a concept, social movement, group of migrants, or practice of migration, will shape our analysis of its historical development.

In their article "Diaspora: A Look Back in a Concept," Anteby-Yemini & Berthomière (2005) answer this question through viewing diaspora as a concept and reviewing its historical changes by focusing on its use in the social sciences. Their discussion is organized around time periods, but they pay closer attention to the diaspora studies conducted during the 1990s. They argue that the term diaspora has been progressively used to describe migrant groups since the 1970s and experienced a period of expansion during the 1980s. They argue the concept lacks theorization and clarification about the reason why the term diaspora is more accurate than any other concept in the social sciences to capture the characteristics of migrant groups (p. 263).

Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière (2005) review the definitions proposed by Cohen (1997) and Safran (1991). They argue that many typologies were proposed to understand and describe the diasporas during the 1990s, for example, the crystallized diasporas, fluid diasporas, entrepreneurial diasporas, religious diasporas, and politic diasporas, stateless diasporas and state-based diasporas, labor diasporas, imperial diasporas, trade diasporas, and cultural diasporas (p. 264). My research is not trying to put the Chinese diaspora into any of these categories, but rather I am using these categories to acknowledge certain features of the diasporas.

Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière (2005) point out the conceptualization of diasporas by these researchers raised the same questions as the connection between nation-states and diasporas. They discuss the emergence of diasporas as "nation unbound" by reviewing the work by Basch, Glick, and Blanc (1994) and indicate the difficulties of conceptualizing the term in the discourses of globalization and transnationalism. They give an example of how theorists understood the relation between diaspora and transnational communities by reviewing the definitions proposed by Van Hear (1998) and Brzaiel (2003).

Through analyzing the different points of view, they conclude that very different scientific positions made analyses difficult for comparison (p. 267). In order to overcome the obstacles, they suggest researchers develop a strong theoretical framework on diaspora. In addition, the researchers should focus on explaining and "characterizing the message" from migrants to diaspora (p. 268).

I agree with the critique on definition of diaspora by Brubaker (2005), who criticizes the abundance of diaspora studies by describing it as "'diaspora' diaspora." For my dissertation, I argue that diaspora should not be limited to a group of migrants or a specific ethnic group of people. It should also be viewed as a category of practice and process, which can capture the nuances of the imagined communities and cultural production of the communities, such as identity formation. I discuss Mainland China as the homeland for the 1.5-generation Chinese youth who are used as the subjects in my research. As noted in the section on terminology, I prefer to use the term diaspora as a theoretical framework for my research, because it more

appropriately provides an approach to better understand and interpret the "imagined communities" and "cultural production" of the Chinese immigrant youth in the United States.

Chinese Diaspora in the United States

In 2000, an international conference, "Immigrant Societies and Modern Education," was held in Singapore. The papers from the conference have been compiled into a book, *Chinese Migrants Abroad: Cultural, Educational, and Social Dimensions of the Chinese Diaspora* (2003). Questions proposed in the book include, What do we mean by diaspora and is it appropriate to use this term in reference to the overseas Chinese (p. xx)? This section attempts to answer the same questions in order to explain the migration of Chinese to the United States from the framework of diaspora. In other words, in what way can the term "Chinese diaspora" assist us in better capturing the Chinese experience in the United States? Two other questions are what perspectives have been applied in the literature to explore the Chinese diaspora, and what kind of topics are addressed with respect to the Chinese diaspora in the United States.

Mckeown (1999) writes, "a diaspora perspective would complement and expand upon nation-based perspective by drawing attention to global connections, networks, activities, and consciousnesses that bridge these more localized anchors of reference" (p. 307). He suggests using the framework of diaspora to examine the Chinese migration from a transnational and global perspective. As a historian, he also proposes a question in the article, What do we mean by attaching an adjective

"Chinese" in front of diaspora? He gives an example of using "Chinese diaspora in Canada" to answer this question and argues this term should not be a substitute for phrases "Chinese immigrants in Canada" or "overseas Chinese in Canada," because these narratives are merely shaped by the perspective of Canadian and Chinese nation-states (p 307). He suggests a historical perspective to understand the Chinese migration and ethnic Chinese.

Wang (1995) raises the same question as Mckeown's in his article, "Roots and the changing identity of the Chinese in the United States." He critiques two dominant paradigms of assimilation and loyalty respectively applied to the study of Chinese in America (particularly in ethnic studies) and to the study of Chinese overseas in China. Although a distinction has not been made among the phrases "Chinese in diaspora," "Chinese diaspora" and "overseas Chinese," his argument shares much with Mckeown's analysis in challenging the oversimplified and historical framework that have been applied to understand the development and experience of Chinese in the United States. As he argues, the paradigms are "simplifications that disregard history and the rights of Chinese in the U.S." (p. 211).

At the same time, he provides an overview of Chinese immigration to the United States and suggests five types of identity, which have appeared among Chinese diaspora in both their historical and contemporary manifestations. More interestingly, he uses the Chinese word *gen* (roots) to vividly portray the diversity of Chinese identity: 1) *luoye guigen* (the Chinese abroad as fallen leaves that must return to their roots in the soil of China): the sojourner mentality; 2) *zhancao-chugen* (to

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eliminate the weeds, one must pull out their roots): total assimilation; 3) *luodi*

shenggen (falling to the ground and striking root): accommodation; 4) *xungen wenzu*:

ethnic pride and consciousness; 5) *shigen qunzu* ("wandering intellectuals" away

from their roots): the uprooted (p. 197-211). Through his analysis of historical

context in which the Chinese identity in diaspora emerged, it is clear the term

"Chinese dispora" can be applied to interrogate the experience of Chinese migration

in the United States not only from a transnational and global perspective as proposed

by Mckeown, but also from a historical perspective as recommended by both

Mckeown and Wong. The "roots" metaphor clearly categorizes various groups of

people with Chinese backgrounds in the United States, which suggests to me the need

to rethink our approach in setting up categories within diaspora when it is viewed as a

group of people, for example in my research the category of 1.5-generation within the

overall group of Chinese immigrants to the United States. Some studies have shown

variations among the first, 1.5, and second generation in terms of history of

immigration, region of origin, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. To a

certain extent, awareness of variations within the Chinese diaspora will give us a

better sense of how generational differences might influence the diversity of Chinese

identity formation in the United States.

Different from the historical perspectives, Ma and Cartier (2003) express their

desire to focus on migration studies of Chinese overseas from a geographic

perspective, which goes against the mainstream paradigms of viewing international

migration from sociological and economic perspectives. Their book is divided into

five parts mostly based on the geographic perspective, for example: Hong Kong and Taiwan as diasporic homelands, migration and settlements in North America, and transmigrants in Oceania. As noted in the acknowledgments, the chapters also apply different approaches, including historical, hermeneutic, political, and economic in their geographic study (p. vii).

In addition, Ma (2003) argues that the current theoretical perspectives can hardly explain the complexities of the Chinese diasporic migration through reviewing the four major schools of international migration theories that have attempted to explain the causal process of migration (p. 3-4). Her review on world system theory, social capital theory, and the theory of cumulative causation criticizes the conceptual framework of international migration can seldom capture the nuances of the rapid change of migration shaped by both global and local factors, which is persuasive. She writes, "existing migration theories do not encompass the diverse experiences of the Chinese migration abroad and are unable to account for the causes and consequences of their global movements" (p. 3). However, the conceptual frameworks of transmigration and diaspora can provide more dynamic approaches to examine the complex character of the new migrant geographies, social behaviors, economic activities, and shifting cultural identities (p. 4). She claims that the current characteristics of the Chinese diaspora in a global context have been shaped by various features, including the homelands' political and economic developments, discrimination against the Chinese, globalization of production and improved transportation, and changing immigration policies on the United States, Canada,

Australia, New Zealand, and European countries (p. 12). Drawing upon the examples

of Chinese communities in these countries and the chapters in the book from

geographic studies, Ma points out that "Chinese diasporic communities display

considerable internal sub-ethnic diversity in population composition, spatial patterns,

social structure, and economic activities, even within the same country of

settlement"(p. 25). I agree with her and will further examine these issues in my

dissertation.

In concert with Ma, Skeldon (2003) also emphasizes the complexity of the

Chinese diaspora. Although he agrees that there has been one Chinese diaspora, he

suggests the migration of Chinese peoples has been heterogeneous and complex. He

critically examines the concept of Chinese diaspora in the context of population

migration. He specifically provides a demographic portrayal of various migrant

groups in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Europe, United States, Canada, and

Australia to analyze the differences among and within migrant groups. He points out

the differences of the place of origin and the destinations where people are

transformed (p. 63). He also indicates that the "new" Chinese migration from the

1970s shows the heterogeneity in language, origin, political persuasion, class, and

legal status (p. 61-62). Even though he emphasizes the increasing heterogeneity of

the Chinese communities, he does not further distinguish the differences among them,

for example the settlers to North America and those to Australasia or to Europe.

The "new" migration from China after the 1970s in his discussion consists of

more highly educated families from Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang provinces;

Hong Kong; Taiwan; and Southeast Asian countries, which is different from the old labor movements (p. 61). He also describes the trend of heads of household returning home from Hong Kong, Singapore, or Taiwan after they are granted residence and/or citizenship in North America and Australia. Additionally, he discusses the phenomenon of "astronaut" parents and "parachute" kids, which gives "substance to the idea of diaspora as a transnational community" (p. 62). This example clearly shows the trans-Pacific migration of the families with certain "Chinese" backgrounds. But, his analysis does not point out the factor of flexible citizenship in those families. For example, overseas Chinese from Hong Kong living in suburban areas in Vancouver might be able to have, and afford, this trans-Pacific lifestyle, while people originally from Guangdong province living in San Francisco Chinatown might not be able to even visit their hometown in China. Ong (1993) addresses the issue of flexible citizenship and focuses mainly on overseas Chinese from Hong Kong to explore how they are constructed as citizens on the edge of China, Britain, and the United States. She defines citizenship as an effect of state instrumentality, a productive discursive power, and as social practice (p. 747). She provides a quote from a Chinese investor based in San Francisco: "I can live anywhere in the world, but it must be near an airport" (p. 771). The fact that as an investor his status differs him from the majority of immigrants is crucial to understanding this phenomenon.

Without a doubt, Skeldon reveals the connection between the Chinese diaspora and education, such as "astronaut" parents and "parachute" kids, yet more interestingly is the discussion by Ma regarding this relationship. She states that

diasporic homes are established essentially as a safety net for the sake of the children's education (p. 33), though she does not discuss the interaction between the diasporic homes by the parents and their kids' experiences of education. However, Zhou (2009) critically analyzes the educational experiences of "parachute kids" in Southern California, including the challenges of transnational families and the determinants of their educational success. She provides implications for understanding the adaptation process of immigrant children (p 217). In my dissertation, I will further examine how the education of Chinese immigrant youth and the educational mentality of their families have been shaped by the Chinese diaspora, and how the educational desires of the families will shape the Chinese diaspora as well.

Similar to Ma and Skeldon, Fan (2003) also argues for the complexity of the Chinese diaspora. But, different from the others who attempt to capture a broader picture of the Chinese diaspora globally, Fan only focuses on the Chinese diaspora in the United States through data collected from the U.S. Census. She notes that the experiences of Chinese Americans as both a diasporic community and a racial minority have been complicated by the changing structural, political, economic, and social contexts in and outside the United States (p.287). Despite more than a century of settlement in the United States and the heterogeneity among Chinese Americans, they continue to be confronted, as a group, with burning questions of diaspora, immigration, and racialization (p. 287). The term of Chinese Americans in her chapter refers to both Chinese immigrants and their descendants in the United States.

Through the examination of Chinese immigration history, geography, socioeconomic status, and identities, she concludes that immigration has been a major factor that has shaped the experiences of the Chinese in the (p. 286), which is widely understood today.

In her book, Zhou (2009) starts her analysis in the first chapter by writing "Chinese America is a part of the greater Chinese diaspora" (p. 23). As a sociologist, she discusses the historical context of the Chinese emigration to provide a foundation for analyzing the Chinese immigration to the United States. She does not explain her desire of using the term "Chinese America" rather than "the Chinese diaspora in the United States." In fact, she uses the term "Chinese trade diaspora" in Southeast Asia to refer to *huashang* (traders, merchants, and artisans)-dominant migration (p. 24). In terms of the context of the Chinese diaspora, the first chapter indicates varied patterns of intra-Asian migration from China and remigration from Chinese diasporic communities to other countries in the post–World War II era. She further argues for the inclusion of the geopolitical, economic, and social context, including colonization and decolonization, nation-state building, changing political regimes, and state-sponsored economic development programs in understanding how these all played a part in shaping the intra-Asian and international migration from China (p. 39). As noted by her, "The extent of the Chinese Diaspora is captured in an old saying: 'There are Chinese people wherever the ocean waves touch'" (p. 23). People of Chinese ancestry have spread across the globe to more than 150 countries and about 2.7 million people with Chinese ancestry in the United States.

Throughout reviewing the literature in this section, we can conclude that the term Chinese diaspora suitably captures the experience of Chinese migration in the United States. In addition, different perspectives from the scholars have been applied to examine its characteristics across disciplines. The literature shows that the diaspora perspective broadens our view on migration of Chinese in the United States from a nation-state-based perspective to a transnational and global perspective, while at the same time it provides a historical lens to capture the process of Chinese migration in the world in terms of space and time (Mckeown, 1999; Wong, 1995). In addition, the diaspora perspective challenges oversimplification of Chinese migration in the world and that in the United States. This perspective manifests the complexity and heterogeneity of Chinese diaspora in the United States (Ma et al., 2003; Skeldon, 2003). Very few studies have applied the perspective of Chinese diaspora to examine education of Chinese immigrant youth. The phenomenon of transnational families and education of "parachute kids" have been described in the literature (Ma, 2003; Skeldon, 2003). The issue of educational experiences of parachute kids in the transnational families has been analyzed (Zhou, 2009). However, their perspectives are drawn more on the framework of adaptation to the U.S. society and assume the United States as a powerful site for assimilating immigrants, which is challenged by the diaspora perspective.

For the purpose of my dissertation, I view immigration as an object of analysis rather than a unit of analysis for these transnational migrant families who are /will be participating in my research. The complexity of Chinese diaspora in the United

States allows me to further examine the backgrounds of Chinese immigrant families. I am interested in how our understanding of Chinese immigrant education can benefit from the perspective of the Chinese diaspora. Specifically, to what extent has the education of Chinese immigrant youth in the United States been shaped by their families' transmigrant experiences from a diasporic perspective, and how these educational experiences have influenced the transmigrant experiences of the families. More importantly, I am interested in how Chinese immigrant youth will position themselves in the global context.

Intersection of Diaspora and Education

Diaspora studies and immigrant education

The proliferation of diaspora studies has been produced across the humanities and social sciences since the 1990s. However, the framework of diaspora has been absent from the anthropological literature on immigration and education in the United States (Lukose, 2007). The need to create an intersection for diaspora studies and immigrant education in the United States is the attempt of my research.

Lukose provides an alternative theoretical framework that engages the field of diaspora studies with the U.S.-based anthropology of immigrant education and sheds light on immigrant education and youth studies in the context of globalization. From her perspective, the dominant approach to immigrant education advocates the national assimilationist framework. Theories of acculturation and segmented assimilation, which are part of assimilation theories, are used by this dominant framework in the research on education of immigrant youth in the United States. She suggests that the

category of immigrant as a unit of analysis be shifted to an object of analysis through the use of an alternative framework that engages the two fields of studies (p. 413). As she points out, such a dialogue would offer views on the conceptual categories such as nation-state, homeland, immigrant, and multiculturalism (p. 406). This alternative approach allows immigrant education in the United States to be understood in a more dynamic and imagined deterritorializable context rather than within a static boundary set by nationalism and the nation-state.

A crucial common factor that is shared by the diaspora studies and immigrant education is the cultural and social worlds of migrant population (p. 406). She claims that the national assimilationist framework assumes nation-state is a powerful site for assimilation, incorporation, and mainstreaming into a nationally defined society (p. 408). For example, some studies discuss identity formation for educational achievement within and across the boundaries of school, home, and community, however they rarely interrogate how the category of immigrant has been created by the systems as well as the larger national context as part of a production of United States national identity.

My research will investigate these contexts and critically examine the status of being an immigrant as part of the production of a national assimilationist framework. For example, Who are named as immigrant students? Why and how did the youth immigrate to the city where the school is located? What are their perceptions on the political relations between the home countries and the United States that might influence their positions?

Chinese diaspora and education

The field of Chinese diaspora studies provides a critical lens to examine the Chinese experiences in the United States. This field has conceptualized the reality of Chinese immigrants in terms of reason of immigration, region of origins, linguistic, and SES backgrounds over the historical periods. I have stated how the argument of a single Chinese diaspora in a global context has been challenged and complicated by the studies that compare the Chinese transnational migration in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Europe, Australia, Canada and the United States. Wang (1995) has further critiqued the two major theories of assimilationist and loyalty paradigms that have dominated the study of the Chinese diaspora in the United States. He develops yet another alternative paradigm that argues for including the concept of transnationality, which will reaffirm the theories and approaches in ethnic studies. His perception will result in a better understanding of Chinese communities within the trans-Pacific movements brought on by global capitalism.

Transnationalism as a theoretical framework is used by Brittain (2002) to examine the schooling experiences of Chinese and Mexican immigrants in American public schools. Her analysis specifically focuses on their perceptions of the schools and how these students reflect the values or expectations of American schooling. She argues that traditional assimilation theories can hardly capture the complex patterns of social interaction of immigrants in today's schools (p. 2). Building on the theories of transnational social spaces, her study contributes to explaining the two areas in the field: education and immigrant children, which she notes, "have not been strongly

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explored" (p. 3). In a large sense, her work is as an example of conducting educational research through the framework of transnationalism and contributes to the engagement of diaspora studies and immigrant education in the United States.

Levitt (2012) makes "box" as a metaphor to exaggerate the method that scholars used to analyze migration. She critiques the assumption of natural order of boundedness, rootedness, and membership in a single group. She argues for expanding the boundaries of our analytical boxes and for taking a hard look at the assumptions on which they are based (p.5). By placing education in diaspora, the field of Chinese immigrant education in the United States will gain insights from the brilliant research method suggested by Levitt. No doubt, the study of Chinese diaspora will critically shift our understanding of their experience from a perspective within the nation-state boundary to a larger global context, which in turn allows us to reframe our analysis of their education, which might have been shaped by their transnational migration experiences.

Chapter 5

Methodology

Strategies of Inquiry

This qualitative research follows the tradition of ethnographic approach (Fetterman, 2010; Wolcott, 2008) and narrative inquiry (Clandianin & Connelly, 2000; Riessman, 2008). I combine the two research methods to provide direction for procedures in this research design. This attempt seeks the potential for applying the approach of two methods to conduct research on transmigrant educational experience of immigrant youth.

Ethnographic approach

According to Creswell (2009, p. 13), ethnography is defined as "a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational and interview data." Since the youth is the focus of this research, they are viewed as an intact cultural group. The natural settings for this research are school, family, and ethnic community. Therefore, ethnography is suited for this research to examine the imagined communities and cultural production of the youth. Ethnographic interviews and participant observations such as Leveit and Shiller (2005, p. 1012) suggest allow me as a researcher to document how these youth negotiate their identities, interact within a context and/or across its boundaries, and act in ways that confirm or contradict their values over time.

The ethnographic approach is used to guide the research design for Phase I and II. From October 2010 to June 2011, the fieldwork was conducted in Phase I of the research. I spent about four hours a week in a high school in San Francisco (I refer it as "SFHS"). I conducted interviews with the students and educators, and participated in classroom observations and activities held in the school. I also visited students' families, conducted interviews with the parents, and took part in the community events in San Francisco.

The fieldwork in Phase II started from September 2013 and completed in June 2014. In addition to three to four days a week in a high school in Cupertino (I refer it as "SVHS"), I spent countless hours visiting students' families, participating in the events organized by the local communities. In Phase II, I also conducted interviews with ten participants living in the SF Bay Area through my own personal networks.

Narrative inquiry

In addition to using ethnographic approach to capture the culture of this group of youth, narrative inquiry is also applied in this research. In their book, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) answered the question why narrative inquiry is used: "Because narrative inquiry is a way, the best way we believe, to think about experience" (p. 80). The purpose of my research is to explore education of the immigrant youth in order to complement the intersection of immigration and education from a diasporic perspective. Educational experience is the key issue this research can uncover. The method of narrative inquiry enables me to focus on each youth's story of immigration

and deeply explore its impact on their education. Therefore, this method provides me with a lens to portray and make meaning of their experiences for further analysis.

In the process of my fieldwork, I paid a lot attention to the relationships with the participating students, because a trustable relationship is essential to collect the narrative data. The interview questions were purposefully designed to document their narration of immigration and education. Questions are categorized into to three major themes, immigration, transnational migration, and education. Most of the questions are descriptive. For example, "in what contexts did your parent(s) discuss with you about why they came to the United States?" "Can you describe what it was like when you went to China the last time?" "What do you think about your classes?" In some cases, students cried for their poignant experiences and had to stop telling their stories. I also documented what happened under that situation in my field notes to capture their feelings toward those experiences through narration. Not every student preferred to share their deep feeling about their experiences. Neither did I force them to do so. All narrations coded and analyzed in the dissertation received permission from the students.

Creating New Boundaries

The SF Bay Area is selected as the geographic research site for my dissertation because of its high percentage of current Chinese immigrants. According to the U.S. Census (2007-2011), San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont Metro Area, at about a total of 421,078 Chinese, has the highest percentage of Chinese, in fact, 9.8% as compared to 3.8% in the Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana Metro Area and

3.4% in the New York–Northern New Jersey–Long Island Metro Area. Furthermore, awareness of variations in Chinese immigrant backgrounds, in terms of region of origin, linguistic, and SES status, and immigration categories led me to locate my research in this area. Meanwhile, the development of the Internet made the notion of boundaries for the research not only be determined by the traditionally geographic locations but also the created imagination of cultural boundaries beyond the physical space; in other words, cyberspace is examined and analyzed in this research.

Chinese immigrants in San Francisco

San Francisco is referred as *Gum San* in Cantonese, which literally means the Gold Mountain. Its name vividly reflects the historical context of the gold-mining era. The identity of the first Chinese who arrived in San Francisco is uncertain, but the port of San Francisco has witnessed various waves of Chinese immigrants over the past 150 years. The U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the restrictive national origins system and established family reunification as a priority, which allowed many new Chinese immigrants from Guangdong province to reconnect with family members who had been settled in the United States, in particular in San Francisco, for a generation or more. The historical significance of San Francisco is important in examining Chinese immigrants who came through family reunification. Another reason for looking at San Francisco is its demographic status. The city of San Francisco specifically has a Chinese population at 21.4% (U.S. Census, 2007-2011). Therefore, I have located Phase I of the research in the city of San Francisco, which has a large Chinese population of new immigrants.

Chinese immigrants in Cupertino

A fairly large body of literature that examine the flows of Chinese immigrants to the SF Bay Area over different historical periods (Hom, 1971; Sung, 1967; Yung, 1995; Wong, 1998) deepens our knowledge about variations within the Chinese immigrant families in both urban and suburban areas. When more and more high-skilled Chinese immigrants are settling in suburban areas of the SF Bay Area, scholars began to explore their experiences and identity formation impacted by the globalization and technological development in Silicon Valley (Wong, 2006). Educational achievement in this area also attracted some scholars' attention. Jiménez and Horowitz (2013) drew on fieldwork in Cupertino, a high-skilled immigrant gateway, which is situated in the heart of Silicon Valley, to examine immigration, educational achievement, and ethnoraciality. Their works confirmed the importance of Silicon Valley as a suburban enclave for Chinese immigrants and the high educational achievements in this area.

There are a number of other reasons for selecting Cupertino in Phase II. First, the demographic pace has been rapidly changing in the past 20 years. In 1990, only 23 % of total population was Asian. Chinese make up about 13 % of residents (U.S. Census, 1990). However, based on the U.S. Census (2008-2012a), Asian make up 63 % of the total population, among which about 29 % of residents are Chinese. Second, Cupertino is a high-educated and high-skilled immigrant gateway. Today in this area, foreign-born population in Asian residents is about 86 % and most of them are immigrants from South and East Asia (U.S. Census, 2008-2012b). More than 74 %

of the population has a bachelor's degree or higher and about 77 % of them work in managerial and professional fields. Cupertino's median household income is about $127,534 (U.S. Census, 2008-2012c). As indicated, Cupertino is an upper-middle-class immigrant city of residents with high socioeconomic backgrounds. Its reality challenged the traditional research on immigrant education, which mainly focuses on education from the perspective of the low-income immigrant enclaves and assumes the longing of immigrant youth to be the first generation college student in the family. However, this is not the story for Chinese immigrants in Cupertino. Last but not least, Cupertino is located in the heart of Silicon Valley. As a home to many high-tech firms such as Apple Inc., its entrepreneur mentality and demands for high educational achievement mirrors those families who have the same aspirations and desires for their children's education. Therefore, Cupertino is a perfect fit to theoretically examine these issues.

Boundaries in cyberspace

Since the capacities of the Internet expanded, in particular the social media that has grown so rapidly in the past decades, the use of Internet started to shift the ways through which the ethnographer documents, analyzes, and interprets data (Markham, 2004). Usage of social media by the students urges me as an ethnographer to redefine my research field. The distinction of activities between the online and offline world has become merged, and they transformed each other, which required ethnographers to incorporate two spaces into their research design and procedures for approaching and interacting with research subjects (Garcia, Standlee, Bechkoff, & Cui, 2009).

Internet drives me to define my research setting as a combination of online and offline phenomena. Because my research mainly focuses on social worlds of the youth and most of them are active participants in social media and online communications, the existence of enduring documents of their communication (emails, text conversations, website postings, etc.) would allow a more precise examination of their relationships and friendship networks (Garcia et al., 2009).

Different from being a participant observer in the traditional research field, the role of researcher is more like that of a "participant-experiencer" (Garcia et al., 2009). I am not only observing what took place in their online activities but also experiencing the activities through getting access to their accounts and providing comments to their postings or chatting with them online. After receiving permissions from the students and their parents, I added the students into my social media accounts, including QQ,[13] Wechat,[14] and Facebook. The three major social media networks together, with emails and Skype, were used as the main contact approach for me to find the participants, set up times for chats, interviews, and hangouts. I also used them to collect the data. I checked their updates in the social media once in a while and put down my comments and/or discussed with them about their text posts and photos.

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[13] QQ is a China-based online network for instant messaging and file transfers. QQ was developed by Tencent, Inc., which was founded in 1998. Tencent has grown into China's largest and most used Internet service portal and attracts young users in Mainland China.
[14] Wechat (*weixin* in Chinese) is a mobile text and voice messaging application service developed by Tencent in China. It was launched in 2011.

Access to the Field

My dissertation views the SF Bay Area as a research site, but with a focus on two public high schools respectively in the city of San Francisco and Cupertino. In the process of conducting fieldwork in Cupertino, the type of capital investment immigration from my personal networks began to catch my attention. I documented and analyzed the views from the youth and their parents to complement those perspectives from family and skilled immigration found in San Francisco and Cupertino.

Field in San Francisco

I conducted my study at SFHS in Phase I of the research. The school draws students from throughout San Francisco due to the San Francisco Unified School District Diversity Index enrollment policy (Student Assignment Annual Report, 2012). Although the neighborhood is described as comparatively middle class, the attending students are not necessarily from the same area. Out of approximately 2,500 students, 52% receive free or reduced-price meals. Given the complexity of using students receiving free lunch status as a barometer, I also use the data issued by the school to consider the socioeconomic status (SES) of the students, 79% of whom are socioeconomically disadvantaged.

I contacted Mr. Chang, who is the ESL/Bilingual Department Head at SFHS through my former work network. He is an active member in the community of Chinese language teaching. I learned there were quite an amount of 1.5-generation Chinese youth in his AP class, who appropriately suited the criteria of participants for

this research. I contacted him over the phone after sending out an email. In my

email, I introduced myself briefly and explained my research topic and goal of

conducting this research. The first meeting and informal conversation with him was

held in October 2010. Meanwhile, I informed the Principal in SFHS about my

research (see Appendix 1) and was given his permission to conduct fieldwork at the

school. I was referred to the assistant principle to recruit students who: 1) were born

in Mainland China; 2) had some schooling in Mainland China; 3) came to the United

States before the age of 13; 4) were 14-18 years of age. However, no specific data

list was found through the school data system. Therefore, I recruited participants on

the recommendation of Mr. Chang and the Dean. I brought the name list suggested

by them to Mrs. Tian, who is a bilingual para-educator. She helped me print out each

student's schedule, through which I found the students.

Before conducting face-to-face interviews with the students, I presented

written consent forms (Appendix 3) for those under the age of 18 and asked them to

get signatures from their parent(s). I was able to recruit seven students (see Table

5.1). I also conducted interviews with three parents and five educators at SFHS.

