

Sarah Y. Köksal

Self-Identity Narratives of Chinese Students in the United States

Unique, Ambitious, Global

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Glossary of Chinese Words and Expressions

Notes on transcription:

Transcription follows the Pinyin system of transcription used in the People's Republic of China and recognized internationally. Occurrences of Chinese terms transcribed using the older Wade Giles system such as in historical literature have been converted to Pinyin (except for direct quotations). All Chinese terms are written in *cursive* and not capitalized. Names, institutions, organisations and places are capitalized and not written in cursive.

In order to avoid confusion and due to the numerous homophones in the Chinese language, the Chinese characters has been included alongside the transcriptions. The tonal indications have been omitted except in cases where they are relevant to the meaning or context.

in order of appearance

关系guanxi: network, connections.

四书五经Sishuwujing; four books and five classics.

书院Shuyuan; government-operated academies.

四叔Sishu; private schools

重点zhong dian; key point

改革开放 gaige kaifang; reform and opening

鼓励留学生, 欢迎回国, 来去自由guli liu xiu sheng, huangying hui guo; Support for foreign study, welcome of return and freedom of movement

中产阶级zhongchan jieji; middle class

中产阶层zhongcan jiecheng; middle strata

孝xiao; filial piety

一个不少, 两个正好, 三个多了, yi ge bu shao, liang ge zheng hao, san ge duo le; One Child isn't too few, two are just fine, and three are too many

晚 稀 少 wan, xi, shao ; later, longer, fewer

青年- qing nian; youth

初中chuzhong; junior high school

高中gaozhong; senior high school

高考gaokao; university entrance exam

初考chukao; senior high school entrance exam

人才rencai; human talent

面子mianzi; face

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Introduction

1

To be a good
ex/current friend for R. To be one last
inspired way to get back at R. To be relationship
advice for L. To be advice
for my mother. To be a more comfortable
hospital bed for my mother. To be
no more hospital beds. To be, in my spare time,
America for my uncle, who wants to be China
for me. To be a country of trafficless roads
& a sports car for my aunt, who likes to go
fast. To be a cyclone
of laughter when my parents say
their new coworker is *like that*, they can tell
because he wears pink socks, see, you don't, so you can't,
can't be one of them. To be the one
my parents raised me to be—
a season from the planet
of planet-sized storms.
To be a backpack of PB&J & every
thing I know, for my brothers, who are becoming
their own storms. To be, for me, nobody,
homebody, body in bed watching TV. To go 2D

& be a painting, an amateur's hilltop & stars,
 simple decoration for the new apartment
 with you. To be close, J.,
 to everything that is close to you—

 blue blanket, red cup, green shoes
 with pink laces.
 To be the blue & the red.
 The green, the hot pink.¹

The Chinese American poet Chen Chen describes the often awkward positioning process that pondering central identity questions entails. He touches upon themes that will also be discussed in this thesis: our position within the family, the community of friends, or the imagined community of the nation. He asks not only: “Who am I?” but also, “Who do I aspire to be?” He artistically shows the added challenge of navigating several cultures which young Chinese in America are confronted with. Questions of identity and belonging are urgent for this group as well as intriguing for me as a researcher who has chosen this topic for my Ph.D. project.

I first became interested in this topic while working for an international NGO in Beijing in 2015. I spent most of my days conversing with young Chinese as part of my organization's educational activities. Their shared dreams to study in the United States were surprising for me. While the appeal of world-class American universities was understandable, I was puzzled as to why these teens didn't first strive to study on the beautiful campuses of their nation. There were plenty of excellent institutions to choose from, after all. Their stories of relentless familial pressure and grueling entrance examinations opened my eyes to the grim reality. The notorious case of Yunyao “Helen” Zhai, Xinlei “John” Zhang, and Yuhan “Coco” Yang in 2016 fueled my curiosity to explore the complexities of the study abroad experience in more detail. The teens living without their families in southern California's San Gabriel Valley are currently serving prison time for the torture, kidnapping, and assault of a fellow student.² Even though they attended an expensive private high school and lived in material luxury, their situation was nonetheless taxing from a social and emotional point of view. Their

¹ Chen Chen, *When I Grow up I Want to Be a List of Further Possibilities*. (Hexham, Norththumberland: Bloodaxe Books, 2019).