Table 5.1. Demographic Information of Participating Students in SFHS

Name	Gender	Age	Birth City	Language	First City of Immigration	Age of Immigration
Melissa	F	18	Kaiping			9
Jessica	F	17	Taishan			9
Cole	M	16	Zhongshan	Cantonese	San	12
Jason	M	16	Taishan	Mandarin	Francisco	12
Alice	F	17	Guangzhou			11
Snowy	F	16	Guangzhou			12
Emma	F	17	Zhongshan			12

As a former employee in a company promoting Chinese culture and education, I was able to conduct formal and informal interviews with a large number of Chinese immigrants ranging from first to fifth generation in the city of San Francisco from 2010-2013. From June 2014, my role of board member in a nonprofit organization advocating for Chinese Americans' rights of immigration and education allowed me to participate in relevant activities in the city. The valuable opportunities and insights from the conversations on immigration and education provided me numerous accesses to deeply understand the background of the Chinese immigrants for this research.

Field in Cupertino

In spring quarter 2011, I knew through my adviser a college student who was a former SVHS graduate. I shared with her my research interest and fieldwork plan for Phase II of the research. We drove together from Santa Cruz to SVHS, and she referred me to the principal. After the Principal read my information letter (see Appendix 1), she called the data analyst in the school and suggested for her to help me sort out the students who might meet the criteria for this research. After two days I received a list of the students who were 1.5-generation Chinese youth from the school. I tried to return to SVHS, but I was very busy writing my report for study in SFHS. So, I did not have an opportunity to return to SVHS until two years after the first visit in fall of 2013. I collected the updated demographic information about the 1.5-generation Chinese youth in the school. The Principal referred me to the guidance counselor, Fiona, to assist me with setting up an informational meeting to

recruit potential participants. The informational meeting was held on September 10,

2013. Fiona helped me send a message to all students on the list sorted by the school.

> They asked me some questions like how did you feel when you first
> came to the United States? What did your transition look like when
> you went to UCSC? They were interested in my experience. One
> student asked me if I could send one Chinese version of the consent
> form to her mom since she couldn't read English. Through talking to
> them, I found myself like a bridge/tool to understand their perspectives
> and bring their voice to the larger public (Field note, Sept 10th, 2013).

After two weeks of the recruiting process, which included introducing my

research project, answering questions from the students, and presenting the consent

forms (see Appendix 2 and 3) to ask for their parents' permission, five students

decided to participate. From September 2013 to March 2014, another six students

were recruited. In total, 11 students in SVHS participated in the research (see Table

5.2).

Table 5.2. Demographic Information of 1.5-Generation Participants in SVHS

Name	Gender	Age	Birth City	Language	First City of Immigration	Age of Immigration
Lily	F	16	Guangzhou	Cantonese Mandarin	San Jose	10
Lei	M	15	Beijing	Mandarin	Cupertino	10
Celia	F	16	Tianjin	English Mandarin	Ottawa	9
Jia	F	16	Shenzhen	Mandarin	Cupertino	10
Lin	M	18	Xinhui	Cantonese Mandarin	San Francisco	13
Ting	F	18	Shenyang	Mandarin	San Jose	11
Chen	M	18	Guangzhou	Cantonese Mandarin	San Jose	12
Yang	M	17	Shenyang	Mandarin	San Jose	13
Shun	M	16	Fushun	Mandarin	Cupertino	12
Jiang	M	17	Beijing	English Mandarin	Ottawa	7
Ye	M	14	Fuzhou	Fujianese Mandarin	LA	9

From my fieldwork in SVHS, I also found three students who were born in the United States but moved to China either right after their birth or at an early age and moved back to the United States between the ages of 6, 8, and 14 (see Table 5.3). It was difficult to categorize them into either 1.5 or second generation. Therefore, I decided to document their experiences and perspectives separately as well, to better understand the complexity of transnational migration in terms of generation.

Table 5.3. Demographic Information of Second-Generation Participants in SVHS

Name	Gender	Age at Interview	Birth City	Language	City in China	Age of Re-entered US
Emma	F	15	Sunnyvale	Mandarin	Shenyang	6
Mia	F	16	LA	Mandarin	Shenzhen	8
Alice	F	16	Burlingame	Mandarin	Shanghai	14

In total, there were 14 students participating in the research. I also contacted their parents, mostly through the students. I got to know most of the educators through the classes of the participating students. In total, 8 parents and 13 educators participated in the research at SVHS.

Networks with the families in the SF Bay Area

In addition to my fieldwork in Cupertino, I also conducted interviews with a few Chinese families in the SF Bay Area from my own personal network. After these parents heard about my research, they started sharing with me their own immigration stories and their perspectives on their children's education. When I realized their children were 1.5-generation youth, I asked if I could talk to their children. None rejected my request. All of them showed their curiosity and support and provided

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their contact information and/or social media accounts, so that I could set up interviews with them.

From summer 2013 to summer 2014, I contacted dozens of families and developed good relationships with them. I used the criteria to recruit the families with children who: 1) were born in Mainland China; 2) had some schooling in Mainland China; 3) came to the United States before the age of 13; 4) immigrated to the United States from Mainland China. Among the families who were interested in my research and willing to share their stories, I chose four of them to participate (see Table 5.4). They invited me to various events in their communities, including Thanksgiving, Chinese Spring Festival, potlucks, and countless lunches and dinners. I also went with some mothers to the shopping center. The Internet further provided ongoing communication with them, giving me opportunities to access their daily lives and hear their stories.

Most of the participants in both research Phase I and II came to the United States through family-sponsored immigration. However, three of the four families mentioned earlier entered the United States through the capital investment immigration, which act was implemented in the 1990s. Their experiences illustrate a different picture of immigrant education, complicating what I learned from families who came through family reunification and skilled immigration in San Francisco and Cupertino.

Table 5.4. Demographics of Participant Families from the Personal Network of the Researcher

Family Name	City of Immigration	City in China	Language	Date of Birth	Age of Immigration
Hanson	Hillsborough	Beijing	Mandarin	6/3/2003	11
Kiki	Albany	Beijing	Mandarin	5/14/1998	9
David	Palo Alto	Shanghai	Mandarin	8/27/2002	11
Brian	Fremont	Shandong	Mandarin/ Shandong	6/11/1995	9

Positionality, Reflexivity, and Power

"Ethnic researchers bring about a different analytical approach and perspectives based on their personal experience and cultural capital" (Trueba & Zou, 2002, p. 7). This section reflects on my approach through describing my personal journey of crossing from China to the United States and questions myself if my own personal stance and assumptions that influenced my interpretation of the participants' perspectives and ways of telling stories. I also discuss the relationships developed with the participants, including students, parents, and educators, to reflect on the positionality and dynamics of power formed in the process of the research.

I agree with Rallis and Rossman (2010) about their position on the importance of ethically reflexive practice for ethnographic research. They suggest it as "caring reflexivity," which is defined and enacted by the relationships that recognize and honor the participants within their specific context (p. 496). As an ethnographer, the ethical dialogues with the participants provide me with an opportunity to document the reflexive moral reasoning, because the interdependent relationship between the participants and myself is the product of the research.

Journey of the researcher

Before I came to the United States in 2005, I had a few opportunities to study and live in Japan, the Korean Peninsula, and a few European countries. The process of discovering myself has continued along my journeys of crossing both geographically and culturally. Feelings of survival, pain, resiliency, and success continue in the search for my own ethnic and cultural identity along with intellectual growth. I never suffered poverty nor had to endure terrible living conditions when I arrived in these countries. However, the skills to face the crisis of my multiple identities, the ability to use an authentic language to communicate with locals, and the patience needed to resolve the cultural conflicts in order to adapt to a new setting always drove me into a psychological dilemma between an old and new self. I grew up in a Chinese middle-class family. My mother was a diplomat and had various experiences working and living in different countries, which encouraged me to travel and live in Asia, Europe, and North America over the past decade. My father is a professor who teaches Islamic culture and literature in the university. The transnational and cultural environment within my family gave me an ability to appreciate cultural diversity and also made me culturally sensitive to the lives of people who share different journeys with me. Being conscious of experiencing myself as both inquirer and respondent allows me to reflect on my insider/outsider identity that has been constructed and shaped through interactions with the participants.

As an insider, I share similar Chinese cultural heritage and physical features with the student and parent participants. Mandarin Chinese is my native language, and I can understand some Cantonese. I went to K-12 schools, college, and graduate school in China, which gave me insights into the students' educational experiences in China as well as their parents' educational aspirations and desires for their children, and also perceptions on education among the Chinese community.

And yet, my several identities, of being a graduate student, a storyteller, and researcher, set me apart as an observer and inquirer. I did not attend K-12 schooling in the United States. Before I conducted my research, my understanding about the system and culture of U.S. schools had been learned through books, mass media, and informal conversations with people. My immigration path was neither similar to the parents who came by choice nor similar to those by family reunification. As an A-1 visa holder, I followed my mother to San Francisco where she was assigned a diplomatic term and later I applied for graduate school and transferred my status to F-1 visa holder. I decided to apply for U.S. permanent residency after holding a few years of H-1b visa. My own immigration experience taught me not to take any single story of immigration for granted. Variations in reasons for coming to this country and struggles along the process of immigration should be greatly and deeply understood through my interpretation.

While I attempt to interpret the perceptions from the participants through their own lens and use their own terms, I am aware that I might influence how their words are interpreted. As a result, in being aware of the complexity of the study, I will

continue to reflect on how the relationships are negotiated between my own identity, interpretation, and life story and those of the participants in the next section.

Relationship between the researcher and the participants

This research attempts to investigate the experiences of Chinese youth across various social systems of schools, families, and Chinese ethnic communities. The multilayered relationships between myself and the participants including student, parents, and educators have been situated and developed through the process. The efforts of developing and maintaining mutual understanding relationships with all participants were made along the study in Phase I to Phase II. As the literal author of this dissertation, I am aware of the reality that my interpretation should not be the sole real voice heard from the research. The voices from all participants are created and heard through the text, which presents to all readers in the dissertation (Lincoln & Guba, 2003).

The decision to participate in this study is completely voluntary, which is indicated clearly in the consent form. During the process of recruiting participants, I read and explained it carefully to both students and their parents before I asked for their permission to participate. All participants were free to withdraw or discontinue their participation. There were a few times I was disappointed when the students forgot either the interview appointments or the documents related to the research. I reminded myself whenever I encountered such chaotic situations that any critical words from me for the students or parents would break the rules indicated in the consent form. Therefore, I trained myself to be more patient and understanding.

Throughout the process, I realized that I should not complain about their forgetting the appointments but rather I should know more about why and what happened to them that had brought about such a result. I was not an educator in the school. Neither did the participating students view me as a teacher. I wore a visitor badge written with my full name when I entered both schools. In SVHS, some friends of the participating students even asked if I was a new student. I was called *da jiejie* (big sister) by most participating students and *laoshi* (teacher) by a few parents in Mandarin Chinese. Some educators viewed me as a one-time visitor.

None of the students in both SFHS and SVHS were my acquaintances or friends whom I knew prior to conducting the research. Three families in the SF Bay Area knew me before I asked for their participation in the research. In their views, I was a doctoral student who graduated from a prestigious university in China. In a few gatherings, I felt the expectation from the parents for me as an authoritative educator or an expert in the field of education. They tried to find some message from within our conversations for my approval of their approach to educating their children. At the beginning I tried to provide my knowledge about U.S. schooling that I learned from the graduate program, but later I realized my opinions might influence their understanding of American education and bias their responses to my research. Therefore, I expressed my answers as a respondent. I left more space to make their voices be heard during the conversations. Conversation is not to find an answer to any concerns. It is the concern itself, which makes us know ourselves better within this process.

Collecting Materials

According to Creswell (2009, p. 179-180), four types of data have been collected. The following table identifies the types of data collection, specific approaches of each type, and the strengths and weakness of each type as well (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Data Collection Types and Options

Data Collection Types	Options within Types	Strengths and/or Weakness
Interviews	Face-to-face one-on-one in person interviews; Focus group interviews	Participants can provide historical information; Indirect information can be provided through the views of the participants; I may provide bias response; Not all participants are equally articulate and perceptive
Observations	Observe as participant— role of researcher is known	I can have a first-hand experience with participants; I can document information as it occurs
Documents	Public documents: Newspapers, school forms and pamphlets; Private documents of participants: journals, diaries, letters, emails, cell phone text messages, blog contents, social media messages	Enable me to obtain the language and works of participants; Not all participants are equally articulate and perceptive; Requires me to search out the information in hard-to-find places; Relationship between the researcher and the participants need to be built up to get access to the documents
Audio-visual materials	Photographs, digital videotapes, Internet websites, art projects, social media images	Provides an opportunity for the participants to directly share their reality; It captures attention visually; May be difficult to interpret

Data collected for my research include transcripts from digital video-audio taped semi-structured interviews, field notes of interviews, and observations, both public and private documents. An interview protocol (see Appendix 4.1, 4.2, 5, 6) as

well as an observational protocol (see Appendix 7) is used in my data-recording

process. Documents and audio-visual materials are also recorded during the process

of data collection.

Interviews

Since this research originally started from my own personal networks in the

city of San Francisco, countless meetings, conversations, talks, and chats both

formally and informally took place along the process of the research. I was invited

and participated in a variety of parties, events, and activities in the families, schools,

and communities. Through building up the networks and trust, I purposely chose and

decided the participants for my dissertation. In total, I interviewed 60 individuals

(see Table 5.6). In SFHS, I conducted interviews with 7 students, 3 parents and 5

educators. In SVHS, 14 students, 8 parents and 13 educators were interviewed. In

addition to the two schools, I interviewed 10 people in 4 families in the SF Bay Area.

Most of the interviews were conducted in person. Two interviews were conducted

through Skype. I also conducted three focus group interviews.

Table 5.6. Numbers of Interviews for Dissertation

	SFHS	SVHS	Personal Networks	Total
Students	7	14	4	25
Parents	3	8	6	17
Educators	5	13	0	18

Interviews with the students and parents were respectively conducted in

Mandarin Chinese. English was used if the students preferred not to speak Mandarin

Chinese. Interviews with the educators who have Chinese backgrounds were

conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Interviews with non-Chinese school educators were

conducted in English. In total, 40 of them were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, 10 of them in English, and 3 of them were mixed in English and Mandarin Chinese. Each interview took one to two hours. With most of the student and parent participants, I returned for second or third follow-up interviews. For the educators, I interviewed them once. Both a digital tape-recorder and digital video-recorder were used to record the interviews. For those who did not prefer to be recorded by the digital video-recorder, only a digital tape-recorder was used. For many casual conversations, I did not tape them but I tried to take notes as much as possible to remind myself for the later data analysis, such as conversations over the phone or brief talks in the school or on the street.

Before each first interview, I briefly explained my research purpose and shared my own educational experience in China, Japan, and the United States and my immigration stories from China to the United States. I found more trust had been developed during this process. I also read the consent form to the students and parents to make sure they understood that they have their own rights to participate or discontinue the research. After my explanation, I showed them a printed copy of interview questions. The structure of interview questions for both students and parents are organized in chronological order beginning with life before coming to the United States, educational experience in the United States, and plans for the future. Most of the interviews did not follow exactly the structure of the protocol, but I tried to follow their own storylines. With most of the parents, I started with the question, Why did you come to the United States? From there, they expressed their opinions

on other questions. Some of the parents were eager to share their stories of immigration and experiences of educating their child. Some of them I have not had a chance to talk to or meet due to a number of reasons. Usually the students decided if they wanted me to talk to their parents. I did not force any participant who did not want their parents interviewed. Neither did I contact their parents through phone numbers provided by the school. I appreciated the willingness of the students and wanted to protect their independent decision on whether or not to interview their parents.

I talked with every teacher whom I first met right after class and asked if they would like to share their perspectives through interviews. All of them appreciated and supported my work and encouraged me to conduct research on this group of students. After gaining their permission, we set up an interview date, time, and place. Some teachers introduced me to the whole class and shared my research project with the students. I also informally chatted and conducted interviews with a number of staff in the lobby, library, cafeteria, playground, and a few administrators.

I gave each student a $15 gift card for Peet's Coffee or Starbucks for their participation. I also treated them to drinks or snacks if the interviews were conducted in the coffee shops. Sometimes I gave snacks or fruits to the families to show my thankfulness, and they treated me with food and drinks as well. Only one student withdrew from the interviews due to workload for study. He allowed me to include the first interview for the dissertation.

Participant observations and field notes

Due to my workload in the PhD program from 2010-2011, I only took part in two class observations, two observations during lunchtime and one freshmen orientation at SFHS, for my study. Each class observation lasted one hour. The freshmen orientation was held for two hours at the school. I also went to a few events with the students held in local communities in San Francisco. For example, I was invited by Melissa and Jessica to attend a business class about finance and investment.

During my fieldwork in Phase II, I tried my best to follow participant students from the first period to the last period. I spent time with students during lunchtime, in the cafeteria, or on the field where they ate and played. Sometimes I stood outside of the classroom listening and chatting with them, or attended a club. I asked a few students to map out the various groups on campus during lunchtime while I took pictures. This particular practice allowed me to better understand the sense of belonging of the participants and what social group boundaries meant to them.

I was also invited to participate in a few events at SVHS, including an ELD parent meeting, Thanksgiving Lunch, Challenge Day, International Week, and the ELD Speech Contest. At some of these events I was asked to volunteer by the guidance counselor and the ELD Head to help with other educators. I also visited the students' homes and observed their activities in the communities to better understand how they negotiate their own immigrant status and how their transnational migrant identities have been constructed in their daily life activities and practices. With a few

students, I went to their afterschool or extra-curricular programs, such as tennis, golf practice, guitar, drawing class, and/or Chinese language school. On May 18, 2014 I hosted a thank-you party for all participant students in the SVHS to express my appreciation and provide them with an opportunity to meet each other and have a conversation together. The party was held in the community center of one student's apartment complex. I tape recorded the party and conducted a focus group interview with the students at the same time.

More than 100 pages of field notes were written for my fieldwork in Phase I and II of the research. I checked and confirmed the field notes with the participants for further clarification. Most of them were written in English and some in Chinese. The purpose of taking field notes was not only to document what happened in the field but also to serve as a type of data for analysis.

Documents "on and off" line

With regard to documents, both public and private documents were collected in the fieldwork. For the public documents, I focused on the pamphlets and newspapers from both the school and the community. For example, "Stories of American Rookies," which is an essay collection from the ELD speech contest, handout, and "passport" for the International Week, a thank-you card from the challenge day, a postcard for community support, course request worksheets, a few issues of school newspapers, handouts from the ESL/ELD department, and pamphlets about afterschool programs in the communities. With permission from the students, I

also collected their private documents, which reflected their transnational migrant experiences and educational experiences.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I asked each participant student if he/she had social media accounts. With their permission, I added them into my social media account, including QQ, Facebook, and Wechat. I also saved some of their photos and messages that portrayed their daily life experience for my data analysis. This method of online data collection not only reduced costs for travel and data transcriptions, it also provided a more comfortable space for the participants to reflect deeply on certain topics (Nicholas et al., 2010). For example, I conducted an interview with one student through QQ and wrote down my field note, below.

> I said hi to Yang in QQ. We talked about college admission, his ex-girlfriend, cyberspace experience, senior prom, my fieldwork in his school, his mom's feedback about the interview, etc. He said, "I didn't realize we talked too much and feel a lot release." Yang assured me he would save the conversation and send to me through email. This is convenient. He told me it would be embarrassing if he talked about his ex-girlfriend in person. Cyberspace provided another space to construct the narratives (Field note, April 28, 2014).

Photo display workshop

In March 2014, I bought 10 one-time-use cameras and assigned each camera to each participant student at SVHS. I told each student they could take a photo of whatever they thought represented their lives. I believed the practice of taking photos would demonstrate their views of the world as well as their own life experiences. By May 20, I had collected nine cameras, except for one student who developed a few pictures by her own. Because of California policy for chemicals contained in one-time-use cameras, I mailed all cameras to South Carolina for film developing. After

two weeks, I brought nine bags of photos to the school and gathered all participating students together at lunchtime for each of them to select five favorable photos for display. The students were asked to write down at least two sentences on the back of the photos and why they chose to take them. At the same time, I videotaped the conversation among them during the selecting process. I also asked a few students why they chose the photos. Under the assistance offered by the guidance counselor, Fiona, we helped the students make their own photo posters. The photo display started for the "Back to School Night" on September 10, 2014. Their photo posters continued to be displayed on the glass wall of the main office where every individual could see as they entered the main entrance of the school through the fall semester 2014 (see Appendix 8).

Analyzing Materials

Based on the process of data analysis discussed by Creswell (2009, p. 183-190), five phases were involved in my data analysis procedures: 1) organizing and preparing data; 2) reading through all data; 3) coding the data; 4) categorizing themes; 5) interpreting the meaning of themes.

I transcribed all interviews and completed typing up all field notes in the computer before I started organizing and arranging them into different types of data. I was also taking analytic memos (Saldaña, 2009, p. 40-41) along with the process of conducting and transcribing the interviews. I read through all data that are prepared for the coding process and wrote down some notes at the same time. In the process of coding, narrative analysis was used to guide the interview and observation field notes

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analysis, along with descriptive and in vivo coding as the first coding strategy and pattern coding as the second coding strategy (Saldaña, 2009).

According to Saldaña, descriptive coding is also called "topic coding," which summarizes the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data (p. 70). This coding method enables me to code a variety of ethnographic data forms including interview transcripts, field notes, on and offline documents, and audio-visual materials. All data were coded based on predetermined factors, which document the educational experiences of the Chinese immigrant youth in the United States. For example, codes are developed from the interview transcripts, such as the "reason of coming to the United States," "region of origins," "China visit," "immigrant status," "QQ chat," "*buxiban,*" and "global citizen." Codes generated from the field notes include "ESL/ELD learning," "math competition," "class selection," "SCA-5," and "transnational family" among others. Documents and audio-visual materials also categorize codes, such as "ELD contest," "international week," "passion for manga," "*nijigan,*" "time management," "school classes," "afterschool programs" to provide an approach to analyze the data.

In addition to descriptive coding, in vivo coding is also used as the first coding strategy for the interview transcripts and documents collected from the Chinese immigrant youth. As Saldaña illustrates, in vivo coding refers to a word or short phrases from the actual language in the data, which is particularly effective in educational ethnographies with youth because coding with their voices will deepen our understanding of their cultures and worldviews (p. 74). For example, "move

quite often," "don't like the term 'Chinese immigrant,'" "never heard about the term

'1.5-generation,'" "Americans are all blonde with blue eyes," "not belonging to

here," "no idea where is home to get back," "disappointing after I came," "no ways

but have to carry on," "thinking about death when get a F," "life in the United States

sucks," "feeling comfortable when hanging out with (Chinese) immigrants" are codes

from the participating students' voices. Descriptive coding and in vivo coding assists

me with creating a categorized inventory in the initial circle of data analysis.

Pattern coding strategy is applied in the second phase of coding to develop a

category label that identifies similarly coded data from the first cycle of codes (p.

182). For example, the subtheme of "passion for J-pop culture and *nijigan*" is

theoretically constructed from the codes "won't feel lonely in manga world," "I'm

very *otaku,*" "online *utami,*" "passion for cosplay," which are initially descriptive

coded and in vivo coded. Similarly, findings in my dissertation are also generated

from subthemes through pattern coding. For example, the theme of "educational

aspirations and desires" is categorized from six subthemes: "why and how to move to

the United States," "moving after arrival," "why moved to Cupertino", "*buxiban*:

preparing for college," "plans for college," "dynamics of transmigrant families."

Through the two coding circles, I developed four key themes for my data analysis in

Phase I and three key themes and 17 subthemes for Phase II. These themes were

categorized and interpreted in Chapters 6 and 7.

In order to capture the content and the way that content is constructed, both

verbal and nonverbal messages such as emotional expressions and body language are

preserved in the transcripts. All Chinese transcripts were coded in Mandarin Chinese

first and translated into English for the dissertation.

Chapter 6

Findings from Research Phase I

In an attempt at examining the educational experiences of the Chinese immigrant youth, the following two research questions are addressed in Research Phase I: How do contemporary 1.5-generation Chinese youth experience their status as immigrants in the United States; and what contextual factors shape the experience of these youth? From October 2010 to June 2011, I conducted the fieldwork at SFHS in Phase I through in-depth interviews with the students, parents, and educators at SFHS, and observations and participation in the school and community. Numerous talks and conversations relevant to the research questions were held informally with the community members in San Francisco. The insights from the parents and educators, in particular those from the local community members, provided a large context for better understanding the voices from the youth. Four key themes that are selected and discussed in this chapter are generated from the extensive data collected in Phase I. Since my research focuses on the youth, I present their perceptions as the major findings and discuss how its implications guided my work in Phase II.

Changing Perceptions of U.S. Schooling

The fact that all participants had experienced K–12 schooling in China before they came to the United States allowed them to compare experiences in the two countries. An ideal image of American schools was built by their parents, so the students believed the U.S. schools could provide them with a better education. As noted in one interview by Emma, "We could get a better education here than in

China. We could learn English and other subjects." Jessica indicated the same

perspective, "[Parents] all believed coming over here would let their kids have a

better development. Yes, a better future if going abroad." However after they

experienced American schooling at SFHS, they began the process of reconstructing

their views on education in U.S. schools. The words "easy" and "free" frequently

appeared throughout the interviews, but "better" was no longer a term to describe the

school.

> In the United States, teacher[s] won't push you hard. I did a lot of homework in China. We had tests every day. We were forced to do it. I have more freedom here than in China. There is no pressure in school. (Jason, May 17, 2011)

> The school system in China is different from here. There is more freedom here. The school in China was stricter. (Jessica, April 24, 2011)

> School is a lot eas[ier] here. What we learned in Chinese elementary schools was even [more] advanced than [in] high schools here. In China, teachers pushed you every day. Every night I had to do a lot of homework. Teachers were very strict. But here, it is OK even if I don't do homework. (Cole, May 10, 2011)

While limited to their few short years at SFHS, students were still able to

draw a comparison that changed their previous optimistic view of greater educational

opportunities in American schools. These were "better" in the sense of less strict,

freer, and easier, while Chinese schools focused heavily on homework and testing. In

China, the students were more passive and were constantly pushed by the teachers.

Schools offered more intense content, such as mathematics. Emma shared her view

on math and emphasized that her sixth grade music class was cancelled in order to

make the students focus on math and English language.

> Math in China is very intense. What I learned in ninth grade here is what I learned in sixth grade in China. I didn't listen in class [in the U.S.], but still got an A. It's so easy. (Emma, May 17, 2011)

Another reason for the students to have this "easier" view of U.S. schooling might be that some of them were placed in the ESL class due to their lack of English proficiency. Emma Lee pointed that most of the students in ESL geometry class were Chinese immigrant students and they found it not challenging at all.

> ESL students knew how to find shortcut[s] to solve the math problem. They didn't listen to the method taught by the teacher, but quickly found the answer. (Emma, May 17, 2011)

As we can see, a view of U.S. schooling as "better" was held by the students before immigration, and the fact of being positioned in ESL class changed the students' view of the U.S. schools as "easier." From the perspective of sociology, schooling in the United States is viewed not so much as an organization attempting to maximize academic productivity but rather as a social institution designed to socialize students into the norms and values central to adult status (Rowan & Miskel, 1999). Usually, ESL programs prepare immigrant students with language skills as the primary step to adapting and conforming to American values and norms. However, the mission of the ESL/bilingual program in SFHS focused more broadly on "providing a comprehensive program to prepare students to become bilingual and biliterate participants of a global village, and to achieve academic excellence." Informal functions behind the formal ESL program revealed that tracking was formally embedded in the process of maintaining the students' bicultural identity of being transnational rather than transforming their status as outsider/foreigner to

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insider/immigrant. Their position in ESL class enabled the students to view themselves as transmigrant rather than immigrants. However, why and in what way this view has been formed by the immigrants needs further discussion.

Belonging to Two Countries

Most of the students in the interviews made it clear that they had been back to China more than twice since they immigrated. Jessica after the interview even asked me for information on summer camp programs in China. She planned to visit and stay there for two months. Some students shared their desire to go back and forth between the two countries to work after they graduated from college.

> I plan to go back to China after I graduate from the college. Even though I had no choice but come to the United States with my family, I can decide where to stay in the future. I want to go back and forth, and work in between two countries. (Snowy, November 2, 2010)

Snowy expressed her rather negative attitude toward settling permanently in the United States. In fact, her perception of the context in which she interacted every day was even less positive. She realized that in the future she could decide whether to stay in the United States or go back to China. In the same way, Cole planned to work back and forth between the two countries.

> I missed China very much when I just arrived here [in the United States]. I always thought about going back. I think I will go back [to China] to work and come back to [the United States] stay for a few days when I grow up. Just go back and forth between the two countries. (Cole, May 17, 2011)

Cole's father, who was a first-generation Chinese immigrant, had been back to China to work six months before I interviewed Cole. For many 1.5-generation immigrant youth, the reality that they have family members who still live and work in

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China gave them the opportunity to see themselves as belonging to more than one country. The word "immigration" can hardly capture the complexity of border crossing today. Immigration should be looked at as a fluid discourse of migration between countries, which cannot be viewed as a one-way journey but rather as multiple trajectories of immigrant lives and experiences. Being the multicultural carriers, the 1.5-generation Chinese immigrant youth can position themselves beyond the geographic boundaries of nation-states. Many of the students had thought about where to work, study, and stay in the future. The United States would not necessarily be a permanent destination for them. Neither would China be a permanent region for them to return to. The concept of homeland became more dynamic and ambivalent. The students' sense of belonging had been expanded by positioning themselves in more than one country. In order to understand their sense of belonging in a larger context, it is crucial for educators to realize that the transmigrant identity of immigrant students has been shaped by the possibility of positioning themselves individually and collectively in more than one region.

In order to capture the complexity of family SES backgrounds in a transmigrant context, I interviewed students about their parents' professions both in China and in the United States (Table 6.1). Focusing on one social context to show their family SES as middle class/low income, or simply using "upward/downward mobility" to analyze the discourse of immigration is hardly adequate to describe the diversified and fluid situation of family SES in the United States. The study in Phase I focused on the perception of the students, therefore I only documented the parent's

professions through the interviews with the students. In Phase II of the research, I

conducted interviews with the students' parents to capture more details of their

profession, education level and homeownership suggested as SES indicators

(Entwisle & Astone, 1994).

Table 6.1. Professions of Participants' Parents in China and the United States in
Research Phase I

Name	In China		In the U.S.	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Melissa	Businessman	Shoe seller	Cook	Laundry store staff
Jessica	Peasant	Peasant	Builder	Janitor
				Senior caregiver
Cole	Government employee	Accountant	Builder	Unemployed
Jason	Self-employed	Teacher	Builder	Babysitter
Alice	Wine seller	Accountant	Unemployed	Housekeeper
Snowy	Construction manager	Restaurant manager	Builder	Waitress
Emma	Teacher	Housewife	Factory worker	Factory worker

Communicating Globally

As discussed earlier, "immigration" cannot and should not be examined from

one static point of entering the host country but rather as a fluid discourse of border

crossing which displays its own cultural, historical, and political meaning. More

importantly, the idea of border as boundary is becoming vague, since even without

being physically in the same place, the students could easily contact people through

the Internet. The theme of global communication emerged throughout the interviews.

The spaces where students developed the sense of belonging went beyond geographic

boundaries. Many shared their experience of using social media as a networking tool,

in particular with QQ, a China-based online network for instant messaging and file

transfers.

> I have about 30 QQ friends who went [to] the same elementary school when I
> was in China. I added most of them to QQ. I also use it to chat with friends
> who are here. Many of them came from China and they all use it. Every day I
> go back home I log on to QQ. I also use Facebook and Sina Weibo. (Cole,
> May 10, 2011)

Cole said he used the list of QQ members to ask his friends in China to hang

out before he went back to the United States. He emphasized the efficiency of using

QQ. Jason shared his story with a girl who was in Chicago but came from Taishan.

They got to know each other through the QQ chat room. In the past four years, they

never had a chance to meet but stayed in touch as very good friends. He was

interested in people from Taishan and intentionally searched them online.

> I have about 10 QQ friends. They all came from Guangdong. I am very close
> with one guy who is also from Taishan. . . . Another reason for me to use QQ
> is because I could find friends who came from the same city as mine. (Jason,
> May 17, 2011)

Snowy Chang described her way of chatting with friends in China and those

who are ABCs (American-born Chinese) in the United States.

> I used QQ when I was in China at the age of 10. I am still using it to chat with
> my friends in China. I used Facebook and MSN a lot after I came here. I chat
> with my Chinese friends in Chinese, but used English to reply [to] ABCs.
> (Snowy, November 2, 2010)

Some studies on Chinese immigrant youth focus on social capital and network

formation (Tsai, 2006; Wong, 2008; Zhou, 2006), but the impact of the Internet on

their social network formation has not been studied. In her case studies, Lam (2004,

p. 59) argues that the bilingual Internet chat room provides an additional context of

language socialization to the Chinese immigrants through which their ethnic identification with other people of Chinese descent around the world has been formed. I use the term "global communication" to describe the students' social networking experience. Throughout the interviews, I found that global communication took place across multiple social networks on the Internet, which enabled the immigrant youth to maintain the former networks that had been developed in China as well as to build new ones in the United States. The tools they have used include QQ, Sina Weibo (a Chinese version of twitter), Facebook, and MSN. The Internet as an agency has shaped the construction of the invisible communities, where the identity of being transmigrant and sharing the same membership has been developed in the process of global communicating.

Desire for Insular Grouping

Throughout the interviews every student shared their thoughts on making friends. Three categories of friends emerged: immigrant students, ABCs, and non-Chinese students. They all considered immigrant students who shared the same background as their best or good friends. Meanwhile, although they shared a Chinese heritage with ABCs, they seldom socialized with them or saw them as good friends. The reason for distinguishing the two groups and preferring one over the other can be found in the interviews with Alice and Cole.

> I feel closer with those who share the same background with me. It is good to make friends with ABCs. Some of them are good, but we don't share [a] common language. In terms of good friends, I made friends with the immigrants. (Alice, May 17, 2011)

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I have very few ABC friends. They speak English. We [immigrants] like to play ball and chat after class. We don't go home. We like to hang out on the street. But they [ABCs] like to go home right after they play or eat. (Cole, May 10, 2011)

Language and social networking styles determined their preference to develop their peer network with the immigrant students. Apparently, they viewed ABCs as "the other." More interestingly, under the category of the immigrants, subcategories were created based on region of origin.

Most of my friends are Cantonese, particularly Taishanese who are at my age. We hang out, go shopping, play basketball, chat online, eat hotpot and BBQ. (Jason, May 17, 2011)

From my observation in the school cafeteria at lunchtime, I noticed that the students sit in groups based on their region of origin (see Figure 6.1). I confirmed this with one student in the cafeteria and asked him to help me identify the region of each group. I was told that while the students sitting together were not all from the region listed in the map, most shared the same place of origin.


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                    SFHS Cafeteria

  ┌───────────┐  ┌───────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌───────────┐
  │ Guangzhou │  │ Hong Kong │  │ American born │  │ Jiangmen  │
  │           │  │           │  │   Chinese     │  │ Zhongshan │
  └───────────┘  └───────────┘  └──────────────┘  └───────────┘

                       Hallway

  ┌───────────┐  ┌───────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌───────────┐
  │  Taishan  │  │ Hispanics │  │  Cities of   │  │ Other cities of │
  │           │  │ African   │  │  Northern    │  │ Guangdong │
  │           │  │ Americans │  │   China      │  │ Province  │
  └───────────┘  └───────────┘  └──────────────┘  └───────────┘
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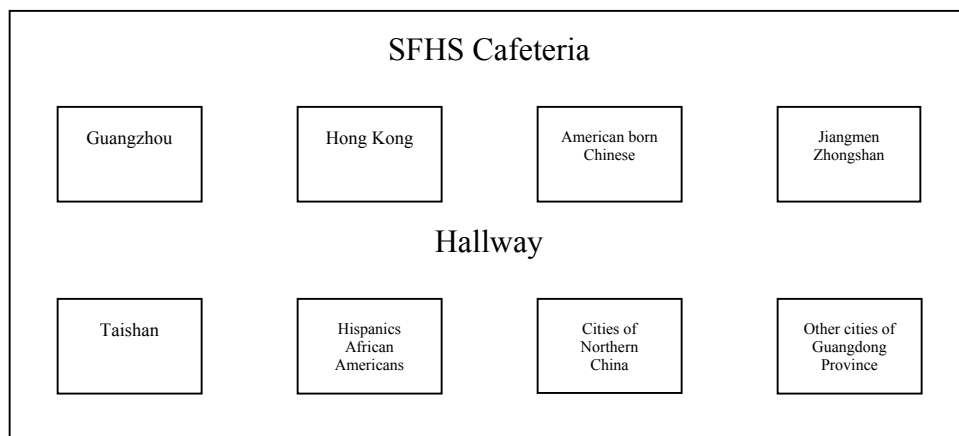
Figure 6.1. Region of Origin in the SFHS Cafeteria

The student body of SFHS contains 30% of non-Chinese students; very few of them showed up in the cafeteria at lunchtime while I was observing. Although one

table was taken by the students from Hispanic and African American ethnic backgrounds, this group numbered only five. Some of the students shared their view on making friends with non-Chinese students.

> I just know them, but we are not friends. I just say hi when I see them. Language is a problem. I don't know what to say to them. (Jason, May 17, 2011)

> I don't initiatively chat with non-Chinese students in class. Language is the issue. I don't bother them, unless I need to borrow stuff from them. (Snowy, November 2, 2010)

Both Jason and Snowy indicated the issue of language as a factor that distanced them from being friends with the non-Chinese students. However, it is difficult to determine if there might be other reasons. For example, Snowy described her negative impression of the United States before she talked about her friendship networks. She even viewed the ESL class, which consisted of all Chinese immigrant students, as a safer place than the regular class. To some extent, the preference to form networks with newly arrived immigrant students made them stay as an insular group. While this insular relationship consolidated their sense of identity of being Chinese, it might further have shaped their sense of being transmigrant. More importantly, the sociocultural context of the school itself as well as the city of San Francisco, which has a large Chinese immigrant population, prevents oversimplifying the reason why an insular relationship has been formed among the immigrant students.

Implication for Research Phase II

From this study, I found the constructed transmigrant identity as a significant mediating factor in shaping the 1.5-generation Chinese youth's individual experience in the United States. This conclusion directed me to further explore how their transmigrant experiences have influenced their educational experiences between the three areas of school, family, and community in Phase II of the research. Specifically, I paid close attention to variation in backgrounds of the families to understand the role of families in shaping the transmigrant identity of the youth in and out of the school setting, and the parents' aspirations and desires for their children's education. The term of "immigrant" is critically challenged through investigating the educational experiences of the youth in the process of transnational migration.

The question I struggled with during the process of coding and theming the data from Phase I is how I could distinguish the 1.5-generation Chinese students from the immigrant youth from other ethnicities, in particular those with Asian origins. The influence of Chinese cultural traditions and values as described by Ho (1994) and Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, and Plank (1994) might allow immigrants with Asian origins to attribute their educational orientation to their Chinese heritage. However, these inherently endowed cultural traits and values can hardly be identified with one group alone, such as Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese. The social contexts of the home country as well as the social economic structures and education for each group in the host country are the key elements to take into account. Therefore, in Phase II, I further analyzed the heterogeneity of Chinese immigrant youth in the United States

from a historical perspective; in other words, I reviewed the literature on the post-1965 Chinese immigration wave and sociohistorical issues relevant to education in China since 1978, to better understand the educational aspirations and desire of the Chinese immigrant families. This study also guided me to reconstruct the framework by placing American immigration education in diaspora and transnational migration studies as the theoretical foundation for Phase II.

Moreover, the findings made me realize that the economic and political changes in China have clearly influenced the relationship between the immigrants and China, which in turn complicates the youth's educational orientation and sense of belonging. In Phase II, I attempted to explore the complex policies of immigration, such as family reunification and status of immigrants, included but not limited to, visa system, permanent residency, and naturalization of U.S. citizenship.

Meanwhile, my assumption that most of the families were drawn to San Francisco through family reunification was confirmed, while another assumption about the category of the families in Silicon Valley through education and skilled immigration was developed throughout Phase I. I brought this assumption to Phase II and made it tested. As the research progressed, another group of capital investment immigration was found and documented. The next chapter reveals the major findings from Phase II.

Chapter 7

Findings from Research Phase II

This chapter discusses three major themes as findings from Phase II of the research; these include 1/ variation in backgrounds of Chinese immigrant families, 2/ youth's perceptions on transmigrant status, and 3/ parents' educational aspirations and desires. The first theme consists of three subthemes: 1/ generational and immigrant status, 2/ region of origin and linguistic diversity, and 3/ socioeconomic variations. The second theme has six subthemes: 1/ being an immigrant and 1.5-generation, 2/ meaning of home, 3/ social media, 4/ J-pop culture and *nijigan*, 5/ post-US education plans, and 6/ U.S. citizenship and the role of being a global citizen. The third theme is generated from three subthemes: 1/ moving for education, 2/ selection of location, and 3/ preparations for college. In total, 12 subthemes are discussed in this chapter.

Variation in Backgrounds of Chinese Immigrant Families

Immigrant and generational status

For immigrants, categories of admission to the United States are based on the family member who initially applied for the U.S. visa that permitted entry into legal immigrant status (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, & Smith, 2000). However, few studies on immigrant families have contained detailed information on categories of their admission (Glick, 2010). This research documented the range of reasons for arrival and the points of entry in Phase II (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Category of Admission and Initial Destination

Numbers	Category of Admission	Initial Destination
4	Family Reunification (Immigrant Visa)	Cupertino, San Jose
3	Capital Investment (EB-5, Immigrant Visa)	Albany, Hillsborough, Palo Alto
3	Employment (H-1b, Nonimmigrant Visa)	Ottawa Canada, Fremont
3	Students (F-1, Nonimmigrant Visa)	Burlingame, LA, Sunnyvale
1	Tourists/Visitors (B-2, Nonimmigrant Visa)	San Jose
1	Company Executives (L-1, Nonimmigrant Visa)	Cupertino
1	Illegal Transfer	LA
1	Asylum Transfer	Fremont
1	Visa N/A	Cupertino

According to the U.S. Department of State, two visa types are categorized under the U.S. immigration law: immigrant and nonimmigrant visa.[15] In Phase II, four families applied for immigrant visa through family reunification, and three families applied for EB-5 visa, which is also considered as an immigrant visa. The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), requires that EB-5 investors create or preserve at least ten full-time jobs for qualified workers within two years. The required minimum investment is one million dollars for general investment and $500, 000 for targeted employment within a high-unemployment or rural area in the United States.[16]

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[15] U.S. Visas: U.S. Department of State Bureau of Consular Affairs. (2014). Retrieved from http://travel.state.gov/content/visas/english/general/all-visa-categories.html

[16] Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security. (2014). Retrieved from http://www.uscis.gov/working-united-states/permanent-workers/employment-based-immigration-fifth-preference-eb-5/eb-5-immigrant-investor

Meanwhile, there are at least four visa types that were used by the families, which are categorized as nonimmigrant visa with the purpose of a temporary stay.[17] For example, H-1b visa is basically for workers in an occupation, which requires highly specialized knowledge. F-1 is granted for students for academic and vocational purpose. B-2 visa is for tourist, vacation and pleasure visitors. Those who are intra-company transferees in executive positions hold a L-1 visa.

Three students who were born in the United States were granted U.S. citizenship. All of their parents came as F-1 student to attend graduate schools. The rest of students I interviewed held green cards except for Celia. Born in Tianjin, China, at the age of three Celia and her family went to Ottawa, Canada. After a few years, her father received some working offers in the SF Bay Area. Therefore, their family moved from Canada to the United States when she was 11 years old. She was petitioning to transfer her status from H-4 visa to a green card holder because both of her parents were applying for permanent residency through their H-1b work visa. In reality, green card holders have more privileges than visa holders. For example, a huge difference exists in the job market. Companies usually do not have the obligation to sponsor applicants' visa application or assist them with renewing or transferring visa to green card. Celia's case made me rethink the criteria for recruiting "immigrant" students when we conduct research on immigrant education. How did her status qualify her as an immigrant student and who should be recruited

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[17] U.S. Visas: U.S. Department of State Bureau of Consular Affairs. (2014). Retrieved from http://travel.state.gov/content/visas/english/general/all-visa-categories.html

for research on immigrant education? Celia's H-4 status was not static. Her petition would be decided by the USCIS eventually.

Another example of Kiki's family needs to be addressed with regard to the category of admission. Kiki's father came to attend graduate school as an international student. After he completed his studies, he went back to China but left his wife and daughter in the United States. They applied for the EB-5 visa of capital investment and were issued green cards. Although Kiki's father was issued student (F-1 visa) initially, the family is categorized as capital investment visa type in the table.

In Phase I, all seven families in the city of San Francisco immigrated to the United States through family reunification after waiting eight to ten years for their visa application approval. All of these families arrived and continued to live in San Francisco by the time of interviews. However, in Phase II, a more complex picture about the families' initial arrival cities can be found, these include cities in the SF Bay Area as well as those outside of the area, for example, LA and Ottawa in Canada.

In terms of generational status, all parents claimed themselves as the first generation in the United States. Perspectives from the 1.5-generation students reflect a sense of fluidity when they were asked to identify themselves with the term "1.5-generation." Their description was in a range between first and second generation. In addition, there were three students, Emma, Mia and Alice, who were born in the United States but moved back and forth between China and the United States prior to their high school years. The first time when they were sent back to the United States,

they were at age of 6, 8 and 14. I asked each of them to identify their generational status. Alice told me that she was first generation. Mia never heard about the term second generation. Therefore, she could not clearly claim which generation she belonged, but identified herself as Chinese. Both Alice and Mia were freshmen and required to take the ELD (English Language Development) program. Emma was a sophomore. She was reclassified into regular class after one year in her elementary school in the United States. She clearly identified herself as 1.75-generation.

The Ryan family from my personal network shared the following timeline of their transmigrant experience between the United States and China over the past 20 years (see Table 7.2). Ryan was a freshman in the college. I did not include him and his family in this research. However, his family migration experience demonstrates that generational statues can hardly categorize people like him. Different from the transnational split household, his family moved and settled as a unit in the cities where the father was assigned business work. Ryan and his younger brother went to International Schools during their stay in China and attended public schools when they came back to the United States.

Table 7.2. Ryan Family's Migration Timeline: 1994-2014

Year. Month	City
1994. 9	Lexington, Kentucky (First-kid born)
1995. 2	Hainan, China
1997. 2	Houston, Texas
1997. 9	Beijing, China
1998. 9	Houston, Texas
2001. 7	Ellington, Connecticut (Second-kid born)
2008. 8	Beijing, China
2012. 7	San Francisco, California

His transmigrant experiences together with that of the three students illustrate difficulties to categorize them into second generation only based on their place of birth in the United States. However, the concept of transnational social fields, which are networks stretching across the borders of nation-states, serves a better approach to capture their practice as transmigrants (Glick Schiller, 2005; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). For the participating students in Phase II, their experiences across the borders also addressed the question of accuracy to describe them by using their generational status. It is clear that generational status categorized by the current one-way directional immigration discourse pays closer attention to the host country than the home country. This current categorization is challenged by the youth who could not simply identify themselves with either term, 1.5- or second generation.

Region of origin and linguistic diversity

Families in Phase I of the research shared the same region of origin in Guangdong, which area has a long tradition of sending people out into the Chinese diaspora. All Chinese youth in seven families speak the Cantonese dialect at home. Families in Phase II came from many different parts of China from the north to the south. Mandarin is mainly used for families from Beijing, Shenzhen and Shanghai. Dialects are commonly used for those from Shenyang, Shandong and Fujian. Two students primarily speak English at home. In terms of city origin for the families, half of them came from metropolitan cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Tianjin (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3. Region of Origin and Language Used at Home

Numbers	Region of Origin	Language Used at Home
4	Beijing	Mandarin; English
3	Shenyang	Mandarin
2	Guangzhou	Cantonese
2	Shenzhen	Mandarin
2	Shanghai	Mandarin
1	Xinhui	Cantonese
1	Fushun	Mandarin; Fushun dialect
1	Jinnan	Shandong dialect; Mandarin
1	Tianjin	English
1	Fuzhou	Fujian dialect

While my research focuses on Chinese immigrants exclusively from Mainland China, the demographics of who constitute part of the Chinese diaspora is complicated by the flows of Chinese from different regions and countries around the world into the United States. In addition, the historical waves of Chinese immigration, as a consequence of the U.S. immigration policy, interplayed with regionalism in China to form the basis of Chinese communities in the SF Bay Area over the past decades. For example, the city of San Francisco attracts Cantonese-speaking population, in particular in Downtown Chinatown, Richmond and Sunset districts. Taiwanese and those from Hong Kong prefer to live in the cities of the Peninsula, such as San Mateo, Foster City, Palo Alto and Los Altos. Most immigrants from Mainland China settle in the cities of South and East Bay Area, for instance, Cupertino, Saratoga, Milpitas, Fremont, Hayward and San Ramon. The demographics of Chinese youth in this research represent this regional and linguistic diversity. Most of the Chinese students at SVHS, located in the heart of Silicon Valley are Mandarin speaking, with a minority speaking Cantonese. However at

SFHS located in Downtown San Francisco, the situation is reversed with Cantonese being the dominant language and Mandarin in the minority.

It is also essential to have an awareness of the Hukou system (household legal registration) in contemporary China to understand the variations in the flow of immigrants. The hukou system was established in the 1950s with the aim to categorize people into "agricultural" and "non-agricultural" households based on their place of residence (Jacka, Kipnis & Sargeson, 2013). As the demands for labor in urban area increased some rural people migrated to the cities in hopes of benefiting from the wealth and employment opportunities in the cities. However, the hukou system limits access to public social services to those who are registered residents in a particular area/city. Migrants are registered back in their home county or village not in the places where they migrate. As a result China now faces massive social inequality in large part because these migrants have decided to bring their families to the cities and remain. Although the multiple relationships between the household registration system and migration in China cannot be applied directly to an interpretation of Chinese immigration and region selection for settlement, it is still important to bear in mind that the migration mentality shaped by the Hukou system might have influenced the selection of destinations for immigration.

Socioeconomic variations

Socioeconomic status (SES) continues to be discussed in the field of social sciences, while how to measure the components remains open (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Among social scientists, a combination of income, education and occupation

is generally agreed upon to represent SES (White, 1982). However, for the families

in this research, there are challenges in measuring the indicators of their SES due to

migration across the cultures. Former studies on the role of SES in Chinese

immigrant families and their 1.5-genertion children's educational experiences, such

as Louie (2001) and Qin (2006) analyzed SES only in the U.S. context. Focusing on

only the U.S. context can hardly capture the dynamism of immigrant families' SES in

the process of immigration. Therefore, I described the SES both in China and the

United States throughout Phase II of the research.   Homeownership together with

profession and education level of the parents was documented throughout the

interviews in order to capture the complexity of the families' SES background

(Entwisle & Astone, 1994). Their SES both in China and the United States is listed

below (see Table 7.4).

Table 7.4. SES of the 1.5-Generation Families

Profession				Education Level	Home Ownership	
In China		In the U.S.				
Father	Mother	Father	Mother		China	U.S.
Clerk	Cloth Store Owner	Waiter	Factory Worker	High School	Owned	Rent
Executive Manager	High School Teacher	N/A[18]	Daycare owner	College	Owned	Rent
N/A	N/A	Computer Engineer	Technician	U.S. Advanced Degree	N/A	Owned
Manager	Lawyer	N/A	Housewife	China Advanced Degree	Owned	Owned
N/A	N/A	Cook	Housewife	High School	N/A	Rent
Factory worker	Cloth Store Owner	Food Store Owner	Food Store Owner	High School	N/A	Rent
Tennis Coach	Instrument Surveyor	Tennis Coach	Biotech Engineer	College	Sold	Owned Rent
Business Owner	Housewife	N/A	Restaurant Partner	College	Owned	Rent
Manager	Factory Manager	Construction Company Owner	Housewife	College	Owned	Owned Rent
N/A	N/A	Software Engineer	Clinic Assistant	Canada Advanced Degree	N/A	Owned
N/A	Housewife	Worker	Buffett Waitress	High School	Owned	Rent
Lawyer	College Lecture	N/A	Housewife	U.S. Advanced Degree	Owned	Owned
CEO	Housewife	Stock Trader	Housewife	College	Owned	Rent
Future Trader	Future Trader	Future Trader	Future Trader	College	Owned	Owned
Lecture/ Trainer	School Admission Assistant	Auto Shop Owner	Housewife	College	Sold	Owned

[18] N/A in the column of father's job means they work their jobs in China during the interviews. N/A in other categories means the unavailability to get the information from the interviews.

Parents in almost half of the families received college degrees in China. Listed in the table, four parents attained advanced degrees. Among them, two parents received their degrees from Canada, one from China and one from the United States. Another four families completed their high schools in China. Except for three parents, all parents pursued their degrees prior to immigration. Regarding homeownership, 11 families still owned their home in China and seven families owned a home in the United States. Out of 15, four families owned homes in both countries. It is essential to include a global context to complement the current analysis regarding family SES.

For example, both of Ye's parents worked in a Chinese restaurant after their immigration and Ye lived with his father in a rented apartment. However, his parents owned a home in Fujian Province and still own it today. Lily's father worked for a Chinese restaurant and her mother was a factory worker. Both of them were unemployed during my interviews, but they owned a condominium in Guangzhou, the capital of prosperous Guangdong Province. The house was sold after a few years of their immigration. None of the parents in these two families received a college degree. They all expressed their interest in returning to China in the future. Jia's family presents another case. Jia's father works in China. Her mother is a housewife and lives with Jia in an owned house in Cupertino. Her family owned another house in Shenzhen. Jia applied for college financial aids by filling out a form for low-income families. It is relatively difficult to categorize the SES backgrounds of these families if we take their homeownership circumstances in the process of transnational

migration into consideration. It is imperative to deeply examine the role of

transnational social field when played out in defining the SES of immigrant families.

Clearly, SES cannot be viewed as a static indicator within the context of one single

nation-state, but rather as a dynamic concept constructed by the transnational social

field. A comparative study of Chinese immigrant families from different SES

backgrounds to compare and contrast their views on education and strategies for their

children's education would be beneficial in further examining the role of SES in the

youth's educational experiences.

Youth's Perceptions on Transmigrant Status

Being an immigrant and 1.5-generation

Educational researchers began to describe the significance of investigating the

group of 1.5-generation youth with the aim of constructing a more complex model to

discuss various topics regarding immigrant education. However, the criteria for

defining this particular group have led to disagreement among scholars (Rumbaut &

Ima, 1988; Lee, 2001; Louie, 2001; Wong, 2008). In this section, I try to analyze the

question: how do students view their status as immigrant. And, how do they define

the term of 1.5-generation?

In Chinese, *yimin* (immigrant/immigration) refers to both people as a noun

and the action of migration as a verb.[19] I used the term *yimin* to describe both people

and the action of the people in the interviews, which were conducted in Mandarin

Chinese. I discussed the issue of translation with Shun. He suggested, "The Chinese

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[19] Han Dian. Retrieved from http://www.zdic.net/

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word *yimin* sounds more like a moving action from China to the United States, but 'immigrant' in English is a word, probably talking about a person." Chen also shared the similar idea that immigration was a one-way process of moving from one place to another. Mrs. Meng used the Chinese word *luoidi shengen* (falling to the ground and striking root) to describe her views on immigration.

The linguistic nuance reminds us of not taking the term "immigrant" for granted when it is used in various contexts. Most of the students thought that the term immigrant could describe their current status. Chen, Yang and Lily were not sure about the meaning of the term but still considered themselves as immigrants. Compared to them, Celia was the only one who believed this was a weird term and did not like the way it categorized people. She revealed,

> It feels weird. Because immigrant sounds like someone you are not yourself. You just categorize someone because it's not a really big connotation that comes with immigrant. I don't really agree with it. I know that I am legally an immigrant, but I just don't like to wear that term that much (Celia, September 23, 2013).

She looked very confused when we talked about the category of immigrant. She used the word "weird" twice. She told me that when her friends knew she was an immigrant from Canada they were all completely surprised. In her mind, her parents could be viewed as Chinese immigrants, but not herself because for her, the term immigrants referred to first generation who did not have any idea about the place to where they immigrated. Jiang shared a slightly different view on being immigrant. He felt, "My status as immigrant is slowly fading away as I go out more and live longer in America and go to American schools." He planned to apply for the U.S.

citizenship, which he believed would influence his immigrant status. When we talked

about the term "Chinese immigrant," he frowned and said,

> I don't like the term "Chinese immigrant" basically because you say you are
> fully Chinese and in a way it just isn't true. I think immigrant is all right
> though because it is a fact like everybody obviously is an immigrant. And I
> don't have a problem with the term. But Chinese immigrant, it kind of sounds
> like oh you are only Chinese you are not a mixture. […] Just with a specific
> race applied to the immigrants I kinda see that because it ignores someone like
> me. (Jiang, October 11, 2013).

I had a chance to have a focus group interview with three of Jiang's friends.

All of them were second generation. One student's family originally came from

Hong Kong. He viewed the 1.5-generation students as immigrants. "They did not

know anything about the American culture just like the first generation," he said.