² Catie L'Heureux, “A Group of Teens Living by Themselves in Los Angeles Are Going to Prison for Starting a Bullying Ring,” *The Cut*, July 12, 2016, <https://www.thecut.com/2016/07/chinese-parachute-students-la-california-sentenced.html>. Accessed 16.7.2021.

case exemplifies that students are challenged to form a stable identity and sense of belonging as well as the dire incidents that can occur if they do not manage to do so. This group of students is also exemplary of the trend of young Chinese and young people all over the world, increasingly choosing to study outside of their home countries, which will be introduced in the following section.

1.1 Chinese Students and International Mobility Trends

In recent years, U.S. colleges have seen a rise of Chinese students who form the largest proportion of international students (31%). Undergraduate enrollment has increased more than eightfold in just six years.³ Chinese students now also constitute the largest group of international students in several European countries (including Germany.⁴) as well as in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The Covid-19 pandemic, while temporarily making international relocation cumbersome, has not deterred these youngsters. Overall, they constitute a significant portion (17.5%) of internationally mobile students.⁵ However, venturing abroad in pursuit of academic rigor or immersion in a new language is a desirable option for more and more people worldwide. Indeed, the number of internationally mobile students has increased in all parts of the world in the 20th century. The rehabilitation of Europe and the continent's economic development after the Second World War crucially contributed to this trend. The end of the cold war, as well as the economic boom in Japan and other East Asian countries, further solidified this.⁶ Since the 1990 s, globalization and the onset of modern technology

³ Institute of International Education IIE, "Open Doors Report," 2020, <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/Leading-Host-Institutions>. Accessed 24.9.2021.

⁴ Jin Sun, *Die Universität Als Raum Kultureller Differenzierung: Chinesische Studenten an Einer Deutschen Hochschule*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XI, Pädagogik, Publications Universitaires Européennes. Série XI, Pédagogie; European University Studies. Series XI, Education, Bd. 996 = vol. 996 = vol. 996 (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Lang, 2010), 4–5.

⁵ Institute of Statistics UNESCO, "Global Flow of Tertiary-Level Students," 2021, <http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow>. Accessed 25.3.2020.

⁶ Niels Klabunde and Jürgen Henze, *Wettlauf um internationale Studierende: Integration und interkulturelle Hochschulentwicklung in Deutschland und Kanada*, Perspectives of the other (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2014), 33.

have been driving factors.⁷ Between 1990 and 1995 the yearly amount of people seeking education abroad has quadrupled. The total amount of international students rose to 3,3 Million by 2009 and to 5,3 million by 2017⁸ which is strongly disproportionate to the overall growth of the worldwide population.⁹ Studying abroad has become a key differentiating experience for young adults enrolled in tertiary education. It provides opportunities to access quality education, acquire skills that may not be taught at home and get closer to labor markets that offer higher returns on education. It is also seen as a way to improve employability in globalized labor markets.¹⁰

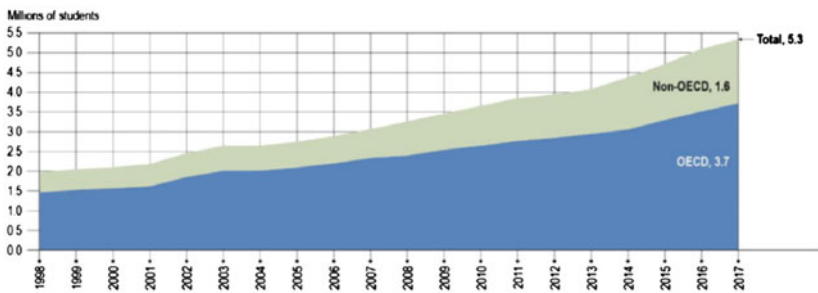


Figure 1.1 Growth in international or foreign enrolment in tertiary education worldwide (1998–2017). OECD, *Education at a Glance 2019: OECD Indicators*, Education at a Glance (OECD, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1787/f8d7880d-en>, 231, B6.2

The skills needs of increasingly knowledge-based and innovation-driven economies have spurred demand for tertiary education worldwide, while local education capacities have not always evolved fast enough to meet growing domestic demand. Rising wealth in emerging economies has further prompted children

⁷ Yu Chen, *Verbessern Chinesische Studierende Ihre Sprechfertigkeit Im Deutschen Während Des Fachstudiums in Deutschland? Eine Empirische Untersuchung Unter Berücksichtigung Sozialer Aspekte*, Duisburger Arbeiten Zur Sprach- Und Kulturwissenschaft; Duisburg Papers on Research in Language and Culture, Bd. 91 = v. 91 (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Lang, 2012).