However, another student, who is Korean American disagreed with him and argued,

> They are not exactly immigrant but they are not exactly native (laugh). If you
> say the word immigrant you think they don't know what's going on. You think
> they don't know what system they are [in]. They just don't know that much
> about it, so they are also immigrants at the same time." (Jiang's friends,
> October 25, 2013)

The term of immigrant was further explained by the 1.5-generation students.

Shun noted, "Immigrant is like a person packs up things and leaves his native home,

and moves from one place to another place. As a whole it feels like a group of people

left their familiar home to a strange place." Yang added, "I guess immigration is a

one-way thing, regardless where I live, I am still Chinese. I am still a Chinese

immigrant. I am not going to become a foreigner." For Lily, to be immigrant is a

cultural thing. She viewed herself as an immigrant because she had no ABC friends.

She did not feel close to American culture. For her, immigrants were a group of

people who have not stayed here long enough or have not adapted to the life here.

Mrs. Zhuang also linked immigrant status to one's ability to adapt to American life.

He said, "I still view the 1.5-generation as immigrant, but in fact their way of thinking

has changed a lot. The earlier they came, the better they adapted to American life."

In the first interview with Chen, he expressed his willingness to go back to

work and live in China after college. He was certain about his plan. He used the

word *mendao* (doorway) to describe the flexible opportunities in China. I asked if he

could still be called immigrant after he went back. He told me he preferred to be

called *haigui* [20] (overseas returnee) rather than immigrant. I asked him if a *haigui*

decided to not stay in China but return to the United States, what kind of word should

use to describe his/her experience. He paused for a few seconds and did not provide a

response.

Ye did not give me a direct answer about how he looked at his own immigrant

status, but his explanation about immigration closely related to his family

immigration experience.

> My uncle said that immigration meant going to court for a lawsuit. He helped
> his wife to immigrate. […] It means going to court, and after that, people can
> get to come. […] It seemed like they were doing paperwork over there; my
> dad went to court, and my mom and I had to go to Shanghai for paperwork.
> Guangzhou or Shanghai? I was 9 years old. We had to do much paperwork
> and run to lots of places. (Ye, January 7, 2014)

Toudu is a Chinese word, which literately means sneaking through a boat.

Both Ye's father and his uncle came to the United States this way. After they

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[20] *Haigui* is also used as a term to call sea turtle in Chinese. People use this term to refer to those who returned from overseas.

naturalized their status, they applied for green cards for their family. For Ye, immigration meant going to court.

Mrs. Meng identified immigrants by looking at their English language skills. She said, "The (immigrant) students know that they do not belong to the mainstream, especially when they compare themselves to the mainstream students, they lack language capabilities." If lacking fluent English skill is closely related to one's immigrant status, it is not hard to know why Celia and Jiang did not like the term of immigrant to describe their status because they grew up in Canada speaking English. It is also imperative to remember that access to English prior to immigration might influence their English language acquisition.

In the interviews, although some of the students agreed with using the term "immigrant" to refer to themselves, I still allowed them to think deeply and pick up a more appropriate term especially for those who planned to work and live outside of the United States in the future. For example, Yang considered living in Australia after college. I asked him to imagine what he could be called after he moved to Australia. I also asked Shun to pick up a term to describe his mother, who used to go back and forth between the United States and China to take care of her family business. Unfortunately, none of them could really think of any word. Therefore, I suggested the term "transnational migrant" to see their response. To my surprise, they all agreed and thought it was a better word to describe their experience. By using the word, they realized that immigration focused more on the process of moving and rooting in one place, but transnational migration claimed the process that

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might not be limited to a linear direction, but considerably more flexible. Yang said, "Transnational means you can return to China at anytime, so it's transnational, not necessarily immigrant. Immigrant means you move to a place and you stay there." Shun had not heard the word "transnational." After my explanation, he agreed. For him this word sounded more advanced than immigration. I asked him to elaborate more on the term of "advanced." He added, "Immigration is the process of being transplanted from one country to another, but I think the term transnational has a more flexible connotation. It describes people who can come here and then go there." He compared two terms and preferred to use "transnational migrant" because it indicated the experience of crossing countries.

When I asked Jiang if "transnational migrant" was a better word to portray his own experience, he compared it with both "1.5-generetion" and "immigrant". He liked "transnational migrant" better. He said, "I think the term of immigrant doesn't describe anything. It is just a person from one country to immigrant to another country. It is a fact but it doesn't have any description." He tried hard to distinguish the nuances between the three words, which might manifest the complexity of his own identity. He suggested that I not use only one term to describe people like him because it would ignore the diversity of people. Jiang's friend, Robert suggested that I use the term "native-grant." I tried to clarify with him about two words "native" and "grants." He explained,

> Because they [1.5-generation] know like, oh America is more free thinking. They know America has generally more liberty than other countries too. So, they know that part of America which makes them native. [Me: and grants like migrant?] Um-hum. Because they still believe, they still go with their old

ways, old core values. Because they will go with their values they were taught before they came to America. (Jiang's friends, October 25, 2013)

My question about their sense of belonging was not prefaced by any assumption of nation-state or culture. Rather, the question was broad to allow the students to find their own approach to answer. Questions, such as "How do you think about yourself in the United States", "How do you position yourself", and "How do you view your own identity" were used in the interviews. Except for the answer from Jia, who addressed the space of manga beyond the geographic field, most of the answers were linked to the nation-state defined by a specific cultural or geographic sense. For some students, I provided a few words, such as Chinese, Chinese immigrant and Chinese American to make them choose.

What I found is some of the students preferred to view themselves as Chinese. They were either sure about their identity of being Chinese or felt comfortable to use Chinese to describe their sense of belonging. Shun said, "It's still more acceptable to call me Chinese, because after all, as long as I haven't become a U.S. citizen, I am still considered a Chinese." Lin suggested that there was no need to ask the question. He said, "Chinese are those who came from China. You do not need to think twice. It can be said directly." Chen shared the similar view: "I feel more close to China. You don't feel you are part of the U.S. when you are here."

Interestingly, three of them came to the United States at age of 12. The role age played might impact their sense of identity. Compared to the students who identified more with Chinese, the students who came earlier viewed themselves

differently. For example, Jiang who came from Canada identified himself more with American.

> I think in a way probably not as Canadian citizen as much. I think I am more of American Chinese. […] I will say I became more American than Chinese. (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

Jiang desired American citizenship. It is hard to know if his status of being a resident had an impact on his way of being more American than Chinese. He explained that his family did not celebrate Chinese events as much as other Chinese families. He barely talked to people in Chinese except for his parents. He had more Indian and European friends than Chinese friends. These experiences supported his way of identifying himself with less Chinese but more American. He gave me a few examples of how his family celebrated the American festivals more than the Chinese ones. As a 1.5-generation by herself, Fiona also talked about festival celebration to figure out one's identity. She thought most of the 1.5-generation students blended very well in the school population and she liked to categorize them as American-born Chinese. In fact, every year the ELD program organized a few events with an aim to help ELD students know more about American culture. I was invited and participated in the Thanksgiving Lunch, International Week and Speech Contest. Mrs. Meng once expressed her view on these events. She thought these events focused too much on improving students' language rather than helping them better understand U.S. society and culture. She used the term "superficial" to describe her feeling about the work done by the school. I understood her point. What the school tried to help is from an essentialist point of view on cultures, which might oversimplify the cultures by the

nation-state. The field note below was taken during the International Week, which

documented the essentialist perspective.

> Mia and Shun made their posters about China. Mia even wore her school
> uniform brought from Shenzhen. Most of the posters focus on China. In
> addition, there are six posters for Taiwan, four for Japan, four for Korea, two
> for Iran, and one for Mexico. Most of the posters indicate indirect
> communication as the way of the culture they presented. I asked a few
> students to give me some examples to explain the way of indirect
> communication, but few of them could think of one. One student presenting
> Mexico gave me an example of how the family indirectly expressed their
> sadness when the family members passed away because direct expression
> would be considered as rude. I wondered if they tried to conclude that the
> American way of expression is more direct. Most of the posters shared the
> same picture. I am curious to know where they found the picture and from
> whose perspective. I asked one Korean girl, do you think Koreans and
> Japanese both use indirect way of communication. She told me yes without
> thinking twice. I asked myself why they certainly believed ways of
> communication could be categorized by the nation-state. Is that true all people
> from four countries and regions are using indirect communication? I tried to
> figure out the perspective they learned from the class. (Field note, April 2,
> 2014)

According to various studies, the sense of identity is not fixed but rather a

dynamic sense of belonging depending on various contexts. For most of the students,

they cannot be easily viewed as either Chinese or American. It can be both, neither,

or in-between. It can also be ambiguous as a few students shared. For example,

Celia was in regular class, but she did not view herself as Chinese American. Rather,

she had a more complex sense of identity. She said,

> I…don't really know actually. Because I don't…I can't say I am American. I
> can't really say I am Chinese either. I don't even know I can say I am
> Canadian. So, it's really weird. Most people will assume I am American
> because I speak English pretty well. I know the attitude and everything but. I
> still don't feel like I am one of them, but I don't feel like I am not one of them.
> (Celia, September 23, 2013)

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Celia had her Canadian citizenship when she was in Canada. Her family purchased a house in Cupertino. It is hard to clearly point out a single reason for her sense of both belonging and non-belonging, the last sentence of this quote described this kind of contradictory mode of existence.

> Being like a visitor (Laugh). To this country I am like a permanent visitor. It means that I don't belong here, but I will stay here long term. I don't belong to this country, but here is for me to stay. (Ye, January 7, 2014)

It has been six years since Ye first arrived. Many stories spoke of how exciting and scary it was for people who took the flight from China to the United States on their own for the first time. Among all of the storytellers, Ye was the youngest. No matter whether taking an international flight or a domestic flight, no matter whether in China or in the United States, he was always alone.

His father left him and his mother and came to the U.S. from a small village in Fujian Province when Ye was only one year old. After eight years, they saw each other again in the San Francisco Airport. It was not unusual for his parents to leave him alone in the apartment when he was only nine years old. He played a lot of video games to kill time. His mother left his father after a huge fight and moved to New York City where she temporarily stayed with her brother and sister who also came from Fujian. He could still see her every summer in Fujian when both of them were there. "I don't belong here, but here is for me to stay", as Ye noted, just like a "long-term visitor." I still remember his face, neither sad nor embarrassed when he said these words. It is likely that he was trying to tell me his daily reality. When we completed the first interview, I saw one of his friends greeting him. His friend asked

about his parents. Ye told him with a calm tone, "Both of my parents were home."

At that moment I wanted to let him know that it was okay to feel lost, sad or helpless

whatever the mood was. The sense of being lost was also shared through a two-hour

interview with Jia. She said,

> Sometimes I really don't know where I came from, who am I really? How
> should I say it, I am now hanging out with Americans, but I am speaking
> Chinese, and my heart is there. [Pointing to the manga posters on the wall]. I
> want to say that I don't know where I belong. If it's the feeling that you don't
> belong to anywhere that you have stayed, then simply don't think anything,
> just go with the flow. (Jia, November 11, 2013).

Half of the first interview was focused on Jia's tough experience in an

elementary school in Mountain View. She paused a few times and almost cried. I

tried to capture those tough moments for a little girl seven years ago. It was a

Hispanic neighborhood; she did not understand English well and was isolated and

bullied by some students in the school. She had no friends. She felt depressed and

left behind both academically and socially. She chose to not to deal with the reality

and immersed herself into the world of Japanese manga where she could completely

forget about pain felt in her daily life. She said a few times how badly she was drawn

into the space, *nijigan*, which means a space of the second dimension in Japanese.

She taught herself Japanese through reading manga. She was taking AP Japanese at

the time when she participated in this research. She had a similar sense as Celia

described. "I can feel myself everywhere, but belong to nowhere." This sense of

belonging and non-belonging made her feel lost. She continued,

> Actually I find that, people like us, we have multi-personalities. We have
> different personalities when facing different people. When we talk to
> Americans, we will make ourselves sound like them with a surge of higher

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tone. There is a personality change among us Chinese. There is also a difference when facing Japanese, which is to act well behaved. (Jia, November 11, 2013)

The switch of multiple personalities as she pointed out was also addressed by Mr. Zhuang, a Chinese language teacher working in SVHS for over 15 years. He used his son who came to the United States at age of nine as an example to describe this type of identity.

For those who have stayed here longer, like my son, their way of thinking became more Americanized. But, they do have Chinese background. So, they knew how to switch between two cultures […] Put it worse, when seeing people talk people's words; when seeing ghost, change to ghost's words. He knew how to act and change his behavior between two cultures. (Mr. Zhuang, July 1, 2013)

It is true that this group of students knew at least two languages, Chinese and English. The language ability gave them a tool to navigate among people who speak different languages. For most of the students, even after six to seven years of being in the United States, they still viewed themselves as immigrants with limited English proficiency and the inability to adapt to the American culture. Their immigrant status was interwoven linguistically and culturally with their sense of belonging in the nation-states, United States and China. No single sense of identity can claim these students but rather an ambiguous sense of identity can be observed by their experiences of transnational migration.

Most of the participating students knew the difference between the concepts of first and second generation, however none of them had ever heard of the term 1.5-generation until the interviews. After I explained how the scholars defined this term and explained the specific criteria for my research, some of them agreed and started

identifying themselves as 1.5-generation. But, some of them did not feel comfortable using the term. They tried to identify themselves in the range between first and second. For example, Shun believed himself to be first generation, which was not different from his parents. He said, "Because I'm coming from China, my kids would be 2nd-generation. If my parents had another child here, he/she would be also a second generation."

When I developed my criteria to recruit students, I made the assumption that movement that would take place would be in between two countries. Before participating the interviews, Celia sent me an email asking if her experience of multiple destinations along the journey would be qualified for this research. Jiang had the similar moving experience and asked me the same question. Their concerns at that time well reminded me of the complex status of being 1.5-generation and forced me to modify the criteria for further recruitment. Therefore, I considered both of them as participants in the research and believed their experience of moving would bring insights to our current understanding of this group of youth. When I asked Celia if she saw herself as first or second generation, she replied:

> Neither. Because I am so unsure about myself. I think I connect closer with second generation than I do with the first. But I don't feel like okay I am the second generation. But I related more to them…Probably 1.75. (Celia, September 23, 2013)

Similar to her way of identifying, Jiang viewed himself more like 1.9-generation. In fact, he did not like the term of 1.5-generation because he believed variations existed among the individuals. Numbers cannot describe a generation, as he told me. He stated,

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If you are doing a study then I think you can classify us as 1.5 but I feel like individually we are in a range. Some people might be 1.1, closer to China. They feel like their homeland and even now they are connected to China. Other people might say well I am closer to people who are born in America. Maybe even people who are born in America they might feel a deeper connection in China than the people who are born in China. There will never be an appropriate term to classify like perfectly capture the generation (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

Interestingly, his opinion on the term of 1.5-generation related more to the sense of belonging to the two countries. From the scholars' definition, China and the United States stand on each side of the timeline scale respectively represent first and second generation, 1.5-generation stands in the middle. However, the perceptions from the students added more variations and ambiguities.

During my fieldwork, all educators were interested in the term of 1.5-generation. Therefore, I began to ask their views on the term. Most of them could hardly distinguish this group from either recent immigrant or second generation who are American-born Chinese (ABC[21]). As Fiona addressed,

I can't tell the difference so much. Only students I can tell are the students in ELD where they have accents, where they have a more difficult time to communicate. […] I think for the 1.5 students just blend in with mainstream students who are native students. It's harder for me to decide even though you know that's my own background. (Fiona, September 6, 2013)

Mr. Ali has been teaching regular math class for thirteen years. He did not specifically categorize students in terms of their generation. He focused more on the language level of the students. He said,

One of the things I look for is whether or not the kids have problem with the language, that is the key thing I look for. But it terms of who they are, second

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[21] ABC discussed in this research refers to those who are first generation born in the United States.

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generation or first generation, I don't give a lot of thoughts on it, unless there is a problem. (Mr. Ali, February 24, 2014)

Mrs. Hang, another math teacher shared the same view on not trying to distinguish the group of 1.5-generation from the others because she did not believe the benefits of knowing more backgrounds about the students. She pointed out,

> To be honest, because in math it doesn't make any difference. If I were to teach English then I can use their background in their writing. You know I can ask them to interpret in their mindset, their experience, but in math… (Mrs. Hang, February 27, 2014)

I brought the same question to Mrs. English who has been teaching in the school for six years. Her subjects include social studies and world history for regular classes and sheltered government/economy classes for ELD students. I wanted to hear if she had a different approach to figure out this group of students. However, she said, "I have no idea who's the 1.5-generation versus you came here last year, two years ago, five years ago." She had fill out index cards that asked their native language and the years they have been in the country. Her focus was more on language level of the students so that she knew how much scaffolding or support she should provide. Mrs. Judge, the ELD coordinator, preferred to call them English learners. She told me, "We don't have a term for those kids. They are English learners who happened to come from China." She viewed the ELD students as one single group.

Throughout the interviews, I found the students expressed a certain sense of fluidity when they identified themselves with the term. It is essential for us as researchers to realize the variation imagined by the group of youth who are

categorized by the term. For the educators, English language ability was a salient

factor to describe the group of the students. It is understandable the term might have

an ambiguous meaning to them. In fact, the category of generation, which is applied

to 1.5 proposed the idea that immigration was a linear trajectory from the home

country to the host country. Clearly, the current definition for both immigrants and

1.5-generation based on the singular U.S. context has limited our understanding of the

complex and ambiguous identity of immigrant youth that has developed in the global

and transnational context.

Meaning of home

In the process of designing the interview questions, I asked one question

regarding their relationships with China and the United States. Their way of viewing

two nations gave me a venue to excavate the way they positioned themselves. The

answer from Jia started with her opinion about the issue of corruption in China. She

did not see the negative side of China until she came here. Whenever she tried to

criticize Chinese people, her parents reminded her of saying "but you are a Chinese."

She felt confused and said,

> My family is Chinese, and I am a Chinese. It's tangled up. What I am thinking
> now is very different from the Chinese. But, it's like, my dad and mom would
> always routinely say to me: but you are Chinese. They used to say it to me
> like that. They will say it to me whenever I am criticizing Chinese. (Jia,
> November 11, 2013)

The word of "tangle" was repeated a few times during the interview. She

could not imagine if there would be chances for her to catch up academically if she

was still in China. Although she felt grateful for U.S. society, she did not feel that

this was her real home. In fact, she felt nowhere could be called home, as she said,

"You feel that you belong nowhere. You don't know where the place is for you to

truly return." Even though she considered China as her real home, she said, "I can

hardly get back there." For her, nostalgia by no means equals going back home.

Technically speaking, she has two homes, one in Shenzhen, the other in Cupertino.

Emotionally, neither place can be considered as home.

Shun used "house" as a metaphor to express his feeling about the two

countries.

> Like now I left the house that I grew up in. Now I live in a newly purchased
> house. Someday I might go back to live in the original house. It feels like, if I
> am to live here, there needs to be a house. So this is why I like to describe
> these two places as house, not home. Home and house are quite different. […]
> I would treat China as a place where I grew up, like the house that fed me
> since I was born. (Shun, January 22, 2014)

He clarified the difference by using house and home. In his view, house was a

better word to describe the two countries, but neither of them was home for him. In

another interview, Chen added, "I feel China is closer to me. I never feel I am part of

America." Similar to him, Ye considered himself as a temporary sojourner who

would eventually return to China.

After spending over twenty years in the United States, Fiona talked differently

about her feelings regarding home which made me wonder how much time in the host

country would affect perceptions of where we call home. After she got into college

she started to realize Hong Kong was no longer her home. It is essential to remember

the term "home" might be defined differently in adulthood.

In order to deeply explore their relations with China, I also asked the students about their frequency in visiting China. Among the participating students in SVHS, three of them have not visited China since they arrived in the United States. The frequency of the rest of students was from one time to once every year (see Table 7.5). When I asked if I could talk with their parent(s), five students told me their parents (either mother or father) were in China at that particular time. Among all students, the fathers of five of the students were working in China. Except for Yang and Alice whose parents had already divorced, Jia, Lei and Mia's father came to reunite with the family during the Chinese holidays.

Table 7.5. China Visit

Name	Total times	Last time visit China	Parent(s) in China during interview session	Parent (s) Working in China during interview session
Celia	Many in freshman	2008	Father	
Jiang	Every 2 yrs prior to high school	2010		
Shun	1	2010		
Jia	Every year prior to high school	2011	Father	Father
Yang	2	2013	Mother	Father
Ting	1	In high school		
Chen	3	2014		
Ye	Every year	2013	Mother	
Alice	Stay until 14	2012	Father	Father
Mia	Stay until 8	2012	Mother/Father	Father
Emma	Stay until 6	2011		
Lei	0			Father
Lily	0			
Lin	0		Mother	

Most of the students did not have a chance to visit China since entering high school but they were determined to go again after they graduated. They all looked

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excited when they talked about their future plan of visit. Most of the students stated the same reason for not going back during high school: a busy school schedule. Lily and Lin have never been back to China since their arrival. Lily explained, "Every time they [parents] went back, I was in the school." Similar to her, Lin indicated, "My parents did not allow me to go back because they think the high school years are very important. They will let me go back after I graduate." Since Lei was in the special education program, there would be difficulties for him to go back to visit. His father came to visit him and his mother for winter and summer breaks. His mother plans to go with him after he graduates.

Most of the students remembered how fun it was to eat and hang out with friends when they were in China. When I asked how they liked the life over there, Chen told me how boring life here is compared to that in China. He said,

> Hanging out to eat with friends, and then doing things like playing games or balls. Although we need to pay for the place, I still think it's more fun than here, it's more exciting. […] My life here isn't that exciting. Not many places to go. (Chen, November 5, 2013)

Even though my fieldwork in SVHS was completed by the spring semester 2014, I stayed in contact with most of the students through social media accounts. When I checked with Chen about his last visit to China, he sent a message telling me that he was in China at that time. I could definitely feel how excited he was from his message. Meanwhile, I also found Jiang's status update on Facebook. After he graduated, he visited China after his stopover in Japan during the summer of 2014.

During the interviews with the students about their relationships with the two countries, United States and China, the term "home" emerged frequently. As a few of

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them commented, the concept of China as home became ambiguous in the process of immigration, while the United States was not defined as home yet. Meanwhile, China was imagined as a place to return to hang out with friends and have fun. Most of them went back to China after immigration and all planned to revisit after graduation from high school. As Glick-Schiller et al (1995) indicate, "transmigrant forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement." (p. 48) Clearly the transmigrant identities of these students are in relationship to both countries.

Social media

Social field within transnational migration research is defined as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized and transformed (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). The perspective of transnational social field provides us a powerful tool to investigate the transmigrant experience of the youth beyond geographic locations today. The capabilities of the Internet encouraged me to redefine my research field and include cyberspace where the participating students actively got involved in their daily life. The reality of living in a multi-dimensional world was reinforced through my conversations with the students.

From beginning of Phase I, I found most of the participating students used QQ, a China-based online network for instant messaging and file transfer to contact their friends and family members both in the United States and China. In order to deeply examine this issue, I downloaded the QQ application on my cell phone. When

I then started Phase II at SVHS I found that they also maintained contacts with friends in China by using QQ. Out of 14 participating students in SVHS, ten students have QQ accounts. Four of them don't use QQ, but have Facebook accounts. In addition, six of the 14 students also have Wechat accounts. From what I learned through this exploration I decided to include a section focusing on the students' experience of using social media, in particular the application of QQ to examine their networks embedded in the transnational social field, which is not limited by the notion of nation-state boundaries.

The total number of friends on QQ varied among the participating students. Some had one friend while others had about ten friends. The category of their friends in QQ also differed from one to another. Shun and Lin used the same word *tie* (iron) to refer to their best friends. Shun had three to four *tie* friends and Lin had one to two *tie* friends. Yang used *sidang* (dead gang) to describe his good buddies in QQ. For most of the students, their friends in QQ were also reachable in life. Before visiting China, they usually contacted their friends QQ to make sure of the place and time for meeting. For example, Jia said, "Now I still have the QQ account, and every summer they would ask me, are you in China? I said yeah."

In addition to setting up the meeting when they visited China, they used QQ to catch up with their friends in their daily life as well. For example, Lin liked to chat with his buddies occasionally. Sometimes, he talked to them over two to three hours. "The topic goes from daily life to work and girlfriend," he said. The two friends he often talked with did not attend college, rather they went to work right after high

school. They shared their lives in China and often asked Lin when he planned to go

back. Most of the students did not hold deep or long conversations as Lin did. They

usually used QQ to just send greetings or update each other with their current life.

Shun said, "Sometimes when we meet online we say hello, how've you been, good,

you? I'm good, something like that." Yang added,

> Usually they come to talk to me, generally say what's up, how are you, I will
> reply back. I won't take the initiative to chat with them. Last time I came back
> [to China] last summer, I went out with them. (Yang, January 21, 2014)

They also shared schooling experiences and began to realize differences

between the Chinese and American education systems. Chen said,

> It's lesser homework here than in China, because rarely it will take until
> midnight for you to finish homework with no time for sleep. I heard from the
> elementary classmates in China that they have to do homework right after
> school until very late. It's not the case here. (Chen, November 12, 2013)

Shun also heard from his friends about heavy homework loads and the exam-

oriented system in China.

> They said it's very stressful. They have to finish homework till very late. I
> heard the GPA usually didn't matter except for the score of high school
> entrance exam (*zhongkao*) and college entrance exam (*gaokao*). It's totally
> different here, the GPA and SAT/ACT are equally important. (Shun, January
> 22, 2014)

Most of them had a willingness to maintain their friendship with those who

were not physically present in their daily life. Jia expressed her disappointment when

she found less and less common language shared between her good friends in China

and herself here. Shun also complained that his contact with friends in China had

become less and less as he made more and more friends in the United States. The

transnational social field provided by the social media, such as QQ, allowed them to

communicate with each other more conveniently now, but the difficulties of

maintaining the friendship might not be as easy as they imagined.

It is not too hard to know why this kind of friendship can hardly be

maintained from Lily's story. Among all of the students, Lily was the only one who

did not contact her friends in China after she arrived. In fact, she has not been back to

China yet. I was curious to know the reason why she did not contact them. She said,

> Probably the conversation topics are different. Chatting with them is like they keep asking questions; it wasn't clicking. Also there is a time zone difference. Perhaps time difference is the biggest issue, like you can't find a right time, and I won't take the initiative to check their time to talk to them, that would be weird (laugh). It feels like they became distant. It feels like it would be hard to keep in contact, plus many people headed to different schools, and I have not been back, have not gone out with them ever since. (Lily, October 4, 2013)

She summarized three reasons of not contacting her friends in China: hard to

find the common language, time zone difference between the two countries, and not

going back to visit. Lily seldom contacted her relatives who live in China either. The

closest family member was her cousin who was born here.

Similar to Lily, both Celia and Jiang never used QQ, but they used Skype and

phone calls to contact their friends and family who still stay in China.

> Every three days a week there's a video call. My mom calls them everyday. My mom is really close to her mom. My dad on the other hand is like once every week or once every two weeks. Sometimes it depends on how busy I am or how busy he is. But my mom always tried to get a call at least once. (Jiang October 11, 2013)

Jiang tried to maintain his Chinese language skills by staying in contact with

his grandparents who live in China. He also has an uncle who lives in Paris that calls

them every week. Usually Jiang says a few words to his uncle and asks how he is

doing. While Celia worried about her Chinese she did not personally talk to her relatives over the phone, but her parents contacted them. She said, "Sometimes I talk a bit. But feel like you have to talk in Chinese. […] Mostly from my mom." She has a few cousins living in China. Last time she saw them was during the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. She told me one of her cousins might be sent to here for school. Both Jiang and Celia did not talk very much to their relatives because of their limited Chinese proficiency, but by using social media like Skype their Chinese language skills can still be maintained to some extent.

The example of Time Management Activity form (see Appendix 8) also illustrates the students' practices in cyberspace. In order to help students better manage their spare time, the Principal designed this form that all students in regular classes were asked to fill out and bring it to their guidance counselor as reference for their class selection. The Time Management Activity form was not required to be filled out by students in ELD program. However, since the idea of calculating hours could deepen my understanding of students' life, I brought the form to the participating students in the ELD program and asked them about their way of managing time. Some of them felt confused about calculating time and filling out the form. For example, Jia said, "I am doing homework but leave my Facebook open. There is overlapping time." When she had questions about homework, she liked to get online and chat with her friends for help. It was usual for her to do simultaneous multi-tasks and switch between the physical world and cyberspace.

The students and their families' experience of using QQ and other social media has shown that the domain of national boundaries are not necessarily linked to the social field boundaries within transnational migration. The ability and convenience provided by social media allowed the youth to connect with their friends and family members in China and other places in the world without physically being there. The identity of being users for both China-based and U.S. based social media adds another layer to their identity of being transnational migrants.

J-pop culture and *nijigan*

> I followed Jia to her room. She lives in the loft of a house. Manga posters line the walls, plush toys fill the bed, and drafts of drawings clutter her desk; the room is filled with J-pop culture. Her eyes are fixed on her laptop. She is using an entry-level computer program to draw manga characters. She is coloring a young guy's hair. I have seen her work posted on Wechat but seeing her in action in real time was startling; she is very professional. (Field note, November 11, 2013)

The field note above was taken after I conducted the second interview with Jia on a November afternoon, 2013. I drove through the neighborhood and took a few pictures before I entered her house. The falling leaves reminded me that autumn was coming. It was Veterans Day, November 11. Recently, people in China created a name for the date: "Bachelor Day." They believe four single one numbers symbolize a powerful meaning of being single. Jia was satisfied with her current single status. She had no desire for a boyfriend. She told me she would rather have a *nanshen* (male God) from manga than a real boyfriend. "I will celebrate his birthday in December," she told me with a shy but exciting tone. She was at pointing a handsome guy's face in the manga poster on the wall. Her eyes were shining. After

two hours of conversation, she was still full of energy and talked to me while working on the manga through her computer.

During the visit to her home, she showed me many of her current drawings and also those brought from China. She had started drawing and writing stories before she came. She opened a handmade manga book and started reading the stories to me. This story was based on her daily life at age of nine when she just arrived in the United States. She also took some drawings from the drawer which were completed two or three years ago. The changes of style and content could be clearly identified. She agreed that these drawings portrayed her inner feelings during different time periods. While she read these stories, she started telling me how her passion for manga had developed over the past few years:

> At that time I wanted to find some shelter from American society, shelter from this culture. It's like I didn't want to face many things. This is why I ran into manga world, and I learned from it. My grades were really poor. […] It doesn't matter if I got a B or C. It felt like no big deal, no big deal [mumbling]. My attention wasn't there. It went into manga. It feels like manga can make me keep living on. (Jia, November 11, 2013)

Whenever she felt depressed she would go to find manga to read. Her current good friends are those who also like manga. They talked about the stories and exchanged their works during the lunch break. The more manga she read, the more Japanese she wanted to learn. Thereafter, she started to teach herself Japanese while reading manga. She was taking the AP Japanese class during the interviews. Her Japanese teacher said her accent sounded Japanese. At the Thank-you party, Shun and Yang also praised how proficiently Jia was able to speak Japanese. Learning Japanese was just a by-product from reading manga. The only thing that interested

her was manga. She said, "Go to gather many characters and start to imagine and visualize, ah, life is good like this."

Before I left her home she checked out her report card and told me excitedly that she got 93 for Japanese. She also said, *nijigan* (second dimension) usually refers to the Internet world and anime, a place where she could feel herself easily. She explained to me that manga figures all belonged to *nijigan*. It is likely she navigates her life through multilayered realities across culture, language, race and nationality. On the other hand, she goes between life in the manga world and life in reality, in other words, she is in between *nijigan* and *sanjigang* (third dimension). The conversation with her made me understand why she mentioned in the first interview that she had to develop different selves to deal with these complex worlds.

In fact, Jia was not the only student who used the term *nijigan*. Once in QQ chatting with Yang, he also talked about the term. He believed it was fortunate for him to get to interact with *nijigan*. The touching moments *nijigan* brought to his life were no less than that from real life or watching TV drama and movies. He claimed people in *nijigan* were more open-minded than people in *sanjigan*. He gave me an example of a humanoid persona named Hatsune Miku to describe how crazy *otaku* (home-stay) people would spend money to go to her live concert. They bought the software and made their own songs by using her voice. Hatsune Miku became a fictitious idol for many otaku people. At very beginning, Yang could not understand why people followed an unreal idol that did not even exist in the real world.

However, he said, "the more otaku culture you knew, the more beauty you could see".

He explained the term otaku and feeling of being an otaku in the following.

> The word otaku is from Japanese. It means house and refers to those who are addicted to certain things, such as manga otaku, music otaku and game otaku. I am proud of being an experienced otaku. (Yang, QQ chat, April 28, 2014)

He knew the difference between *nijigan* and *sanjigan*. For example, he believed the friends he made in *sanjigan* would be more reliable than those made in *nijigan*. During the online chatting, he told me about his breakup with his girlfriend one week before. He and his ex-girlfriend got to know each other through a QQ manga group. She lives in Australia now. In the summer of 2013, both of them went back to China, so they met eventually in Dalian, a city in Northeast China. That was the first and last time they met in the past five years. The relationship with his ex-girlfriend was an impractical web love. He said, "We would bow to *sanjigan* when being forced to; we have to survive first in order to enjoy the happiness that *nijigan* brought us! You cannot live under *nijigan*; you still got school, graduation, working, marriage, having kids, etc." When he talked about a future girlfriend, he preferred to hang out with an otaku girl or at least the person who can become otaku by his influence.

Yang told me in the first interview that he wanted to be a web singer. However, his mother wished him to take a major in computer science and work in Silicon Valley. Perhaps he knew the hardship of becoming a web singer so he agreed. He showed me the website of niconicovideo that users can upload, watch and share and get comments from each other. The significance about this website he

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explained was *danmaku* (barrage) on screen. Comments from users will be synced and overlaid to the video, which looks like a barrage. This type of screen creates a shared watching experience for viewers. The website has attracted over two million paid users.[22] After Yang used this website for a while, he started to have an idea of making and uploading his own song. The way of singing online in which Yang was interested is called *utami* (song found) in Japanese. On the first day of April, I received a message from him. He sent out a link of his demo song through QQ to me. He uploaded his song to a website named bilibili.tv, which is an online Chinese animation company. The song was played in Japanese. He worked this demo for a few weeks. I also listened to his singing on the day of graduation. I was invited to join the group of fifteen students in a KTV located nearby the school. He did not sing any Japanese songs at that time, but picked up the Mandarin and English songs.

At the Thank-you party at the end of the fieldwork in June 2014, I learned another term *xianchong* (life rich in reality), which was created by the participating students themselves to describe mainstream students including both ABCs and White students. Jia said, "They don't need *nijigan* to fulfill their life." In her view, ABCs and white students were not so involved in Japanese pop culture or so called *nijigan*. In fact, Japanese popular culture has circulated throughout the world, and has become a global phenomenon (Kelts, 2006; Iwabuchi, 2002; McGray, 2002).

According to the students' interest in J-pop culture, not all parent(s) supported it. Alice said, "My mom doesn't understand me at all." I did not have a chance to

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[22] Mitsuhashi, Y. (June 24, 2013). Popular Japanese video site niconico douga surpasses 2M paid users. *The Bridge*. Retrieved from http://thebridge.jp/en/2013/06/niconico-douga-2-million

meet with Alice's mother to find out the reason why she discouraged Alice's passion for cosplay (a Japanese compound of the English terms costume and role play). Cosplay is a performance art, where the participants wear costumes to mimic fictional characters from manga, anime, video games and films.[23] Alice was born in the United States but sent to China at age of six when her parents divorced. She lived with her father and step-mother in Shanghai until 2012. She went to a private boarding school before she came back. Her mother works full-time in a biotech company in Cupertino. After many years of separation, it was very hard for the mother and daughter to communicate, let alone live together peacefully. Conflicts never stopped. I would like to view Alice as a 1.5 rather than second generation even though she was born in the United States.

During one interview at school, we sat outside of the cafeteria. I was fascinated by her cosplay photos saved in her cell phone. I could feel her free soul dancing in the sun. She planned to go an event called FanimeCon in San Jose. Every single ticket cost sixty-five dollars. In order to get extra money, she worked in the school cafeteria during lunch break. She could use the money she earned to buy anything for cosplay, even though she earned only eight dollars per day. She could not understand why her mother disliked her hobby of cosplay and was upset about her mother's attitude. In the field note I wrote down the following:

> I asked Alice how everything went. She said, not good because she had a quarrel with her mother again this morning. She cried even when she talked to the counselor. Her mother didn't like her to spend too much time on cosplay

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[23] YeinJee's Asian Blog. (2008, July 3). Origin of the word cosplay [web log post]. Retrieved from http://yeinjee.com/tag/nobuyuki-nov-takahashi/

and took away her sewing machine. The only thing her mom cared about was her grades. If she could get straight As she can play cosplay for sure. Later I found out that both of her parents majored in medicine and had high expectations for her. However, what she was passionate about was not what her parents expected. She said, her mom was nice only if she didn't talk about education. (Field note, May 13, 2014)

During that day, Alice begged me to bring her to Jo-Ann, which store sells fabric and crafts to get a new sewing machine. I agreed and drove my car with her and her friends, Duo and Mia. She bought one mini sewing machine there. A few days later, I went to Alice and Duo's class of ELD 1. It was the day for the ELD Speech Contest. They practiced rehearsal in class. Alice wore a blue Japanese high school girl uniform. She made her ponytail high. In the presentation, she shared her dream of opening a cosplay coffee shop. After class I followed Alice and Duo to the school cafeteria, where they sat and chatted. Alice took out colorful clothes from her bag and began to sew them. The clothes were displayed on an empty table, on the top of them I saw the sewing machine we bought from Jo-Ann. She told me she went to see the school student advocate in the morning. She wanted to seek support from the school and solve the conflict with her mom. Our conversation focused on their misunderstanding of each other.

Every time when Alice showed me her cosplay photos I always paused and rubbed my eyes wondering who was this young lady. Similar to my response, many teachers were amazed by her creativity and passion for cosplay. One day I came up to her to collect her pictures for the photo display; she gave me over ten pictures. All were selfie cosplay pictures. She said, "You ask me to take my life and this is my life: cosplay, study, cosplay, study…" She showed me a video clip, which was taken

by a professional photographer in the Fanimecon. She cosplayed a lady wearing a piece of traditional Chinese dress. She was dancing and waving her long sleeves. Her shinning white hair flowed with the wind.

This section attempts to document cultural practices and imagination by the participating students who were passionate for J-pop cultures. It demonstrates that they developed and shared a certain sense of flexible membership through participating in a variety of cultural contexts related to J-pop, such as manga, utami and cosplay. Their sense of belonging can be negotiated and identified by their cultural practices across nations rather than defined by the notion of nation-state specifically. In addition, their passion and imagination for *nijigan* indicates that their transmigrant experiences have been created not only across nations geographically but also through their cultural imagination beyond the physical space.

Post-US education plans

Some participating students decided to stay in the United States after they graduate from college, especially in the SF Bay Area. For example, Shun noted, "The climate is so great in this area and there are a lot of Asians. I will stay here." Both Lily and Ting would like to seek a job here. Although Jia's father visited her and her mother three times a year, the option of going between the two countries seemed too difficult for her.

There were also a few students who did not consider the United States as their only destination. They seldom expressed the uprooted mentality held by many

previous generations of Chinese immigrants. Even a decade ago, returning to China

was targeted as failure of one's journey abroad. Mr. Zhuang talked about this view.

> Can you imagine the student who came out of China in the 70's and 80's?
> They had to figure out a path for their future. Some of them succeeded but
> some of them failed after they tried very hard. I am not saying that those who
> returned to China are those who failed finding a path here, but in reality the
> main reason they went back is that they could not survive here. They had no
> choice, so they went back. (Mr. Zhuang, July 1, 2013)

However, none of the students viewed the option of going back as failure in

this research. They had an open and flexible mentality toward the future. It is no

doubt that the transnational practices took place not only for contemporary Chinese

immigrants, but also for immigrants from all over the world in various historical

periods. However, it is important to bear in mind that the transmigrant mentality of

this group of youth was developed in this particular era when the world has been

influenced rapidly by the combination of more developed technology, convenient

transportation and opened immigration policy. More importantly, China's current

economic and relatively stable political environment provides more working

opportunities for the young generation. As a result, they are attracted to consider

going back to China to take those opportunities, which could hardly be provided for

the former generations. Their bilingual or trilingual capability, moving experiences,

sensitivity and awareness across multiple cultures enabled them to broaden their

visions to explore the world. "To be a real global citizen" is not only a sincere hope

from their parents but also a feasible option offered to this group of youth.

Ye was determined to go back to China after gaining some work experience in

the United States. This idea initially came from his grandma.

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Earn enough money and then return home. My grandma told me this. She knew I didn't really like it here. She said when you grow up and earned 1 or 2 million then you could come home (laugh), as long as you can be independent. That's what she said and also what I thought too. (Ye, October 7, 2014)

I confirmed with him if he would consider going back to his village as the priority. He emphasized that he would return there after making enough money. His father just came back from China during the second interview with Ye. We also talked about his parents' future plans. His mother spent half of the year living in China. Both of them planned to go back to China eventually. He added,

I think he [dad] will go back, because he built a house in the village. He went back during the Chinese New Year. I live here by myself. […] He thought China was better. My mom likes to go back, because she has many friends there. She doesn't like to stay at home by herself. She likes to open a shop in China, and if she can do that, she won't stay here. If everything goes well for the shop, I will go back to help her when I grow up. (Ye, October 7, 2014)

Similar to Ye, Chen believed more working opportunities would be provided through networks in China. He said, "If you know certain people, you can climb faster to certain positions at work; the active atmosphere in China is also a reason for me to consider going back." He told me a few times that life was boring in the United States. Both his parents and he did not want to live here in the future. Because of that, his parents supported his idea. He wanted to apply for U.S. citizenship before going back to China. It is likely that his plan will offer him a more flexible citizenship and allow him to go back and forth between the two countries.

Chen's mother just came back from China when I had the second interview with him. His mother went back to complete the paperwork for retirement and had a medical examination. In fact, while many Chinese immigrants have brought the

Chinese retirement benefits with them back to the United States, they still like to visit

the hospital in China occasionally. Chen analyzed the thoughts held by people like

his parents who were not satisfied with the life they have here.

> The life in China is pretty good. I think that for those who want to come here,
> they might have been poor there, and they can improve their lives by coming
> here, buying a car or house here. For rich people, they come to invest for more
> money. The middle class like us, we lived pretty well in China, but suffered
> when we came here, even more suffering than staying in China. (Chen,
> November 12, 2013)

There were other reasons for the families to consider the plan of going back to

China for the future. For example, Hanson's father once told me over the phone that

for him and his wife there was 60% of possibility of going back to China after

Hanson goes to college. They would not consider going back and forth between the

two countries. From their views, the main purpose of coming here was for Hanson's

education. They were not working in the United States. They have families and

friends in China. Even though they mentioned that the environment here was a lot

better than China, they could not enjoy the benefits offered by the society. He

emphasized the high medical expense. I remember one day when I visited their house

in Hillsborough, they showed me the bill statement sent from the hospital. Total

amount was about 1,600 dollars for their son's emergency visit. Because the amount

did not reach to the deductable amount offered by the insurance company, they paid

the whole amount once. They complained about the charge by the hospital and about

the lack of assistance received from the insurance company.

Throughout the interviews, Japan and Australia were considered as places to work and live by Jiang and Yang. Jiang never considered going to China to work, but his parents suggested it to him. He said,

> If I don't get into a good college or a high enough college of their expectation, they think like maybe it is easier to get a job in China than America. […] My image of China is crowded. It is polluted. To be frank, I kinda never want to go there. I am always bored with China. I would rather go to Japan. Yes again. I am obsessive about Japan. (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

Going to Japan was a realistic option he considered. Even though he will probably stay in the SF Bay Area, he will go to Japan if there is a better work opportunity. He started thinking about this option in his senior year because his best friend was into Japan and wanted to work there. Both he and his friend planned to major in computer science in college. Jiang continued,

> I think it is technology. It is further than the U.S. right now and also there are gonna be a lot of open jobs for computer science in Japan. Right now they are on a huge curve trend towards like high technology more and more. (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

Yang has a stepsister who currently lives in Japan. But, he never considered working or living in Japan. He knew that the reality in Japan must be different from the Japanese manga. He would rather just go there for vacation. For him, Australia was an ideal place to live. Later I found out that his ex-girlfriend lives there. Perhaps this was the reason why he chose Australia. He also told me China could be an option. Compared to other students, whether Australia or China, his plan sounded more ambivalent. His mother did not support him to go to Australia or China. She believed her son should stay in the United States since they already came here. However, she could not decide where to go for herself.

Since I came here, I realized that I would eventually settle and be stable here. But just stay here? I don't know. It's so hard to figure out. […] As for going back to China, it feels like I won't be able to do anything if I go back. The feeling is like this: you want to go back, but after being back for a while, you want to come back to the United States. But when you are here for a while, you began to feel bored. So it's that feeling. In the past, when I'm going back from here to China, I would say, I'm going home. Now, when I'm in China and need to come back here, I would also say, I'm going home. (Yang's mother, April 18, 2014)

Many of her friends were under the same situation of making decision. They were not sure where to stay and what to do in either country for a long term. She was worried about her future in the United States, while at the same time she doubted her ability to readjust to the culture and society in China. The challenge of choosing was facing her. She told me some people suggested that she follow her son and considered him as her future. However, she questioned the suggestion and said, "The situation is different here, especially to the American kids, how many of them would care about their parent's feeling? He will change when he has a girlfriend or gets married. How can you depend on them?" The interview with her was conducted by Skype. She told me she stayed at home the whole day because of her stomach pain. Through the video camera, I could clearly see her. She wore a red long coat and looked tired. I could catch her smile but most of times she looked anxious.

Lily's mother also thought about the option of going back to China. It was also hard for her to make a decision now. She said,

Sometimes I thought Lily could be living on her own and find a job, I'll go back. It's hard to say, many people said they would go back, but haven't been back even until they died. Thoughts are still thoughts, I don't know. I don't know if I will be here or going back one day. The first thing I said to my relative when I came is to go with the flow. I'm just thinking about this phrase, go with the flow. (Lily's mother, November 24, 2013)

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Jia's parents had a clear plan of going between the two countries. During their tour to UCSC, they shared their ideas in the cafeteria. Jia's mother said, "I can finally go back to join her father next year. It's been eight years taking care of Jia." Her father added, "We will stay half year there and half year here". I can see a smile in both of their faces. Shun's mother planned to go back and forth between the two countries as well. She used to work in a state-owned enterprise in China. Even after she came here, she continued to manage her hotel business online in Yunnan. A few years ago, she decided to become a full-time housewife in order to take care of the family, but she found this lifestyle to be boring and planned to seek some business opportunities after Shun goes to college. She could clearly picture herself in that scenario. She said,

> I am still in the process of making a decision. It feels like here is just okay. It's indeed true that it is "great mountains, great water and great boring." After my son goes to college, I won't have any restraints. I can just go back to China. It's fine for me to go back. The U.S. green card requires residents to return to the United States every six months, so I will come back here, stay for a few months, and then travel back and forth. There are massive numbers of Chinese immigrants here doing like this. (Shun's mother, January 23, 2014)

Curious to know the response of the educators to the plans of the students and the families, I continued my conversation with them. One math teacher Mrs. Hang believed it would not make any difference if she knew their options for the future. She was once asked by a new ELD teacher if she would try to find out if the students planned to stay in the United States or go back to the country from whence they came. She said,

I am thinking sitting there. I am like, why do I want to know that as a math teacher? Why should I try to figure out if they're gonna stay here or if they're gonna go? If I do know they are just gonna stay here for a few months and go back, would that make me prejudice? I don't want to be prejudice like that. I want them to be here to learn as much as they can and enjoy my class whether they go back or stay here forever. I don't know if I want to know that. (Mrs. Hang, February 27, 2014)

She wanted to treat the students equally. She was afraid the students would get an idea that the teacher treated them based on their time of stay in this country. Just the day before the interview she had a student who signed off and went back to Japan. Most of the Japanese students came with their families usually because the fathers were assigned temporary work in Silicon Valley. Most of them chose to go back to Japan after the fathers' working term ended. However, this is not the case for Chinese immigrant students.

Whether choosing to stay here, go back to China, go back and forth between the two countries, or go to other countries, there is no single shared destination, but various options offered to this group of youth and their parents, although most of their plans seem still ambivalent. For educators, such as Mrs. Hang, to understand their options or concerns for the future might not directly relate to the subject knowledge they taught, but in a long run the awareness of variation in considering destinations among the 1.5-generation students might allow educators to reflect on the current framework of viewing the students as immigrants, which affects the curriculum design and academic scaffolding for the students. The ELD assistant Mrs. Tao commented on this,

Whether or not we should call them immigrant, I don't know. Should we? They might be going back. They might move whenever their parents want to

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move. So maybe one of these days they think Canada is better. So they move to Canada and they are no more here. (Mrs. Tao, September 4, 2013)

By portraying the students' imagination for future mobility, this section tries to explore how the 1.5-generation youth navigated themselves through the current reality to form the identity of being transmigrant in the global context. It is essential to realize not every youth considered the United States as their permanent destination. Variation in their post-US education plans reveals their shared transmigrant mentality. To capture their views on mobility for the future will increase our appreciation of the transmigrant mentality held by them and their families, which will shift our perspectives on assuming immigrants consider the United States as their final destination.

The U.S. citizenship and the role of being a global citizen
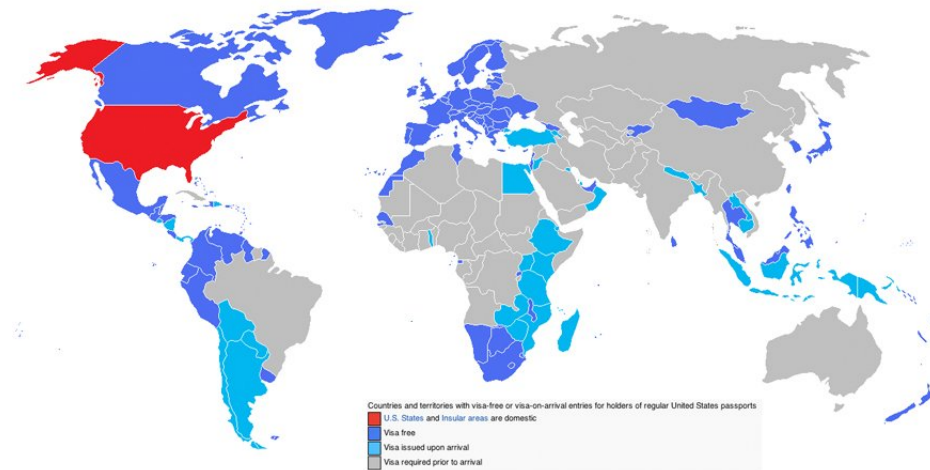
Reasons for applying for U.S. citizenship varied among the students. A passport is not only a booklet to present one's legal citizenship but it also guarantees certain privileges, such as travel to most countries without a visa. As Jiang jokingly pointed out, "It is some way just to make the line faster at the airport." I could clearly feel his excitement of thinking about applying for citizenship. He was the only student who talked about national pride. "I feel proud to be American," he noted. We continued to talk about where the sense of pride started and he said the following:

> I guess it's kind of from school. You learn about U.S. history. In some way you want to show yourself that you are not different from anyone. You can connect with other people here. Just because like I mean in some sense when I came here I didn't know anyone. I never had any friends. I was always alone. So in some way that loneliness I guess. I wanted to, if you have the same values you can connect with others easily. So that's why I want to be an American citizen. (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

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U.S. citizenship for him was a venue through which he could feel connected with others. He did not want himself to be viewed differently from others. But, who are those others? Apparently, it won't be everyone in the school. For him, U.S. citizenship could close the gap between him and others as well as make him share the membership with them, so that his loneliness might go away. But the idea of others was not clear.

It cannot be ignored that U.S. citizenship allows people to travel across 166 countries visa free or with visa on arrival as shown in the map.[24]

Countries and territories with visa-free or visa-on-arrival entries for holders of regular United States passports
U.S. States and Insular areas are domestic
Visa free
Visa issued upon arrival
Visa required prior to arrival

For most of the students, U.S. citizenship links directly to possibility of crossing borders. They expressed their willingness to hold the U.S. citizenship from a more pragmatic aspect. U.S. citizenship can make them either available to go back and stay in China or stay outside of the United States for a longer period. Chen said,

> I want to get naturalized. Once I become a citizen I can go back to China as long as I want and won't have any issues of coming back here. I can come

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[24] Polland, J. (2013, April). Here's where US citizens can travel without a visa. *Business Insider*. Retrieved from http://www.businessinsider.com/where-americans-can-travel-without-visas-2013-4

back here once in a while. If things don't work out in China, probably I will come back here. (Chen, November 12, 2013)

Chen is one of the students who certainly had a future plan of working and living in China. For him, U.S. citizenship will allow him to go freely back and forth between the two countries. More importantly, he can always choose to come back here in case he will not be able to survive in China. Jia believed the citizenship could allow her to stay outside of the United States for a longer time. She noted,

> I want to go to Japan, going without any issues. Naturalization is a good way if you want to go and stay there longer. But it also adds trouble to go back to China if you naturalized. You have to pay. (Jia, November 11, 2013)

She had some ideas of going to Japan to study or work, but her plan to stay in Japan was not clear yet. In fact, she did not have enough time to think about it because she was very busy with her study. Her parents were supportive for her citizenship application and told her to not worry too much about the application fee for going back to China once she was naturalized.

Similar to them, Lily thought about applying for the citizenship through a pragmatic view as well, but her focus was on job stability. She said, "You go to look for jobs with green card status and it feels like an unstable status to be in." In fact, very little difference can be found between a green card holder and citizen when people go into the job market. Lily repeated a few times about her family situation. Both of her parents were unemployed during my interviews. It is not hard to understand her concern for job security. Another example of viewing the U.S. citizenship from a pragmatic perspective came from Shun. Shun believed it was not

necessary to hurry to get the U.S. citizenship application process started right now

because they would like to wait and see how China develops.

> Yea, it depends. I don't have any plans now. As my parents told me, China's development and growth is getting faster and faster. We are not rushing to get the U.S. citizenship. We will see how China's growth will be. If it's okay, we will go back or something. […] It's mainly about if China's development is fast, so it's no rush to get naturalized. (Shun, January 22, 2014)

China was regarded as a frame of reference for his own decision for the future,

which differed from a traditional view of Chinese immigrants who were eager to seek

U.S. citizenship in order to permanently stay in the country. The examples represent

various scenarios of thinking about U.S. citizenship. From a pragmatic point of view,

U.S. citizenship can offer a more flexible means of border crossing enabling the

younger generation to gain global resources. Clearly, their responses challenge the

traditional notion of citizenship as bounded by nation-state. Their desire for

flexibility in crossing borders depicts the possibility of forging a global citizenship.

The topic concerning "global citizenship" had also been addressed in the

interviews with a few parents. For example, Hanson's family came through

investment immigration in 2013. His parents hoped he would become a person with

global competitiveness. Their view was that he would be able to survive in China as

well as in the United States, Europe and other countries. They told me, "Learning

English is not enough. Maintaining his creative ability and critical thinking while

learning to be open-minded with a global vision is the reason why we moved to the

United States at his early age." Parents like them all excitedly shared their hope for

their 1.5-generation children and believed their experience would gain them a more

global vision and an ability to choose where to live and work across the world. The

earth was viewed as a global village where the geographic borders have gradually

become integrated. Shun's mother pointed out,

> I feel like the future world will become a global village. I think that as time
> goes on, the national borders may become increasingly vague. It is a period
> where knowledge, economy, and countless factors are merging. There could
> be the case that he is born in China, grow up in the United States, go work in
> Europe. I think as long as he is Ok with it, we won't have any problem. […]
> Yes, he can go to Africa too, as long as he is interested. (Shun's mother,
> January 23, 2014).

She added that this idea had not been developed upon her arrival. She started

to realize the rapid economic growth taking place in China over the past few years.

She liked to talk to her friends and relatives in China either via phone or online social

media. They updated her with the news and ideas in that society. Whenever she

missed her family and friends, she would go online to talk to them. If she felt bored

here, she would buy a ticket to China. If she missed her son, she would come back

again. The distance between the two countries became not far for her.

Mr. Ma also addressed the similar idea about global citizenship. He was a

self-employed futures trader. He came with his wife and son in 2013 through

investment immigration. I visited their house located in Palo Alto in the summer

2014. They loved the neighborhood and wanted to buy a house close to Stanford.

They found this house and bought it for 2.8 million dollars. I was introduced to him

through Hanson's parents. Mr. Ma had an open-minded way of visioning education.

It was impressive that he mentioned the term "global citizen" a few times in the

interview.

I'd like to educate my kid to be a global citizen without defining him as Chinese or American. The ethnic aspect should be considered less. Based on the definition of global citizen, his career should not be limited by a country. Seeking his inner world and interest is far more important for him. He can work in the United States or Europe. He can also go to countries like China or Singapore. He must have ability and vision to think about his career globally. (Mr. Ma, July 17, 2014)

Mr. Ma and his wife have been working in the field of finance and investment for more than ten years. They enjoyed the freedom given by this type of work. Mr. Ma considered himself as a global citizen as well. He criticized the individual's mobility limited by geographic locations. He believed if a person had ability he/she could choose where to work and stay. Nation-state should not be used to limit what people can contribute to the society. He added, "You cannot doubt my work done here will contribute less to China compared to my work done over there."

It cannot be ignored that financial freedom allowed people like them more flexible mobility compared to most of others in the world. I agreed with him in the sense that an individual's mobility should reach beyond geographic boundaries. In fact, ability, which was believed by him as a prerequisite for mobility has broader meanings for the group of 1.5-generation youth. An ability to be aware of having vision to live in the reality that is driven by globalization and transnationalism, and an ability to forge themselves to become a global citizen is a potential given by their identity of being 1.5-generation today. Another teacher, Mr. Franz noted,

This is a whole new group of people, a whole new group of citizens. They need to appreciate how fortunate they are and their future options because more than anyone else on the planet they have the opportunity to become a citizen of the world. (Mr. Franz, February 3, 2014)

Parents' Educational Aspirations and Desires

Moving for education

The journey is always initiated by a decision. Crossing the ocean is not an easy decision for any individual, let alone for an entire family. Immigrants are often viewed as individual actors; however, research has indicated that the decision, the destinations, and the strategies of immigration are closely linked with the family ties and bonds (Glick, 2010). The stories heard in this research remind us of the multitude of decisions behind each individual's movement, revealing the complexity of issues that are part of "family life," an area of research often ignored when discussing immigration. In contemporary China a frequently drawn conclusion is that such movements are the result of the implementation of one-child policy. The argument runs that it is for the sake of children and their education that immigration occurs and that families sacrifice everything for perceived opportunities and future options. In trying to analyze the reasons for immigration, this section attempts to critically rethink the impetus for immigration, from the viewpoints of both parents and children once having arrived in the United States.

The majority of the participating students, without thinking twice, attributed the reason of their family's immigration to education. I heard this refrain repeated over and over. Shun, a student from a city of Northeast China answered my query in saying, "Probably providing a better education for me." His friend, Yang said, "Every Chinese thinks about coming here for a better life and education." Yang came from Shenyang. His mother first came to the United States. His parents divorced

soon after Yang arrived. He believes that every single Chinese comes to this country

for a better life and education. Similarly, two students, Ting and Lin, assured me that

it was for the sake of their education that immigration was made a priority in their

family. During an interview with them at a Chinese language event, Ting said,

> To explain why, we can simply say that they [parents] came here to provide a
> better foundation, giving us the opportunity to study well, and become better
> prepared for the future. This would avoid us becoming like them, working so
> hard. (Ting & Lin, April 20, 2013)

Ting and Lin were recommended to me by Mr. Zhuang, who first came to the

United States from China as a visiting scholar and returned in 1989. However,

because of the changes in the political context after the Tiananmen Square Protests,

and because he was a teacher of English, he had deep concerns about the future of

China and his role in it. He bade farewell to his hometown with tears and decided to

return to the United States to start a new life. For the next few years he worked very

hard, earning his credential and Master's Degree in teaching Chinese in the United

States. After three years, his wife brought their son at the age of nine and reunited

with him. He then enrolled in a PhD program of educational leadership while

working full-time in SVHS. His experience profoundly affected his understanding of

the tough process of immigration. He had no desire to completely return to China.

For him, education was not the reason for immigration. However, he acknowledged

that for most first generation parents the goal of immigration is to provide their

children with a better education. To do this many of them gave up a great deal in

terms of their jobs and careers in China.

For parents, understanding how to talk about immigration with their children was not an easy task. Both children and parents were under a great deal of pressure, which in turn made them blame each other. Mrs. Tao, an ELD assistant shared her views.

> Students face pressure from home because they are the only child. Their parents claim that coming to this country is for their education. The parents get pressure as well. They might not be holding the job they want because of their limited English. So often they want their kids to help them out but kids are teens. If they [kids] don't want to assist, it has negative effects even the parents who pressure them. So, the kids sometimes rebel by not studying hard and say, you [parent(s)] are the one who wants to come, not me. (Mrs. Tao, October 4, 2013)

At the beginning of my fieldwork in SVHS, Mrs. Tao's name was heard from the Principal, the guidance counselors and a few teachers. She came from Hong Kong for college in Texas and studied education in music in the 1970s. She has been teaching for over twenty years, and spent five years in SVHS as a para-educator. She is fluent in English, Mandarin Chinese, plus four Chinese dialects including Cantonese, Chaozhou dialect, Taishan dialect and Taiwanese. She was called "grandma of the school." She helped the ELD coordinator with administrative work, such as organizing documents of ELD students, translating conversations between teachers, students and their parents. Being an immigrant herself as well as working in the ELD program allowed Mrs. Tao to have insights on immigration and notice the tension between parents and children in Chinese families. By using children and their education as an excuse, it was easy to blame children when parents had difficulties or sufferings in the United States. A student, Chen, often heard complaints from parents when they talked about immigration. He said,

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My dad complained to my mom and said if it weren't for my studies, they wouldn't come here because life is better in China. You are happier when you earn and spend money in China. (Chen, November 12, 2013)

Another student, Lily confirmed with me that her parents did not get along well prior to their immigration, which was one of the reasons for coming here. Her parents did not even talk to each other at home although they lived together every day. In the interview with Lily's mom, she told me she liked to complain occasionally and blame Lily for making her come. She said,

I will complain to Lily when there are issues, such as when you need to know English to take care of something, but I don't know English, and need help from others. And then I would say, if it weren't for you [Lily], I would not come here. Lily was quiet when I spoke to her, but I don't know whether or not she actually listened. I just said it. […] Sometimes I just popped it out from my mouth. It made me more comfortable, and less stressful (Lily's mom, November 24, 2013)

One day in the school, Lily told me her parents got officially divorced. I still remembered the day when I sat with her in the guidance office hearing the sad story between her parents. I saw tears in her eyes and she cried silently. In my field notes I wrote.

Every family has a story. Immigration makes the story more complicated. It is a myth that a Chinese person in his/her 40s comes to this country just for his/her kid. Lily must be suffering a lot in her family. Actually, parents in four families from Phase II of the research so far are not living everyday life together. I began to think about the myth of the importance of family in China. How has this kind of "separating" reality impacted the mentality of kids? How would the kids react to their family situation? (Field note, November 7, 2013)

A few families addressed other reasons in addition to education for their immigration. Jia's father indicated immigration allowed him to change his own lifestyle. Six years ago he was in his 50s. "I could clearly see the endpoint of my

career after another ten years when I receive retirement," he added. Immigration was

clearly not only for his children's education but also for himself. Similar to him,

Shun's mother was honest about their reason for immigration. She listed four reasons

in an order of priority: loss of family business, education for Shun, no pressure to take

care of parents, and attraction of going abroad. She explained further:

> I don't think there is one single absolutely reason for coming here. There
> might be something people don't want to share with others. While coming for
> your child's education is the most important part for immigrant families, is not
> the only reason, at least for our family. Your whole life will be changed
> because of this. I am only at my 30s. I don't think it is worth sacrificing that
> much for children. (Shun's mother, January 23, 2014)

Education for children was not the reason for two other students' families

moving to the United States. Ye indicated his parents came to this country with an

economic purpose. He indicated, "They came in order to make money which they

sent back to their own parents' homes." He did not claim that his parents' moved for

his education. Similar to him, Jiang did not say it was for education. His family

originally moved from China to Canada because his father received a job offer. The

two main reasons his family moved a second time again from Canada to the United

States was a more desirable living condition and more work opportunities.

To some extent, the way they immigrated to this country is closely linked to

the reasons why they came as I discussed in Theme I. My role as a researcher gave

me an access to these stories. My hope was to make connections between their

segmented stories from examining their immigrant status and category of immigration

in order to find out their reasons for moving. What I came to realize is that most of

students and their parents claimed that their moving to this country was mainly for

education; however there clearly were many other reasons for moving, including seeking a different lifestyle, work opportunities, economic concerns, and parents' personal relationship. It is hoped the analysis will enhance our understanding of some factors that contribute to the reasons why Chinese families brought their early-age children to this country and how the children perceived the reasons for the journey.

Selection of location

Even after their arrival in the United States, these families usually continued to move at least a few times until they found a desirable location, which usually meant a good school district for their children. Jiang's family continued to move because of the price of homes and the desire to find a school district that would provide the best education for Jiang, as noted below,

> Actually I moved quite often. I was in Santa Clara for about two months before I moved to Cupertino. So all the friends I made there and all the people we got to know changed. I moved twice. Actually we went to Monterey once and then Santa Clara again and then Cupertino. […] Home price I guess. Actually the reason we went to Cupertino from Santa Clara was because of education. Education here would be better. So that's why they moved here. (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

The increase of population in the SF Bay Area went from about 6.8 million to more than 7.4 million between 2000 and 2014.[25] A significant increase of the Asian American population reached 23.3% in 2010 in comparison to 19% in 2000, while the White population declined from 58.1% in 2000 to 52.5% in 2010 (Bay Area Census, 2000-2010). Cupertino, home to thousands of high tech companies and startups,

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[25] Phung, A. (2014, June 19). Bay Area's population boom is a bust for housing market. *NBC Bay Area News*. Retrieved from http://www.nbcbayarea.com/news/local/Bay-Areas-Population-Boom-a-Burden-on-Transportation-and-Housing-260805031.html

located in the heart of Silicon Valley, has attracted many Chinese immigrants. As Fiona noted, "A lot of parents work for Intel, Google, or Yahoo. I guess a lot of people all over the world moved to this area specifically for the kids' schooling."

SVHS is one of five campuses under the Fremont Union High School District. Since 2005, the residency verification policy was implemented by the School District to ensure schools are reserved for those students who are valid residents within the District boundaries.[26] Mrs. Tao explained the residency verification process by showing me a letter from the School District. The letter asked parents to provide five documents: California State driver's license, W-2 tax forms, tenant's copy of rental, PG&E bill, and birth certificate to verify their residence. She said, "Recently it boomed because housing is expensive especially in this particular area. Lots of people want to come to Cupertino because of our name and School District."

All participating students in SVHS lived in places that were either purchased or rented by their parents (see Table 7.6). For some families, they bought their house in other cities and rented them out before they rented another apartment within the District boundaries.

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[26] Fremont Union High School District. (2014). Retrieved from http://fuhsd.ca.schoolloop.com/enrollment

Table 7.6. Home Status in the United States from the Students in SVHS

Name	Home Status	Price for house/renting (USD)
Celia	Bought in Santa Clara	800K
Jia	Bought in Cupertino	650K
Chen	Bought in San Jose	250K
	Rent in Cupertino	NA
Shun	Bought in Fremont	650K
	Rent in Cupertino	1, 995/month
Jiang	Bought in Cupertino	700-800K
Yang	Rent in Cupertino	500/month
Ye	Rent in San Jose	NA
Lily	Rent in San Jose	1, 200/month
Lei	Rent in Cupertino	2, 500/month
Alice	Rent in Cupertino	NA
Mia	Bought in San Jose	510K
Emma	Bought in Cupertino	NA

When the students first heard my question about why they came to this school, some of them told me they lived close to the school so that they were able to enroll automatically. However, for most families, Cupertino was not their initial destination. They had certain reasons and motives to move into this neighborhood, as some of the students, parents and educators claimed, for a "better quality" education.

What I found from the interviews is that in many cases "better quality" is defined by race. The first school that Ye attended had a low percentage of Chinese students. As a result it was not viewed as a good School District. He said,

> The School District isn't that good over there. I didn't speak English when I came. There were very few Chinese in that school; it's mostly Americans. The Chinese there forgot how to speak Chinese, so they couldn't help me interpret. And then there were many Blacks. It's difficult to study there. My dad's friend always said I was not be able to study well there, so my dad brought me here [SVHS]. (Ye, January 7, 2014)

This clearly indicates the intersection of race, ethnicity and language in his school selection. In another interview with Lei's mother, she commented along

similar lines: "There's another school near our home within walking distance, but that school was poor, frankly, they were all Mexican kids." Lei and his parents lived with his auntie's family after their arrival. In fact, he was enrolled in the school, which had high percentage of Whites and low percentage of Asians. Jia's mother told me they rented a house in Mountain View in order for Jia to go to middle school. There were many Mexicans and Jia had an unpleasant time in the school. After that, she got the idea to buy a house. The housing price during 2008-2009 was relatively low. She also went to Palo Alto but discovered it was a "White people's world." She was concerned about her limited English and wanted to live in a place where there were more Chinese.

Views from these parents revealed the complex mentality regarding race, which impacted the process of selecting the neighborhood and school. Concerns about the racial percentage became the norm when selecting a school. They believed the stereotype of minority racial groups, such as African Americans or Hispanics were linked to low academic achievement. Meanwhile, they also understood the disadvantage in terms of culture and language of placing their children in a school with a high percentage of African American or Hispanics. In their views, "Americans" are often defined as White people. As a result, a school like SVHS with a high Asian population, in particular Chinese and Indians, fitted well in their selection criteria in terms of race.

In addition, most of them had little knowledge about the American education system. Few of them collected information about the specific school prior to their

coming. Recourses from their family members, friends or coworkers after their

arrival became the major venue to help them make the decision. At the beginning,

Jia's mother did not know the real estate market in Cupertino. Her interest in the

school was stimulated by a real estate agent. Since she did not work, she did not

qualify for the loan mortgage. Instead she paid cash for the house. Mr. Franz worked

in the field of real estate for thirty years before he started working for the School

District as a substitute teacher in 2002. I met him in one ELD 2 class. He has noticed

the Asian influence on real estate values in the past ten years and commented "Asian

parents recognized there were three best schools in the country. They will pay any

price to be in this neighborhood." Shun's mother shared the similar view:

> After our visas were approved I told my husband that he needed to choose a
> good school district for the kid. He does construction works so he was able to
> go to different homes and interact with the owners, like the Taiwanese moms
> to get information. Cupertino in general has a high rating in education.
> Although it's expensive, when considering the fact that many Chinese have
> only one child, we think we should give the child more, and that is
> undisputable. (Shun's mother, January 23, 2014)

This section analyzes the reasons why the families moved to this area and

chose this particular high school for their children. As shared by the parents, the

indicators they used in choosing a good school included the racial composition of

student body, housing price, and advice from family members and friends. Unless we

understand the complex mentality of the immigrant families, we will oversimplify the

process of selecting an appropriate school for their children. My findings confirm

that better educational opportunities are perceived as being gained through

immigration (Louie, 2001; Ogbu, 1998). The parents continued to move after their

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arrival in the United States in order to find a good school for their children to attend. In fact, most of the parents aspired for their children to attend a top ranked college in the United States. In the following section, I will portray the students' plans of going to college and analyze the parents' aspirations for a "good" college and their strategies to fulfill this desire.

Preparation for college

By the end of my fieldwork in summer 2014, four students graduated from SVHS. Among them, Jiang was accepted to UC Berkeley and Chen was accepted to UC Merced. Lin received an offer from San Jose State University. Yang would stay in Cupertino and attend De Anza Community College. The rest of the students shared with me their study plans for college and some even talked about applying to graduate school after college. Parents were also excited about this topic and asked me to give some suggestions for their children's college application.

To the majority of Chinese families, high school is the time to focus on academic achievement and prepare for admission to a good college. For many families in this research, "good" colleges were limited to Ivy League Universities, as well as two thirds of University of California campuses (UC system), and a few Liberal Arts Colleges. Community Colleges or even California State Universities (CSU system) were not in the list. They believed the United States had the best universities in the world. It is hard to ignore the best colleges' rankings in the media. Most Chinese communities in the United States spend a great deal of time collecting and spreading the news of some example of a Chinese or Chinese American who

worked hard to be accepted by Ivy Leagues, for example Harvard, Stanford, MIT,

among others. They also liked attending talks by those parents who successfully

pushed their children to the best colleges, even though they disliked the word "push"

to be used to describe the strategy. They believed in the talent and capability of the

children. Updates on the so-called "Harvard Mom" through Wechat or other social

media forums are common. The strategy used by Chinese parents to send their

children to Ivy Leagues is called *pa teng* (climbing ivy). Their desires for college

brands are shared among the community. Hanson's mother once said, "My friend's

daughter went to the Philips Academy.[27] The parents paid expensive tuition, but the

daughter went to Georgetown University as a result. Why did she go there? It is not

a famous school." Shun's mother also illustrated her desire for a brand college

noting,

> I hope he [Shun] can work harder to be accepted by UC Berkeley. Even
> though I knew it's not that good to push the kid like many Chinese parents do,
> but I feel if the kid can go to a *mingxiao* (brand college) he/she will have a
> brighter future. (Shun's mother, May 7, 2014)

Both students and parents described a certain pressure and anxiety about the

college application process. Even a few years before the actual application, they

began to seek opportunities to get their children prepared. All of the children were

determined to go to college. Some of them had thought about going to college

outside of the United States. Celia had a back-up plan to go to college in Canada as

noted here,

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[27] Established in 1778, it is one of the oldest incorporated boarding high schools in the United States. It has a 13%
accepting rate.

I am thinking about going to college in Canada because it is cheaper. I will probably come here [U.S.] for graduate school. It was on my mind like maybe last year. I just searched more about colleges. My dad talked about "you should look at University of British Columbia, University of Toronto." If that's not too expensive then I will probably actually end up going there. (Celia, September 23, 2013)

Her thinking about the option of colleges in Canada mostly was for financial reasons. Since she is a Canadian citizen, the tuition will only cost 4,000-5,000 U.S. dollars. It will be cheaper than tuition at an Ivy League University. Lin also thought about going to college outside of the United States. "It is not really like a plan," he said. He knew it was almost impossible to go back to China because he had not prepared for *gaokao*, which is required for entrance to all Chinese universities. He came up with this idea of going to China for colleges but he also heard a news story that college graduates in China were having a hard time finding jobs after graduation. He told me that there was a famous saying recently in China: "*Biye dengyu shiye*" which literally meant graduation equals unemployment.

For most students, if they intended to stay in California, UC was usually their goal. If it was too hard to be accepted directly by UC, going to De Anza College first and transferring to a UC campus was an alternative approach. Mrs. English once told me the students in the ELD program tended to go to De Anza College, in part because it was very hard to apply for college using the ELD level 1 and level 2 credits. Counselor Fiona said, "the four-year colleges only consider the courses taken by ELD level 3 and beyond." Most of the students had taken ELD 1 and 2 levels, but still considered the option of going to community college. Chen is one example of this; his parents thought it was fine that he attend De Anza first and then transfer after two

years. Jia's goal was UC. She clearly knew the role of community college played as

a transfer station.

> I hope to stay in California, but under the condition that I get into a UC. […]
> My mom also told me, if it doesn't work out, you can just attend two years at
> community college, then transfer to UC. I want to view it as a step, if I can
> really jump through it to UC. (Jia, September 27, 2013)

> In fact, Jia's sister transferred from De Anza College to UC Berkeley a few

years ago. Therefore, Jia knew how to work this approach. She wanted to first apply

for UC no matter how hard it would be. In the summer of 2014, I showed her family

around the campus of UCSC (one UC campus in Santa Cruz) because she believed

there would be a big chance for Jia to be accepted. While driving on highway 17, her

father announced, "I read from the Chinese website that UCSC is listed about 70th

among 3000 colleges in the United States, which is actually not bad." Her mother

added, "Berkeley only accept those whose ACT score is beyond 30. Jia's ACT is

only 26. She can work hard a little bit and apply here since ACT score for UCSC

starts from 27." Ranking and ACT score were the most important factors when they

thought about the application. We had a rest in the cafeteria, Jia said, "It's been a few

years I haven't seen so many foreigners." She told me in her mind, foreigner meant

non-Chinese. According to the office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion, UCSC has

about 20 percent of Asian population in 2012-2013.[28] Compared to other campus,

such as UC Berkeley (40%),[29] UCLA (34.8%),[30] UC Davis (40%),[31] which are all

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[28] Undergraduate & graduate students by race/ethnicity. (2012-2013). Office for diversity, equity and inclusion,
Univeristy of California, Santa Cruz. Retrieved from
http://diversity.ucsc.edu/diversity/images/student_demo_2013.pdf
[29] Diversity snapshot. (2013). Office of the vice chancellor for equity & inclusion. Retrieved from
http://diversity.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/Diversity-Snapshot-web-FINAL.pdf

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well known by Chinese families, the Asian population in UCSC is much lower. Not

many Chinese parents considered UCSC as good as Berkeley or UCLA in terms of

college rankings.

Most of the time when I listened to the students or their parents talking about

their concerns on college application, my feeling started to be mixed deep inside. I

tried to ask myself to pay attention to their concerns and give suggestions as best as I

could. Sometimes I was inspired by their strong desires for education which was put

into words in a very straightforward way, while at the same time I could easily

imagine how the mentality of competition and comparison is heated by the views of

the Chinese community. Many Chinese families face that mentality every day in their

life. During the spring break, I called Shun's mother to double check how the college

visiting tour went with Shun and wrote down my thoughts after the phone call.

> He liked UC Irvine (UCI). He thought UCI would be a good fit for him. The chemistry in UCI is good. Shun' mom said, "They have two Nobel Prize winners." She asked me how I thought about this school. I shared with her about my opinion: good location and reputation plus nice Chinese community. Actually, she hoped Shun could be accepted by UC Berkeley. The complex of brand schools are held deeply in the Chinese parents mind. I tried to convince her to think more about the growth of the kid rather than compare her own kid to others. But I kept it quiet. (Field note, May 7, 2014)

Her concern for Shun's future was understandable. In the first interview, she

expressed her view on importance of applying for graduate school. She knew Shun

had an interest in chemistry and hoped he can major in chemistry in college and even

apply to graduate school in the United Kingdom or other European countries. She

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[30] UCLA profiles. (2013). University of California, Los Angeles. Retrieved from http://www.aim.ucla.edu/profiles/main.pdf
[31] UC Davis student profile. (2013). University of California, Davis. Retrieved from http://admissions.ucdavis.edu/profile/

clarified later if Shun did not like chemistry anymore he could always change to other majors.

Jia planned to go to Japan for a Master's Degree and then come back to the United States for a Doctoral Degree. Fiona expressed her surprise that the students were already aware of the pressure and thought about going to graduate school at such an early age. She said, "Most of my students, a good enough percentage would say I need to go to graduate school."

From my own experience of talking to the parents in person, or attending the gathering of Chinese families, or even logging in on the education forums on Wechat, I noticed constant pressure from the Chinese community. It can be a positive push for the students but, it can also mislead them and parents because the standard they hold might not work outside of the Chinese community. The following two field notes document these concerns. One was taken at the beginning of my fieldwork for Phase II, the other was taken one year later. It is interesting to see how my concern remained the same.

> I was invited to a party by my friend Ann who was a lawyer. A Chinese lady with her daughter came in at 4pm. She has two daughters. One graduated last year and went to Wellesley College, the other is still in middle school. She started to talk about her daughters when we all sat down. She told us both of them were good at sports. She tried to make a joke by saying, "I used to say to my daughter, you will go to De Anza College and later become a secretary if you don't study hard." I was upset. What's wrong with a kid becoming a secretary? Wrong's wrong with a kid who goes to community college? She continued to express how disappointed she was about her daughter who wasn't good at math and science. Later she told us she went to Belguim to study Chemistry in French and her husband went to Switzerland to do his post-doc. She tried to impress us how smart her whole family was. Education became the only topic that attracted people's attention that afternoon. They

closed the door a few times and whispered behind the backs of the kids. I left the table a few times. (Field note, July 4, 2013)

I logged into a Chinese American education group in Wechat for a discussion about standardized testing. Some people believe Chinese Americans are successful in education because they have high scores on testing. But some didn't agree. They focus a lot on improving their own kids' academic achievement, creativity, music and language skills, etc. Some of them are proud of Chinese culture and blamed the American education system for its low performances by using the ranking data released by PISA. They are also interested in talking about their kids' success, such as the math competition and the piano contest. They wanted to know how to make their kids have a successful career and life, and they believe they value education. (Field note, June 18, 2014)

In March 2014, many education forums in Wechat addressed the topic of Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 5 (SCA-5). The SCA-5 was initially proposed by California State Senator Edward Hernandez in 2012 in an attempt to eliminate the prohibition on state discrimination or preference on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public education.[32] After it was passed by the California State Senate in late January 2014, an unexpected resistance arose among Asian Americans, particularly in Chinese new immigrant communities in California with a major concern that "the affirmative action policies would unfairly disadvantage Asian applicants to the intensely competitive University of California system."[33] Messages against the SCA-5 quickly spread out through Wechat, emails, Chinese newspapers, and Chinese language media. A Change.org petition to stop the referendum collected more than 112,000 signatures.[34] In mid-March, State Senator

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[32] SCA-5 Public education: student recruitment and selection. (2013-2014). *California Legislative Information.* Retrieved from: http://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201320140SCA5
[33] Murphy, K. (2014, March 18). California affirmative action revival bill is dead. *San Jose Mercury News.* Retrieved from http://www.mercurynews.com/education/ci_25361339/california-affirmative-action-challenge-is-dead
[34] ibid.

Hernandez put the bill on hold. Working as a part-time Chinese teacher, Lei's mother

expressed her own ideas,

> Chinese parents who sent their children to the Chinese school asked teachers
> to spread the message against the SCA-5. Those parents still believe in
> meritocracy and education is the only way to become outstanding. (Lei's
> mother, May 18, 2014)

In both February and March 2014, I participated in the events organized by

the Chinese immigrant organizations that opposed the SCA-5 and observed

discussions on the topic both on and offline. I also heard the views from a small

portion of those who supported the SCA-5, and most of them were second or third

plus-generation Chinese Americans. Through this public debate, misunderstanding

and disagreement about the affirmative action between the Chinese new immigrants

and those who were born in the United States shadowed variation in backgrounds and

their various desires for education.

Most of the desires for education by recent immigrant parents can be

understood as their desires for status, power and privileges. Many parents shared

their strategies to fulfill their desires. One collectively shared strategy was to send

their children to *Buxiban*, which is not a new concept for many Chinese families in

the SF Bay Area. It has been a part of the Chinese American community for over a

century. *Buxiban* is a Chinese term, which literally means tutoring class. In fact, it is

more than a class; it is more like a school that has its own buildings for various

classes and the focus is on academic subjects. Most of them are private for profit and

none of them are located inside of a regular school. Students usually go there over

the weekends or after their regular school hours. Some of the families started sending

their children to *buxiban* prior to their arrival. Jia's father described his experience in China. "Social pressure was extremely strong. If we didn't go but everybody else did, we were left far behind." In China, Jia's family lived in a neighborhood surrounded by a number of good schools. Even the shopping center was torn down in order to open a *buxiban*. Elementary students took courses, such as drawing, piano, violin and calligraphy. Middle School and High School students took courses focusing on specific subjects, including English speaking and listening, math, Chinese language. Shun's mother expressed a similar experience in China. Shun took the class of English, the game of go, calligraphy and Olympic math. His mother claimed, "Taking class in *buxiban* is not determined by me, but the surrounding atmosphere. All parents sent their kids to *buxiban*. Every Saturday and Sunday, kids rushed for class."

In this research, most of the students went to *buxiban* that focused on college preparation. Two *buxiban* mentioned by the students have been established in the SF Bay Area for more than ten years. Their branches are located in both Northern and Southern California. They even opened branches in China. Their commercials are posted in the local newspapers, radio stations, TV stations and online. The best advertisement is the ranking bulletin board posted on the walls or doors of their building where people can easily see the number of students accepted to top universities. Once in a while they hold events in the local convention center to present their programs and learning packages designed for students, which usually attract 2,000 to 3,000 people.

More than half of the participating students in SVHS went to *buxiban*.

Usually they attended since their junior year. The fees range from 4,000 to 20,000

U.S. dollars based on the programs (see Table 7.8). Some programs took care of the

students' everyday homework, some focused only on SAT preparation. The main

purpose was to help with the college application process including improving GPAs,

signing up for volunteer work, writing up application essays and searching for

colleges.

Table 7.8. Information about the Students in SVHS Who Attended *Buxiban*

Name	Institution Name	Year start	Tuition	Program
Jia	iLearning	Junior	Over 10K	3 year package
Shun	iLearning	Junior	16K	3 year package
Chen	Ivy Climbing	Junior	4K	SAT package
Jiang	Go Magic	Junior	NA	NA
Ting	Go Magic	Junior	Over 20K	VIP package
Lin	Go Magic	Senior	NA	SAT package
Mia	Victory	Freshman	NA	Homework

Parents trusted these programs because they believed they would assist their

children with the college admission process. Even though some parents knew some

general information about American schools, they were not confident enough to use

their current knowledge to guide their children. They would rather pay the counselors.

Lin described the parents' mindset:

> Parents think it's good for the kids. They would borrow money to take this
> stuff, as they basically have no clue. The psychological feeling made them
> think it would be good and useful. They are willing to pay to let their kids take
> these kinds of classes. (Ting & Lin, April 20, 2013)

What he addressed about lack of application knowledge was exactly what

many parents addressed to me. For example, Shun's mother expressed her English

language limitation and lack of knowledge about college application process. She said,

> I really don't have any clue about college application for my kid. Our English level and skill set are severely lacking. I feel that there are certain things you can solve by using money and it's better than begging for others. There are many things you can't do even with money in China. You can at least take care of some things here. We feel very glad when there are people willing to provide service like this. (Shun's mother, January 23, 2014)

For the parents, money was not an issue. If their children receive tutoring service from *buxiban* and succeed in going to a good college, they would pay whatever they can. After Jia's mother signed up and paid over 10,000 U.S. dollars for the program, she said jokingly, "We could use the same money to buy another car." Lily's father once tried to persuade me to make her daughter to sign up for a SAT class. For the students, most of them believed they benefited from the classes, which helped them finish their homework and allowed them to hang out with their friends. Jia said,

> It's about preparing for tests and there is a homework club. I can go there for help if I have any questions. The teachers are all there. Yes, you can ask them. I think it's pretty good. My friends are there, so it's good to go there. (Jia, September 27, 2013)

Jia did not like her literature teacher's teaching style at school. She had no idea why her teaching was not exam-oriented. She complained that the teacher never provided a narrow-downed study guideline for them to prepare for the exam. Interestingly, I heard similar complaints about a math teacher, Mr. Ali. He believed the teachers were trying to make sure that students understood what they were doing and appreciated their understanding.

All they (*buxiban*) do for the kids is have them memorize something. The goal of my class is not for the kids to do tonight's homework. It is for them to really understand what they are learning and will be able to apply later on. Every once in a while I see some kids doing something strange and then I found well, ok, "I had a tutor." The tutor is very focused on how the student can do tonight's homework. That's my biggest concern. (Ali, February 24, 2014)

The misunderstanding between students and teachers shown from these examples are caused by dissimilar viewpoints on learning and teaching held by public schools and private college preparation schools. For many Chinese immigrant families, to be accepted by top American universities was part of their motivation for immigration. But, secondary education in the United States does not mean pushing all students to be accepted by so-called "good" colleges. When the families found little support from the school about the college application, they would look for outside assistance. Jiang expressed his confusion when he started college application process by using the school website.

You have to understand in a way it's hard to get help coz it's so confusing. Our school has a separate form, and you have to fill that out first. […] It basically comes like really time consuming process. (Jiang, October 11, 2013)

In fact, SVHS has an office called "College and Career Center," which mainly helps students with their college application. Because of campus construction, the guidance office was located right beside the college and career center during my fieldwork. I saw Jiang coming and going to the center a few times when I visited the guidance office. The issue here is to what extent schools should provide detailed information or counseling services regarding college application. Different from Jiang, many students did not bother to ask how to get access to the school resource.

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Mrs. Tao said, "We tried our best to provide the learning environment so they can

survive in our public school, but some of them didn't take the advantage."

In the thank-you party, I asked the students to think about importance of going

to a good college from their own points of view. To present how the students viewed

this issue, I added a long excerpt from the conversation as follows:

[Jia]: Fear of losing face when asked by the relatives.
[Lily]: Pushed by the relatives. It's very embarrassing.
[Jia]: My mom treated me so well that I cannot let her down by just going to a so-so college. In case, I will go to De Anza College first and then go to UC.
[Lily]: Parents here don't give a shit about community college. It's totally a failure to them.
[Jia]: You need to go to UC.
[Lily]: The relatives will say, what about your English? When do you start your college application? This made me feel a lot of pressure.
[Jia]: They will say, study hard. It's the toughest time. We will wait for your good news.
[Lily]: They gave you too much expectation.
[Jia]: Too much expectation. Chinese love it.
[Duo]: Going to a good college has no meaning at all, except for wasting money.
[Mia]: Actually, I don't know exactly why we need to go to college.
[Yang]: Of course you don't need to, but you need to have competence, like those who didn't graduate from high school did start-up. I can't do that. I am not smart. I don't have any networks.
[Jia]: Even you want to do a start-up, you need to go to college.
[Shun]: They are the few among a few. Most people are mediocre.
[Yang]: I will become one of the mediocre.
[Me]: That's why you need to go to a good college?
[Yang]: Not really. Even if you want to be mediocre, you need to go to a good college.
[Duo]: Exactly.
[Yang]: It's not easy to be mediocre today. But how good is good?
[Jia]: UC.
[Lily]: Berkeley.
[Jia]: Even Berkeley, not good enough.
[Me]: Is it important to go to a good college for your life?
[Yang]: Of course it helps.
[Lily]: Need to think about your career. If you want to be professional, better is better.
[Jia]: Yes.
[Duo]: If you want to own a shop, why need much knowledge?
[Lily]: Exactly. Knowledge is no need if you want to be an owner.

[Me]: Do you think going to college is for learning knowledge?
[Duo]: No?
[Jia]: To gain more status.
[Duo]: In order to show off.
[Jia]: It's only about status. I can stand firmly in the society. When I look for job, I can tell them where I graduated.
[Alice]: I believe nothing is useful unless you have money.

It is hard to ignore their views on importance of pursuing high education. The parents made sacrifices to bring their children to this country and used various strategies after their arrival to select a good school district and prepare them to be accepted by a good college. However, the children developed different views towards the aspirations of their parents. Children viewed them as pressure, which made them feel anxious and stressed. In the conversation, they claimed they had to follow the path to meet the expectations from the parents and the society. To pursue high education today might in fact not be either an individual nor a family decision, but rather mixture of societal expectations with that of individual, especially when it comes to the overemphasis on the correlation between college degree and economic success. For these children, their experience of immigration added another complex layer to understand this issue represented in a globalized context.

Summary

This chapter presented the three main findings from Phase II of the research. These include: 1/ the variation in backgrounds of the Chinese immigrant families, 2/ perceptions of the youth on their transmigrant status, and 3/ educational aspirations and desires for the youth as expressed by both the families and the larger Chinese communities in which they were situated. Understanding that this dissertation is but a

snapshot of the complexity of the Chinese diaspora as represented in the voices of those who participated in Phase II of the research, my intention is that it will contribute to a deeper investigation of contemporary 1.5-generation youth' educational experiences.

Both geographically and historically, the San Francisco Bay Area constitutes a vital part of the Chinese diaspora in the United States, which is not only categorized as flows of Chinese people, but also defined as their cultural experiences and practices. Investigation of the diaspora and its contemporary complexity in terms of generational and immigrant status, region of origin, linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds, reasons for immigration and plan options for the future complements current discussions on the dynamic formation of the Chinese diaspora in the United States as well as contributes an alternative framework for the broader scholarship on American immigrant education. Utilizing a diaspora and transnational migration framework on education, we can begin to view 1.5-generation youth as part of a global socioeconomic system that is embedded in a transnational social field in order to critically analyze the broader context of the immigrant family unit and how it is constructed and continues to evolve.

The findings also reveal that the transnational social field functions as a space for youth to navigate their multiple life worlds and the multilayered identities of being immigrant and 1.5-generation Chinese or Chinese Americans in the process of their movement from and between China and the United States as well as beyond the limits of these two countries. Their immigration and education, as a result, precisely

reflect the notion of nation-state today as contested through people's flexible mobility facilitated by convenient transportations and closed global connection improved by digital technology. Specifically, the findings discuss how the youth's multiple identities were in fact an interplay with their cultural imagination and practices on at least four various levels: their concept of "home," their engagement with Japanese popular culture (manga, music and cosplay), their commonly shared educational plans for college, and for some for graduate schools, and their longing for flexible citizenship.

Meanwhile, the space created by the transnational social field allows the parents to position both their children and themselves in the United States by using "education for their child" as one of the main strategies to fulfill their own aspirations and desires. After their arrival, parents continue to expand their strategies by identifying neighborhoods and school districts with high concentrations of either Chinese or upper middle class populations, which are also viewed as having a strong reputation for the best education for their children. Neighborhoods with supplementary academic programs and prep schools (*buxiban)*, in either public or private sectors are highly desirable. Parents are willing to engage in these services with the expectations that such an investment will provide their children with the resources and information that might open the door to a top university or college. Their educational desires continued in the post-migration phase of planning, all the way to which graduate school they would attend and what job they would apply for. In contrast, the children began to resist their parents' expectations as they struggled

for a new identity, one different from that developed in China but also yet unformed as they began to integrate what it means to be 1.5-generation in their new host country.

Clearly, as the findings suggest, the definition for this group of young people is still in flux. It challenges the traditional view of immigration as a unilateral process with a static point of entrance to a host country. Rather, as we see from the findings, it is a fluid discourse of border crossing, self-positioning, and sense of belonging. As multi-cultural carriers, contemporary 1.5-generation Chinese youth have the potential to position themselves and develop their identities in a transnational social field that is not constrained by geographic boundaries but rather constructed by imagined cultural practices.

Chapter 8

Discussion

Using Transnationalism as a Framework for Immigrant Education

This research focusing on 1.5-generation Chinese youth and their families is designed to resonate with and challenge current debates on American immigrant education, which are largely based on literature drawn from a U.S.-based anthropological perspective. From this lens, immigration to the United States is usually viewed as part of a unilateral discourse whereby someone leaves his/her home country then travels to and eventually settles in the United States. I have been impressed by those researchers who pay close attention to the process of transitions prior to immigration as well as adjustments after arrival in the host country, in particular, the interplay between immigration and education. However, throughout this research, I was left with the feeling that there was something missing, something that did not resonate with the people I began interviewing. Their worlds sounded more complex, dynamic, and undefined due to their evolving engagement and positionality in multiple contexts as shaped by their transmigrant experiences.

Today we are all affected by the rapidity of change in the digital world of technology. Similarly we both benefit and lose from the improvements in transportation that allow people to move from one place to another faster and easier than ever before. Both of these factors need to be taken into consideration when discussing the issue of immigration to the United States, in particular the latest wave of new immigrants from China. My findings attempt to incorporate these two

essential areas and create an alternative framework that would critically rethink the current national assimilationist explanation on immigration, culture, ethnicity and nation-states, which have paid little attention to the role of the transnational social field. To do this I strongly suggest the use of a diasporic framework, which captures the process of immigration not as an uprooted directional trajectory but rather a complex space where people from a range of backgrounds come to forge their multiple identities while building new and varied communities in a globalized context. Within this framework immigrant education in the United States shifts from a focus on American schooling and its history of teaching immigrants to a broader vision, which includes the practices of various countries and how their social systems critically reframe adaptation to the process of Americanization for immigrants. With this theoretical shift, educational researchers will be able to examine essential issues interwoven by historical, cultural, societal, economic and political factors as they overlay and assist with the identity formation of current immigrants. This diasporic and transnational framework will move the discussion on immigrant education towards a reconceptualization and deconstruction of the traditional definition of immigrant limited by the notion of nation-state boundaries.

Moreover, the current national assimilationist framework no longer captures the 1.5-generation Chinese families' complex transmigrant morphology as presented in this research. In most of the families, both parents and children arrived in the United States as an intact unit. After their initial settlement, we see two scenarios develop: either one of the parents returned to China to continue working in previous

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jobs or both stayed to take new jobs or manage their work in China through the Internet or long-distance calls. None of the parents left their children alone in the United States in order to maintain their work in China. The experience of parachute kids, as examined in other educational studies, is not the case for this research. Additionally, some families have fathers who work routinely or have business in China and they visit wives and children in the United States two to three times per year during Chinese holidays. Some families have parents who divorced after one or both parents' immigration and the children live with one parent. Most of the parents shared their plans to return to China or go between China and United States after their children go to college. Heterogeneity within the Chinese immigrant families is revealed through the deep analysis in the findings about families' formation and changes in the process of immigration.

We also have to realize the drive for education is not something that only happened upon their arrival in the United States. Chinese parents' aspirations and expectation of what education means are based on their experiences back home. Many parents in this research suffered the unstable social and political environment under the Culture Revolution and later the discipline and demands of a fiercely competitive educational system brought by the initiation of opening-up policy. They shared their experiences of being driven by social forces beyond their control which inadvertently was transmitted to their children, pushing them to focus exclusively on academic achievement, as well as take extra classes after school and on weekends in order to score higher and higher. These social forces were developed within the

Chinese communities' pre-migration process and aligned with their rational and intent in making the decision to immigrate.

In addition, the framework of global capitalism, which mainly focuses on unequal level of economic development in the sending and receiving nations and is used to analyze formation of transnational family cannot comprehensively be applied to explain the flexibility of transmigrant families as presented in this research. Different from the experiences of low-wage migrant workers, fathers in nine families were managers/directors at the executive level prior to their immigration. Fathers in five families operate their own businesses in China through the Internet and transferred savings to cover daily expenses in the United States. The transitional social field allowed these families to be able to maximize resources gained in China and opportunities offered in the United States without physically crossing borders of two countries. Compared to low-wage migrant workers who take advantage of the lower cost of the family in the "Third World," these Chinese families created transmigrant households through individual and organizational networks in the transnational social field. They were able to take advantage of the global economy to enable their families to live in the "First World." This type of Chinese transmigrant household's formation not only complicates current examples indicating consequences of unequal global economic systems, but also forces researchers to pay closer attention to the uneven development within "Third World" countries such as China.

As of 2015, China's population reached approximately 1.35 billion. Out of

this number, it is estimated by the World Bank that about 85 million are struggling in

poverty, meaning they live on less than $1.25 per day.[35] Meanwhile, China has 2.3

million millionaires, placing it in rank second in the world behind the United States.[36]

Chinese accounted for more than 80% of American EB-5 investors in 2014.[37] This

obvious polarization of wealth and desperation is reflected in the Chinese

contemporary diaspora as well. For some immigrants, after their initial arrival, they

have to squeeze into a tiny room in Chinatown with other family members. And there

are others who purchased a 10-million-dollar house located in an affluent upper-class

neighborhood. Clearly the meaning of education and the strategies used in pursuing

education can vary significantly depending on the resources brought from the home

country as well as what is afforded to them when they arrive. In my research, I had

conversations with Chinese parents who had enough savings and fortitude to push

their children to compete for acceptance by American top private high schools whose

annual tuitions range from 30, 000 to 50,000 USD. However, there are also parents

who had to migrate from rural areas in China to work in urban areas for their own

survival leaving their children behind. A few of these people also make the journey

to the United States through family reunification. As researchers, we should bear in

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[35] Poverty and Equity. (2011). *The World Bank.* Retrieved from
http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/CHN

[36] Goldberg, H. (2014, June 10). China now has the second-most millionairs in the world. *Time.* Retrieved from
http://time.com/2852740/china-millionaires/

[37] EB-5 investor visa issues foreign investors a conditional green card for a capital investment of half or 1 million
in a U.S. business. Jahangiri, A. (2014, September 26). Chinese EB-5 visa retrogression:good for program
diversity. *The Huffington Post.* Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ali-jahangiri/chinese-eb5-visa-
retrogre_b_5884602.html

mind the global picture of unequal relations and question the existence of a universal meaning for education because the meaning itself is made by diverse groups of people based on their own interests and needs.

We also need to reexamine the term "global citizen." What does it mean for us all to truly forge a generation of young people to become global citizens? Who are eligible to be selected as candidates in the context of globalization? Among my interviews, many parents shared their high desires for their children to broaden their vision, master two or three languages, develop their global competencies, and more importantly, to know how to maximize all resources and opportunities provided by their parents to eventually become a citizen of the world. The parents' expectations cannot be blamed. Instead, educators need to listen to the various journeys of crossing and hear the messages they try to export from alternatives perspectives. As individuals who are participating in building this global community, we need to ask ourselves what resources are necessary, what we have and what we will have to prepare to provide the opportunities for every child in every corner of the world to become a global citizen. This cannot be limited to only those who are well endowed with cultural and economic capital but also for those who have never heard of the term "global citizen." Education cannot and should not be claimed as a privilege or utilized just as a strategy for immigrants to accumulate individual capital; it should have a wider societal meaning.

Rethinking Education as Strategy for Immigration

Compared to other countries with opened immigration policies, the United States continues to be one of the most desirable countries welcoming people from all over the world to consider it as their destination of immigration. Regardless of backgrounds and circumstances, many contemporary immigrants willingly leave their home countries no matter how contented their life was in order to pursue their dreams in this country even though the transition and adjustment is likely to be rough. The United States does not offer a guarantee of a better life or opportunity but immigrants believe they can find it in this country.

Today, immigrants from China have constituted a vital part of the contemporary waves of new immigrants from Asia. Different from earlier groups of Chinese immigrants who left China due to famine, political upheaval, or desire for a better life, the new immigrants who were a part of this research, claim that the driving force behind their migration is the need to acquire a better education for their children. Throughout the interviews, 70% of the families have only one-child and most of the parents emphasized the significant role of the one-child policy in their families and expressed eagerness to provide resources and opportunities for this child. Previous studies argue that limited economic options and opportunities for higher education in the countries of origin provide immigrants with an optimistic image that a better opportunity will be provided through immigration. This is not the case for most of the families in this research. To my surprise, few parents addressed the limited economic options in China and none of them addressed the limited

educational opportunities for their children prior to their immigration either. If they did not critically challenge the current education systems in China, why did they easily claim their reason for immigration was education? It is hard for me as a researcher to believe that education is the distinguishing factor driving these families across the Pacific Ocean, over 6,500 miles away, to merely seek a better education for their children. The determination to leave one's familiar environment at the age of 40 or 50 is not easy; let alone the process of settlement in a completely new country. The decision-making process is far more complex.

As an immigrant myself, I have witnessed some of the flaws in the current immigration policies after undergoing much suffering moving through the process. There are a multitude of reasons why people leave a country and reach out for opportunities elsewhere, most of these go unspoken. Aware of the poignancy of some of these motivating factors, I decided to not force any participant to reveal their real intention as it might cause possible pain or discomfort in their current life. Yet, it became clear as the research progressed that parents chose their child's education as the primary scheme and shield to keep their life stories confidential, whether these were caused by financial or political concerns, an unhappy marriage, or discrimination in China. In some cases these issues overlapped and shaped each other demonstrating the diversity and complexity of the Chinese diasporas in the United States. Although initial motivation to family immigration varied from different home circumstances and some of the parents expressed their concerns for social issues in China, such as food safety, air pollution, and political environment, education for

children remained their main reason, if not the only reason, for immigration. Meanwhile, the formation of the various Chinese communities as immigrant-dominant enclaves continues to be shaped by U.S. immigration policies, resulting in an on-going attempt by parents to find new strategies to position themselves and their children. In November 2014, the annual meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit (APEC) was held in Beijing. During the summit, President Obama announced a new visa plan to extend Chinese student visas to five years and business and tourist visas to ten years, which will contribute nearly $85 billion a year to the U.S. economy and support up to 440,000 jobs in the United States by 2021.[38] Previously, students, business and tourist visas were granted on multiple-entries within a year. Changes in immigration policy have continued to evolve over the past decades and will continue in the future. A deeper analysis of these policies and their impact is discussed in chapter 3 of the research.

Exploration into the current immigrant status and variation in categories of admission for their initial entry into the United States further complicates the picture for the participants in the SF Bay Area. In contrast to prior research and documentation of immigrant families who come from the "problematic" backgrounds, for example, those who are undocumented or from low SES families, the new immigrants come through sponsored employment and capital investment, in addition to family reunification. The rising number of Chinese individuals with advanced degrees and those with capital wealth has matched perfectly with the increasing needs

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[38] MacLeod, C. (2014, November 10). Obama touts new China visa deal as way to create U.S. jobs. *USA Today.* Retrieved from: http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/11/10/apec-beijing-obama/18786007/

of the United States for technical skills from foreign workers and foreign funds for domestic investment.

Chinese parents bring with them not only specific skills and foreign capital, but also expectations and demands for more academic programs, which might challenge the traditional American view on education. The parents' plans for children, whether it was returning to China or crossing between two countries, indicate they were aware of the transferability of economic, social and cultural capital that had been accumulated through the transnational social field. Education plays a significant role in driving transnational migration flows and affecting practices and resources exchanged and transformed in an unequal world system. As a result, children are tactically utilized as catalysts in the accumulation of capital within the transmigrant household unit while education is conceived as a strategy for immigration. As educational researchers it is our responsibility to critically rethink the question raised by this phenomenon: if education continues to be used as the main strategy for transnational migration how will the diversity of experiences represented in this research influence not only the education of Chinese immigrant families but those outside of these enclaves and American education in general? How will researchers need to realign their theoretical frameworks to include the new immigrants from the Asian diaspora, many who arrive armed economically, socially, and educationally to position their children in a way that provides the entire family flexibility in claiming their status as global citizens? There are a host of issues that need to be explored in future research.

Implications

For educators

It is important for school educators to realize that the experiences of transnational migration can bring 1.5-generation Chinese youth both opportunities and challenges. It is valuable for educators to be aware of the perceptions of Chinese students regarding the United States as well as American school systems prior to their arrival. Educators will benefit by having a greater awareness of the demands that Chinese parents place on their children as well as their constantly changing educational aspirations and desires in the process of immigration. These include the expectations by parents that children attend supplementary educational services, often provided by the private sectors to meet the bilingual needs of newly arrived Chinese immigrant families. Since parents lack an awareness of how American schools operate, providing bilingual forums for them to ask questions about schooling in the United States would be of great benefit. At the same time, ESL/bilingual and ELD programs should be designed and taught to meet the needs and expectations of Chinese immigrant students, especially those that come with significant educational and cultural capital. Most recent immigrants find the ESL/bilingual or ELD programs as demeaning since they do not teach a rigorous curriculum. Since one of the findings suggests these students came with a strong prior knowledge and competency in science and mathematics, educators should take advantage of this information to develop a curriculum that builds on what the students had already learned in China. This strategy is called as constructivist views of learning, which is suggested by

Villegas and Lucas (2002). Even those some students like the supportive environment offered by some ESL programs, in general, the programs do not enable students to transition into general education classes easily. Educators should also have a sociocultural consciousness of the variation in backgrounds of the students, such as family SES, home language, region of origin, reason of immigration, and future options; which might affect the experiences of 1.5-generation Chinese youth in American schools. For example, educators can conduct home visits or consult with people in the Chinese communities to learn more about Chinese students.

For parents

Chinese parents' desires for a top high school with a large homogeneous Chinese population cannot be faulted. Still it is important for Chinese parents to have knowledge about diversity in American K-12 school systems as well as variations in American higher education to better understand how education is defined by American society. Although school API is one of the most significant indicators for Chinese parents to evaluate and select schools; location of neighborhood, diversity of demographics, curriculum design, activities and services offered by the school can all impact children's experience. Most importantly, they need to critically evaluate their children's personality, character, hobbies, thinking and learning styles to select an appropriate neighborhood and school for their children as well as for themselves. Upon their arrival, they need to seek opportunities to visit the school, talk to the educators and get involved in the school activities with their children. They will benefit from participating in the local communities. For example, Chinese immigrant

parents can join the current PTA or establish a PTA that focuses on providing educational opportunities for Chinese or immigrant students from other ethnic backgrounds. For those who lack English proficiency, attending English classes in adult schools or community colleges is recommended. However, they have to be aware of their own deficit mode of thinking regarding their English language skills and knowledge about U.S. education systems. They need to be encouraged to imagine a global community and think about how their prior knowledge and life experiences can contribute to the new environment, which will raise their global awareness and cultural tolerance, and make themselves role models to positively motivate their children in the process of immigration.

Chinese parents have to realize immigration to the United States does not merely mean taking advantage of American educational resources and sending their children to top colleges. Education is more than schooling. Parents are not suggested to emphasize education as the only reason when they address the topic of family immigration with their children. For those families with marriage issues, parents might consider consulting a bilingual therapist in the community. They can also bring their children with them if necessary. Hiding the real reasons for immigration from their children might have a negative impact on children's growth both psychologically and socially.

Although variations in immigrant parents' backgrounds needs to be taken into consideration, the implication of this research is not only applicable to Chinese

immigrant parents, but hopefully will also be instructive for immigrant parents from other ethnic groups.

For educational researchers

The lens of transnational migration and diaspora applied in this research will make a contribution to the current academic debates on immigrant education, which are framed through the U.S. based anthropological perspective. A further clarification for terminology, such as transnationalism, transmigration and globalization that are closely linked to each other and interchangeable in various contexts is needed in order to deeply investigate imagined communities and cultural production of immigrants. The global context will continue to challenge their linkages with education in future interrogation. Educational researchers are recommended to critically challenge the universal definition of education and conceptualize its meaning in a specific cultural space as well as a global context. In the field of immigrant education, further inquiries, and frameworks as well as methods that accurately provide the approach to guiding those inquiries need to be developed. A field of scholarship combining Education, Anthropology, History and Area Studies will be forged through those academic endeavors.

Limitations

This research is limited in terms of generalizability for a variety of reasons: the ethnography for this research is conducted in specific communities and schools in the San Francisco Bay Area. All participating students are immigrants from Mainland China. What they experienced and perceived cannot represent all 1.5-generation

Chinese youth in the SF Bay Area, let alone all those with Chinese background in the United States. In addition, most of the interviewees came from the metropolitan cities of Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Shanghai. The schooling they experienced in those cities does not represent characteristics of all elementary schools in China. Their parents' aspirations and desires for education similarly are not representative of all Chinese parents. It is essential to keep in mind that those who immigrated to the United States are a highly selective group who must conform to U.S. immigration policy. They constitute a very small number of the Chinese overall population from in Mainland China.

Phase I of the research mainly focused on the perceptions of students and then in Phase II we switch to the experiences of the families. Due to a variety of reasons, I did not have the opportunity to conduct interviews with every parent of every student in Phase II. For example, some of the students hesitated to allow me to contact their parents and I did not push the issue or inquire as to the reason. I was aware that some of the parents were not in the United States during the interviews. For future research, I would like to find an alternative approach to gain access to parents for interviews, as I believe the narration from parents is imperative in understanding how they attempted to position their children in the process of transnational migration. For the three families who had fathers working in China, I interviewed only one father because the other two fathers' stay in the United States was very brief. Their perspectives would complement the current views on family strategies in creating educational opportunities through immigration. Perhaps in the future, I would set up

appointments through social media tools with the parents prior to the interviews. It is also essential to know that a few exceptional perspectives were reflected in the conversations with some parents that did not fit into the category of high aspirations and desires shared by most of the parents. Those cases can be deeply analyzed through the method of case study in the future research.

Due to funding constrains, I could not follow the students or the families when they visited China. As a result all of my interviews were all conducted after they came back to the United States from China. If I had had the chance to document those journeys, I am sure a more nuanced picture would emerge to capture the process of their transnational migration.

This research has focused on the significance of being Chinese immigrants from Mainland China at this point in time in American history with a particular inquiry into the transmigrant experience of 1.5-generation youth and their family. However, without conducting similar research on immigrants from other ethnic backgrounds, it can hardly claim the uniqueness of experiences for Chinese immigrant youth and their families. Future research from comparative studies lens is needed in order to more deeply investigate and understand what are the particular features of Chinese migration that make it somewhat unique.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Through the intersection of immigrant education, diaspora studies, theories on transnational migration and transnational social field, this dissertation addresses two intertwined questions: how do 1.5-generation Chinese youth perceive their transmigrant status and position themselves in and out of schools? And, what kind of educational aspirations and desires have been constructed by Chinese immigrant families in the process of transnational migration? The research combines an ethnographic approach with narrative inquiry and includes extensive use of the Internet, leading to a redefinition of the research field and traditional boundaries between researcher and participants. Cyberspace has been an essential tool in providing a more thorough examination and analysis of the responses from these youth.

The research for the dissertation came in two phases: Phase I was conducted in San Francisco in 2010-2013 and was followed by Phase II in Silicon Valley in 2013-2015, with some overlap and return visits to the site of Phase I, as well as supplementary meetings with these students and their families. Extensive data analysis for Phase I generated four main themes: 1/ changing perceptions of U.S. schooling; 2/ belonging to two countries; 3/ communicating globally; and 4/ a desire for insular grouping. In Phase II, three main themes were generated: 1/ variation in backgrounds of Chinese immigrant families; 2/ youth's perceptions on transmigrant status; and, 3/ parents' educational aspirations and desires. The background for this

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research includes an exploration of the role that education plays in driving contemporary Chinese to immigrate as well as the flow that continues once in the United States involving the exchange and transformation of practices and resources within an evolving global context. The dissertation argues for attention to the variation in backgrounds of Chinese immigrant families in terms of generational and immigrant status, region of origin, linguistic, and socioeconomic status, all representing the complexity of contemporary Chinese diaspora to the United States. The research reveals that the resulting transnational social field forms a context where the positionality of 1.5-generation Chinese youth has been developed and negotiated within, across, and beyond national boundaries. Their multilayered identities, which have been constructed in the process of transnational migration, challenge the traditional definition of immigrants as part of a unilateral process. The formation of transnational migration is seen as a consequence and strategy to fulfill the aspirations and desires that Chinese immigrant parents have for their 1.5-generation children's education. These aspirations and desires are not static but rather are constantly shaped and reshaped by the both their experiences as part of the Chinese diaspora and their on-going relations with life in China.

This research focusing on the educational experiences of contemporary 1.5-generation Chinese youth compels us to rethink the complexity of diaspora, immigration, education and the interplay of historical, cultural, social, political and economic factors.

It requires that we understand the changes that have taken place in China over the last ten years resulting in a generation of youth whose lives are far more textured and influenced by international forces than any that has come before. Having participated in both the Chinese and the American educational systems, they bring perspectives and attitudes that are somewhat unique, in part because of China's rapid economic rise to power which in itself has given these young people different advantages, privileges, and perceptions of what is possible. And while they operate from a globalized, multi-layered frame of reference, fluidly moving between countries and contexts, they retain an awareness of their being Chinese. In part this is due to contemporary technology which affords them the opportunity to maintain contacts in China but also to the reality that some of their family members, including at times one or both of their parents, are either living or working in China as well as visiting on a regular basis. Any single context can hardly capture the complexity of their current reality: how they see themselves as well as how they see their world in terms of future options and present time impediments.

American schools traditionally have paid close attention to producing citizens of a nation-state rather than dual citizens with global sensibilities (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). My research argues that it is urgent to take the influences of both countries into consideration when studying the current education of immigrant students in the United States. Hopefully the nuanced findings from this research will enable us to critically redefine the term "immigrant" in the context of globalization and transnationalism. Furthermore, perspectives offered by 1.5-generation Chinese youth

and their parents provide alternative lenses through which we can interrogate differences among mentalities toward education held by a range of recent Chinese immigrant families. These stories are beneficial to those who will begin or imagine their journey of crossings, and most importantly, to everyone who lives in a world in motion. Their perceptions will reshape our "assumed" perspectives of them. As noted by Lukose (2007) and Levitt (2012), we do not need to reject the tools of analysis used before but rather reshape these tools and in doing so we will understand:

> Migration is written in our genetic code and is encoded in our bodies: in our bipedalism, in our stereoscopic vision, in our neocortex. Modern humans are the children of immigration, and migrations today are once again transforming humanity. (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, p. 312)

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Appendix 1. Letter of Introduction

Dear school educator/teacher _____,

I am currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Education at UC Santa Cruz. I am working on my research project "the Transmigrant Educational Experience of 1.5-Generation Chinese Youth." I hope it will help students, school teachers, administrators, educators, parents and more people understand and improve support systems in and out of school for the 1.5-generation Chinese youth as well as to formulate instructions for linguistically and culturally diverse Chinese immigrants as a unique group. I would like to conduct interviews with students who

1. Were born in Mainland China;
2. Came to U.S. before the age of 13;
3. 14-18 years of age;
4. 5-7 students in total

I plan to interview 5 to 7 teachers and school administrators in the future. I would like to conduct my first informal interview in July 2013. Each interview will last 1 to 2 hours. It would be great if you could introduce me to some students who are suitable and also interested in participating in the interviews.

Thank you so much for your great help. I look forward to hearing from you soon. Please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Xiangyan Liu
Department of Education
University of California, Santa Cruz
xliu16@ucsc.edu
(415)-260-0182

Appendix 2. English Version of Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ
Name: Xiangyan Liu
Department of: Education
Address: 217 Social Sciences I, Santa Cruz, CA 95064
Title of Research Project: Transmigrant Educational Experience of 1.5-Generation Chinese Youth

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Dear Parent/Guardian:

Your child is invited to take part in a research study conducted by Xiangyan Liu from the department of Education at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Before you decide whether or not your child may participate, you should read this form and ask questions if there is anything that you do not understand.

Description of the project: The purpose of the study is to understand and improve support systems in and out of school for the 1.5 generation of Chinese American immigrant youth.

What your child will do: If you agree to allow your child to participate, your child will: participate in this study and be interviewed.

Time required: Participation will take approximately one hour/each time and 2-3 times in total.

Risks or discomfort: There are no anticipated risks in this study.

Benefits of this study: Your child will get a better understand of their identity formation as the 1.5-generation of Chinese Americans as well as learn more about the opportunities provided by you and school. The researcher may learn more about how to improve support systems in and out of school for the 1.5 generational of Chinese American immigrant youth like your child. Your kid's voices will be heard by the society through the research.

Confidentiality: The information that your child gives in the study will be handled confidentially. His/her name will not be used in any report. The data will be kept in a locked file. Only the researcher will have access to the file. When the study is completed, the information will be destroyed.

Your child's answers will be assigned a code number. The list connecting his/her name to this code will be kept in a locked file. Only the researcher will have access to the file. When the study is completed and the data have been analyzed, this list will be destroyed.

With your permission, I would like to videotape your child during the activity. Only I will have access to the videotape. Once I have analyzed the recording, I will erase the

videotape.

The information that your child gives in the study will be anonymous. Your child's name will not be collected or linked to his/her answers. Because of the nature of the data, it may be possible to deduce your child's identity; however, there will be no attempt to do so and the results of the study will be reported in a way that will not identify him/her.

Your child's participation in this study is confidential within legal limits. The researchers will protect your child's privacy unless they are required by law to report information to city, state or federal authorities, or to give information to a court of law. Otherwise, none of the information will identify your child by name.

Decision to quit at any time: If you decide to allow your child to participate, you are free to withdraw your child at any time. Your child may also refuse to participate or discontinue participation at any time. The decision to take part in this study is completely voluntary. Whatever you decide will in no way affect his/her grade or result in loss of benefits or services to which your child is otherwise entitled.

Rights and Complaints: If you have questions about this research, please contact Xiangyan Liu, Ph.D. student at 415-260-0182 or xliu16@ucsc.edu. You may also contact the faculty member supervising this work: Professor June Gordon at jagordon@ucsc.edu. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research Compliance Administration at the University of California at Santa Cruz at 831-459-1473 or orca@ucsc.edu.

Signature:

Signing this document means that you understand the information given to you in this form and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the research described above.

___ I give my permission for my child to be interviewed.

___ I give my permission for the interview to be videotaped.

_____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____

Typed/printed Name

_____

Child's Name

Please sign both copies of this form, keeping one copy for yourself.

Appendix 3. Chinese Version of Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • MERCED • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO · SANTA BARBARA · SANTA CRUZ

姓名：刘湘燕
院系：教育学系
地址：217 Social Sciences I, Santa Cruz, CA 95064
研究题目：美国1.5代华裔青少年的跨国教育体验

研究项目参与同意书

亲爱的家长和监护人：

您的孩子被邀请参加美国加州大学圣塔克鲁斯分校在读博士生刘湘燕的研究项目。在您决定是否让孩子参与此研究之前，请阅读这封信。如果您有任何问题，也请提出来。

*研究描述：*此研究希望了解和提高美国1.5代华裔青少年的教育支持系统。

*您的孩子将做什么：*如果您同意孩子参与这项研究，您的孩子将：参与研究并接受访谈。

*时间要求：*每次访谈大约一个小时。一共2至3次访谈。

*风险或不适：*这项研究没有预期的风险。

*研究收益：*这项研究有助于您的孩子了解自己作为美国1.5代华裔青少年的身份以及学校、家庭、社区为他们提供的教育机会。研究者将更加深入地考察如何为美国1.5代华裔青少年提供更多的帮助和支持。通过这项研究，您孩子的心声将被更多人听到。

*保密原则：*您孩子分享的所有信息将被保密。他／她的名字将不会被公开。研究者会保管所有的信息资料。只有研究者可以获取这些资料。研究结束后，所有资料将被销毁。

您孩子的访谈信息将被编码。编码将由一个密封的文件保管。只有研究者可以获取这个文件。研究结束后，文件将被销毁。

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如果您同意，我会对您孩子的访谈进行录像。只有研究者可以获取录像。研究分析结束后，我将把录像内容删除。

您孩子提供的所有资料信息都是匿名。您孩子的姓名将不会与他／她所回答的问题相关。 由于数据的自然属性，您孩子的身份有可能被推断出来，然而，我将避免这样做。研究结果的公布方式，将不能让他/她被识别到。

在法律的范围内，您孩子参与这项研究是保密的。研究人员将保护您孩子的隐私，除非根据法律规定，他／她需要向城市、州、联邦当局或法院报告信息。否则，通过名字不会识别出他／她的信息 。

自愿决定退出： 如果您决定让孩子参与这项研究，您也有权利让孩子随时自由退出。您的孩子也可以拒绝参与或随时停止参与这项研究。参与这项研究的决定完全是自愿的。您的决定无论如何不会影响到他/她的学业成绩，也不会减少您孩子应有的福利。

权利和举报： 如果您对这个研究项目有任何问题，请联系刘湘燕博士生。她的电话是：415-260-0182。她的电子邮件是：xliu16@ucsc.edu。您也可以联系她的导师June Gordon教授。她的电子邮件是：jagordon@ucsc.edu。如果您还有任何疑问，您作为研究的参与者有权利联系加州大学圣塔克鲁斯分校的研究管理办公室。他们的电话是：831-459-1473。他们的邮件是：orca@ucsc.edu。

签字：

签署这份文件，表示您已理解这封信为您提供的信息。您自愿同意参与上述研究项目。

___ 我给予我的孩子权限接受采访。

___ 我给予我的孩子权限接受录像采访。

_____

参与者签名 日期

_____

印刷体姓名

_____

孩子姓名

请在两份文件上签名，保留一份存底。

Appendix 4.1. Interview Protocol for Students in Research Phase I

Interview Time _____

Interview Place _____   Interview No. _____

Background Information

Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____ Grade_____

School Name _____ Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____

Age of Immigration _____ First City of Immigration _____

Interview Questions

Immigration

1. Why did your parent(s) come to the U.S.?

2. What kind of work did your parent(s) do in China?

3. What kind of work are your parent(s) doing now?

4. Do your parent(s) live with you? Do you have siblings?

5. What was it like when you first arrived in the U.S.?

6. What is your plan for future? Do (Did) you plan to stay here, go back to China or other places?

Educational Experience

1. How did you know this school?

2. What was it like when you first arrived in the school?

3. What do you think about your classes? Are they easier or harder than in China?

4. Are (Were) you enrolled in ESL class?

    1) If so, what do you think about the class? Do (Did) you like it?

    2) Do (Did) you like teachers from the ESL class? Why?

5. Do (Did) you make friends in and out of school? Are they Chinese or non-Chinese?

6. Do (Did) you contact your friends/classmates who are in China? If you do (did), what do (did) you talk about?

Appendix 4.2. Interview Protocol for students in Research Phase II

Interview Time _____

Interview Place _____   Interview No. _____

Background Information

Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____ Grade_____

School Name _____ Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____

Age of Immigration _____ First City of Immigration _____

Interview Questions

Immigration

1. Have your parent(s) discussed with you about why they came to the U.S.? If

   so, in what context did your parent(s) tell you?

2. Can you use some terms to describe your status in the U.S.? Do you consider

   yourself as Chinese, Chinese immigrant, Chinese American or using other

   terms?

Transnational migration

1. How often do you go to China? What about your parent(s)?

2. Can you describe what it was like when you went to China last time?

3. Do (Did) you contact your friends/classmates who are in China? If you do

   (did), what do (did) you talk about?

4. What is your plan for future? Do (Did) you plan to stay here, go back to China

   or other places outside the U.S.?

5. How do you view the two nations, China and the U.S. and the role of citizenship? What's your relationship with the two nations?

Education

7. Why did you come to this school?

8. What do you think about the U.S. schooling before and after you came to the school?

9. Can you compare your schools in China and the U.S. and how they affected you? For example, their structures, teachers, students, etc?

10. What do you think about your classes? Are they easier or harder than in China?

11. Are (Were) you enrolled in ESL class?

1) If so, what do you think about the class? Do (Did) you like it?

2) If not, how long did it take you to move on to "regular" mainstream classes from ESL program? Do (Did) you like it?

12. Do (Did) you make friends in and out of school? Are they Chinese or non-Chinese?

13. Do you see any similarities and/or differences in your experiences and the experiences of other immigrants, for example the second-generation Chinese Americans and other ethnic immigrants?

14. What do you think about support systems? Do you think it is necessary? If so, what do you think they should do?

Appendix 5. Interview Protocol for Parents

Interview Time _____

Interview Place _____   Interview No. _____

<u>Background Information</u>

Name _____ Children's Name _____ Sex _____

Education Level _____ Job _____

Place of Birth _____ Year of Immigration _____

 Age of Immigration _____ First City of Immigration _____

<u>Interview Questions</u>

Immigration

1. What kind of work did you do in China?

2. Why did you come to the U.S.?

3. Have you discussed with your child about why you left China? If so, in what

   context did you tell them?

4. How much education did you have in China or/and in the U.S.?

Transnational migration

1. What kind of work are you doing now?

2. Do you talk with your child about his/her future, for example where to work

   or stay?

3. How do you often go to China since you immigrated to the U.S.?

4. Can you describe what it was like when you went to China last time?

5. Can you use some terms to describe your status in the U.S.? Do you consider yourself as Chinese, Chinese immigrant, Chinese American or using other terms?

Children's education

1. What is your attitude about your child education before you came to the U.S.?

2. What do you think about the U.S. schooling before and after you came to the U.S.?

3. Was your attitude changed since you came here? If so, in what way?

4. Do you talk with your child about his/her studies?

5. Do you help your child with his/her studies? If so, how did you do that?

6. What do you think about support systems for your children? Do you think it is necessary? If so, what do you think they should do?

Appendix 6. Interview Protocol for School Educators

Interview Time _____

Interview Place _____   Interview No. _____

<u>Background Information</u>

Name _____ Sex _____ School Name _____

Title _____ Year of Working _____ Subject of Teaching _____

<u>Interview Questions</u>

1. Have you heard any stories about journeys of the 1.5-generation Chinese youth to the U.S.? If so, in what context did you hear that?

2. Did you talk to them or their parent(s)? How often did you talk to them? What do you think it helps you as a teacher? Did you remember your last time of talking with them? What was it like?

3. Do you think that knowing their background, such as region, language, culture, reason to the U.S., etc is helpful for you? If so, how and in what way?

4. Can you use some terms to describe them in the school? Do you consider them as Chinese, Chinese immigrant, Chinese American or using other terms?

5. Do you think programs, such as curriculum, activities and clubs, counseling services, etc help them?

6. What do you think about support systems for your children? Do you think it is necessary? If so, what do you think they should do?

Appendix 7. Observational Protocol

Location:	
Date & Time:	
Page:	*Length of Activity:*

Time:	*Descriptive Notes*	*Reflective Notes*

Sketch of Observational Site

Appendix 8. Time Management Activity

TIME MANAGEMENT ACTIVITY

STUDENT NAME:

COURSES 2014 - 2015	AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK Spent on homework and studying
In school for (5 days x 7 hours)	35
English:	
Social Studies:	
Math:	
Science:	
Language:	
Electives:	
PE/Sports	
Total School hours:	

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES – School and Community	AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK
Paid job	
Hobbies/Interests	
Community/Volunteer Services	
Non School Sports (i.e. club team)	
School Related Activity	
School Related Activity	
Total extra-curricular hours:	

DAILY LIVING ACTIVITIES	AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK
Sleep (7 days x 9 hours)	63
Necessities (eating, showering, chores, etc.)	
Family time	
Free time (friends, TV, phone internet, video games, etc.)	
Travel time (to/from school, practices, activities, etc.)	
Faith/Religious Activities	
Total daily living hours:	

| Total Hours				TOTAL HOURS AVAILABLE PER WEEK
	School hours =			**168**
	Extra-Curricular hours=		vs	
	Daily Living hours=			(24 hours day x 7 days)
	Your total hours:			

By signing below, we acknowledge that we reviewed and support the courses and extracurricular activities that my student has selected for the 2014-2015 school year.

_____   _____
Parent/Guardian Signature   Student Signature

Appendix 9. One Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Diaspora, Immigration and Transnational Migration:
Chinese in the United States
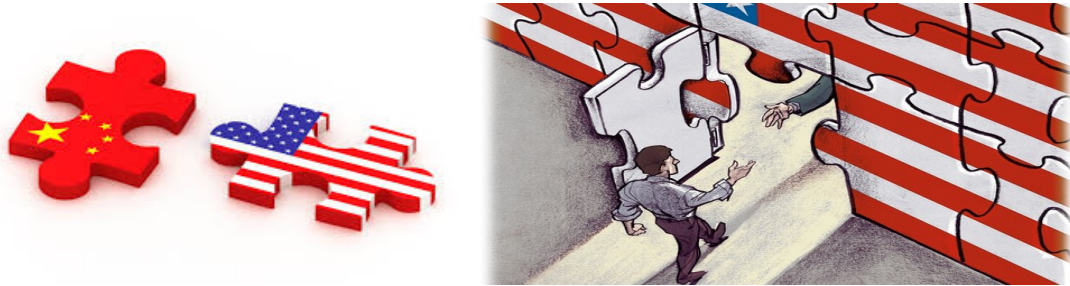
Course Description

This course is shaped by two specific questions. First, how has the theoretical framework of diaspora been developed and how has the concept been defined? And second, to what extent does the framework of diaspora shed light on our understanding of contemporary Chinese in the United States? We will explore the demographic transformation of the Chinese American community as a complex result of immigration and globalization, and the interplay of historical, cultural, social and economic factors. This course will ask students to think critically about the current discourse analysis on immigration, ethnic community, women and gender, education and family from a transnational lens and investigate the issues confronting contemporary Chinese American communities in a global context.

General Assignment Description

Guided by my teaching philosophy in communities of practice, the method used for this class will combine lectures with conference panel discussions and talks of guest speakers from academia, organizations and local communities. As students, you will be assigned to discussion groups and required to lead one panel discussion along the quarter. The panel will critique the readings, express their reflections, and risk being challenged. You will be required to conduct three face-to-face interviews and write reflections for the interviews, which will constitute evidence to support your final research paper. Essays on the readings and in-class writing and/or guest talk reports will be assigned. We will end the class with student presentations.

Essays

1. **One** essay about you or your family's im/migrant experience (5 pages)
2. **One** guest talk report or film review (2-3 pages)
3. **Two** essays of reflection on readings (2-3 pages for each)
4. **Three** interview reports (2-3 pages for each)

Group Discussion

1. Panel discussion
2. Small group discussion
3. Pair discussion

In-class Writing

1. Self-portrait (first class)
2. Topics will be determined (during class)

Final Project

1. Final research paper supported by interviews (5 pages)
2. Student presentation

*Final Research Paper Format:

- No cover page
- Double spaced
- 12 point font
- One inch margins (top and bottom and sides)
- Print front/back if possible
- "Drop-down" footnotes
- Proper citation style (APA)

Assignment and Grading (600 points)

Assignment	Point Value	Percent of Grade	Due Date
Essays	**210** **30 points each**	**35%**	
Panel Discussion	**60**	**10%**	
Mid-term	**120**	**15%**	
Final Project	**210** **Paper: 150** **Presentation: 60**	**35%**	
Participation	**30**	**5%**	

Grading Scale:

A+: 580-600; A: 550-579: A-: 540--549:

B+: 520-539; B: 500-519; B-: 480-499
C+: 460-498: C: 430-459; C-: 420-429
D: 360-419
F: Below 360

Class Expectations and Policies

<u>Attendance and Participation</u>

I expect you to be in class, on time and prepared. Regular attendance will be taken. Believing in communities of practice, I expect you to participate in both class and small group discussion.

<u>Reading</u>

Assigned readings are to be completed before class. Reading materials are posted online. You can get access through the link: XXX

<u>Assignment</u>

Assignments include four essays and three interview reports, in-class writing, and a final research paper. I allow make-ups for missed assignments only for an excused absence with proper documentation. Late work may be assessed at a maximum penalty of 10% of the assignment value per day late. ***You must complete all written assignments to pass the course.**

<u>Late Arrivals for Class</u>

Please come to class on time. Latecomers should enter quietly and take a seat to the rear of the classroom.

<u>Cell Phone and Electronic Devices</u>

Please turn your cell phones and electronic devices to silent and not cause a distraction to class. Computers will be only allowed for note-taking and discussion related searches (not emailing).

Resources for Class (online textbooks and supplementary readings)

1. Cohen, Robin. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction.* London: UCL Press, 1997. [GD]
2. Zhou, Min. *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009. [CCA]
3. Course Pack can be accessed on the webpage (insert the link). [CP]

Course Schedule and Assignment

Date	Readings and Assignments
Week 1 Self-portrait	**Introduction: Diaspora and Chinese in the U.S.** Cohen, Robin, *Global Diasporas*, ix-xii. [GD, 1-30] Wang, Ling-chi. "The Structure of Dual Domination: Toward a Paradigm for the Study of the Chinese Diaspora in the U.S." *Amerasia Journal* 21 (1 & 2) (1995): 149-169. [CP]
Week 2 1st essay due	**Diaspora, Identity and Citizenship** Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222-37. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990. [CP] Wang, Ling-chi. "Roots and the Changing Identity of the Chinese in the United States." In *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, edited by Tu Wei-ming, 185-212. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994. [CP] Roots Reader: Him Mark Lai Family History Project by Friends of Roots, San Francisco, 1-14. [CP] Video Clips: In Search of Roots
Week 3 1st guest talk 1st interview due	**Immigration Framework** Segal, Uma A. "Introduction: A Framework for the Immigration Experience." In *A Framework for Immigration: Asians in the United States*, Columbia University Press, 2002. [CP] Lakoff, George and Ferguson, Sam. "The Framing of Immigration." The Rockridge Institute, 2006. [CP] Glick Schiller, Nina, Basch, Linda and Blanc-Szanton, Cristina. "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration." *Anthropological Quarterly 68*(1) (1995): 48-63. [CP]
Week 4 1st essay on reading due	**Globalization and Transnational Migration** Robin, Cohen. "Diasporas in the Age of Globalization." [GD, 155-76] Levitt, Peggy and Jaworsky, B. Nadya. "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends." *The Annual Review of*

	Sociology 33 (2007): 129-56.
	Levitt, Peggy and Glick Schiller, Nina. "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society." *International Migration Review 38(3)* (2004): 1002-39.
Week 5	**Being Chinese Today** Tu, Wei-ming. "Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center." In *The Living Tree: the Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, 1-32. Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, London, Routledge, 1991. [CP] Ong, Aihwa. "On the Edge of Empires: Flexible Citizenship among Chinese in Diaspora." *Positions: East Asian Cultures Critique* 1(3) (1993): 745-778. [CP] Online Article: C.M. Rubin. The global search for education: creative China part 2. 2014.
Week 6	**Contemporary Chinese Society** Jacka, Tamara, Kipnis, Andrew B., and Sargeson, Sally. "Introduction" and "Citizenship, Household Registration and Migration." In *Contemporary China: Society and Social Change.* Cambridge University Press, 2013. [CP] Hannum, Emily et al. (2010). Curricular innovation and the evolution of inequality in China. [CP] Online article: Inside a Chinese Test-Prep factory. 2014
Week 7	**Review and Mid-Term**
Week 8 2nd interview due	**Chinese Diaspora in the US** Zhou, Min. "The Chinese Diaspora and International Migration." [CCA, 23-40] and "Demographic Trends and Characteristics of Contemporary Chinese America." [CCA, 43-54] Ma, Laurence J. C. "Space, Place and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora." In *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity,* edited by Ma, Laurence J. C., and Carolyn L Cartier, 1-49. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. [CP] Documentary: Moyers, Bill. 2003. *Becoming American: The Chinese Experience.*

Week 9	**Immigration from China to the US**
	Chen, Shehong. *Being Chinese, becoming Chinese American.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. Introduction. [CP]
	Fan, C. Cindy. "Chinese Americans: Immigration, settlement, and social geography," in *The Chinese diaspora: space, place, mobility, and identity*, Edited by Ma, Laurence J. C., and Carolyn L Cartier, 261-291. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. [CP]
	Documentary: Lew, Jennie & Lee, Yvonne. 1994. <u>Separate Lives, Broken Dreams.</u>
Week 10 2nd guest talk	**Chinese Ethnic Community** Wong, Bernard P. "The Nature of the Chinese in Silicon Valley: An Ethnic Community of High-Tech Professionals." In *The Chinese In Silicon Valley: Globalization, Social Networks, and Ethnic Identity*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. [CP] Zhou, Min. "Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Enclave Economy: The Case of New York City's Chinatown." [CCA, 99-122]
Week 11 2nd essay on reading due	**Chinese Immigrant Family** Zhou, Min. "Negotiating Culture and Ethnicity: Intergenerational Relations in Chinese Immigrant Families." [CCA, 187-201] Qin, Desiree Baolian, Niobe Way and Preetika Mukerjee. "Doing Well vs. Feeling Well: Understanding Family Dynamics and the Psychological Adjustment of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(1) (2008): 22-35. [CP] DVD: Xue, Xiaolu. Finding Mr. Right (drama, 122 min). 2013.
Week 12 3rd interview due	**Education and Schooling** Zhou, Min. "Parachute Kids" in Southern California: The Educational Experience of Chinese Children in Transnational Families. " [CCA, 202-218] Waters, Johanna L. "Transnational Family Strategies and Education in the Contemporary Chinese Diaspora." *Global Networks* 5(4) (2005): 359-377. [CP] Kaufman, Julia. "The Interplay between Social and Cultural

	Determinants of School Effort and Success: An Investigation of Chinese-Immigrant and Second-Generation Chinese Students 'Perceptions toward School'." *Social Science Quarterly*, 858(5) (2004): 1275–98. [CP]
Week 13	**Women and Gender** Zhou, Min. "The Other Half of the Sky: Immigrant Women in the Chinatown's Enclave Economy." [CCA, 169-186] Yung, Judy. "Giving Voice to Chinese American Women: Oral History Methodology, " *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19(2) (1998): 130-56. [CP] Chen, Anthony S. "Lives at the Center of the Periphery, Lives at the Periphery of the Center: Chinese American Masculinities and Bargaining with Hegemony," *Gender & Society* 13(5) (1999): 584-607. [CP] DVD: Wu, Alice. 2004. *Saving Face*.
Week 14	**Wrap-up and Review** Zhou, Min. "The Future of Chinese America--Rethinking Assimilation: The Paradox of 'Model Minority' and 'Perpetual Foreigner'". [CCA, 221-235] Robin, Cohen. "Conclusion: Diasporas, their Types and their Future." [GD, 155-76]
Week 15	**Student Presentation by Panel Groups** (This schedule will be adjusted based on the student numbers.)
Week 16 Final paper due	**Final Week**

Appendix A: General Rubric for Final Paper (150 points)

CATEGORY	Above Standards (3)	Meets Standards (2)	Approaching Standards (1)	Below Standards (0)
Use of texts	Quotes and examples from the texts are used appropriately; author interprets, analyzes and reflects critically on them.	Quotes and examples from the texts are used appropriately; author interprets the quotes but does not provide enough analysis or critical reflection.	Quotes and examples from the texts are descriptive ONLY and are not interpreted or analyzed.	Quotes and examples from the texts are NOT relevant AND/OR are not explained or analyzed.
Addresses all aspects of the question/prompt	Author addresses all of the questions in-depth; author provides in-depth analysis and critical reflection for each of the questions.	Author addresses all of the questions in-depth.	Author addresses only some of the questions in-depth; author addresses some of the questions superficially.	Author does not address all aspects of the prompt or addresses the questions superficially.
Analysis & Interpretation	Author describes, interprets, analyzes and reflects critically on the examples and theories presented in the paper.	Author describes, interprets, and analyzes the examples and theories used in the paper.	Author interprets meaning of examples and theories but does not go into deep analysis. Author relies too heavily on descriptions.	Author relies on descriptive language and does not analyze examples—both their own examples and those from texts and lectures.
Strength of arguments	Author's arguments are supported by relevant examples from the text and from their own life; examples are analyzed and reflected upon, showing that the author is deeply engaged in the arguments.	Author's claims and arguments are supported by relevant examples from the text and from their own life.	Author's claims and arguments are supported by evidence that is marginally relevant.	Author makes arguments or claims with little or no evidence; examples are irrelevant.
Grammar, Syntax & Clarity	The arguments are well understood and the paper has strong organization and clarity; there are few to no grammatical errors.	The arguments are well understood and there are few grammatical errors in the paper; the organization and clarity of the paper are acceptable.	The clarity of the arguments suffers as a result of sentence structure, syntax and grammar; the paper is not well organized.	The arguments in the paper greatly suffer from repeated grammar & syntax errors; the structure of the argument is confusing.

Appendix B: General Rubric for Presentation (60 points)

Category	0-1	2	3
RESEARCH QUALITY • Use of varied sources, accurate information • Clearly spent enough time in the community to do the project			
CONTENT • Substantive use of information • Clear explanations; made connections, inferences, drew conclusions • Coherent, logical progression, well organized -- "tell a story"			
MEDIA • Visual materials for information about the researched topics are clear • Effective slides and visuals			
CLARITY • Explains ideas well, integrates with slides • Clear introduction and conclusion, obvious transitions • Responds well to questions			
STYLE • Clear enunciation, fluent delivery • Well paced, • Fits time requirement • Clearly practiced			

0-1 = DOES NOT MEET STANDARDS
2 = MEETS STANDARDS
3 = EXCEEDS STANDARDS