⁸ Institute of Statistics UNESCO, “Education: Outbound Internationally Mobile Students by Host Region,” 2020, <http://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx?queryid=172>. Accessed 25.3.2020.

⁹ Klabunde and Henze, *Wettlauf um internationale Studierende*, 26.

¹⁰ OECD, *Education at a Glance 2019: OECD Indicators*, Education at a Glance (OECD, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1787/f8d7880d-en>.

of the growing middle classes to seek educational opportunities abroad. At the same time, economic factors (e.g., costs of international flights), technological factors (e.g., the spread of the Internet and social media to maintain contacts across borders), and cultural factors (e.g., use of English as a common working and teaching language) have made international mobility more affordable and less irreversible than in the past.¹¹

1.2 Research Overview

The phenomenon of young Chinese increasingly pursuing education abroad has not gone unnoticed by researchers. Indeed, scholars in a multitude of fields have investigated Chinese international students. According to Kehm and Teuber, this is a sign of enhanced academic interest on the topic of internationalization of education.¹² The following section aims to give a succinct overview of the most significant trends in this research field. The growing presence of Chinese students on higher education campuses and their effect on the curriculum, staff, and teaching environment has been examined in the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand,¹³ and in a smaller scope in France and Germany¹⁴ as well as

¹¹ OECD, 231; Brendan Cantwell, “Are International Students Cash Cows? Examining the Relationship Between New International Undergraduate Enrollments and Institutional Revenue at Public Colleges and Universities in the US” 5, no. 4 (2015): 14.

¹² Barbara M. Kehm and Ulrich Teichler, “Research on Internationalisation in Higher Education,” *Journal of Studies in International Education* 11, no. 3–4 (September 2007): 260–73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315307303534>.

¹³ Ling Cao and Tingting Zhang, “Social Networking Sites and Educational Adaptation in Higher Education: A Case Study of Chinese International Students in New Zealand,” *The Scientific World Journal* 2012 (2012): 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.1100/2012/289356>; Yuan Cheng, *Education and Class: Chinese in Britain and the United States* (Aldershot [England]; Brookfield, USA: Avebury, 1994); Rita Chi-Ying Chung, Frank H. Walkey, and Fred Bemak, “A Comparison of Achievement and Aspirations of New Zealand Chinese and European Students,” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 28, no. 4 (July 1997): 481–89, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022197284006>; Sue McGowan and Lucy Potter, “The Implications of the Chinese Learner for the Internationalization of the Curriculum: An Australian Perspective,” *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 19, no. 2 (February 2008): 181–98, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2005.12.006>; Johanna L. Waters, *Education, Migration, and Cultural Capital in the Chinese Diaspora: Transnational Students between Hong Kong and Canada* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008); Lloyd L. Wong, ed., *Trans-Pacific Mobilities: The Chinese and Canada* (Vancouver Toronto: UBC Press, 2017).

¹⁴ Jun He, “Zum Vergleich Des Studienstandorts Deutschland Und Frankreich Für Die Chinesen,” *Das Hochschulwesen* 62, no. 6 (2014): 191–95; Sun, *Die Universität Als Raum*

in other countries such as Korea¹⁵, Thailand, Russia¹⁶, Japan¹⁷, and Myanmar¹⁸. The literature reviewed in this section, however, focuses on the context of Chinese studying in North America. Due to the vast amount of scholarly literature available, I have chosen to figuratively follow in the students' footsteps to organize it, meaning I begin with their decision-making in China, proceed to their experiences upon arrival, and conclude with studies dealing with their plans after graduation.

Firstly, prominent scholars such as sociologists Vanessa Fong¹⁹ and Dennis Yang²⁰ have discussed the push-pull factors leading to educational sojourns. Comparative studies have looked into the specific draw of an overseas education

Kultureller Differenzverfahren; Jiani Zhu, "Academic Adjustment of Chinese Students at German Universities," December 18, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.18452/16638>.

¹⁵ Qinlan Lin and Ling Gao, "Study on Paths of Affect Factors on Adaption to University Life of Chinese International Students in Korea —Choosing Korean Training Chinese Students as Main Investigation Objects," *Engineering* 05, no. 10 (2013): 158–62, <https://doi.org/10.4236/eng.2013.510B034>.

¹⁶ Svetlana Sablina, Hannah Soong, and Anna Pechurina, "Exploring Expectations, Experiences and Long-Term Plans of Chinese International Students Studying in the Joint Sino-Russian Degree," *Higher Education* 76, no. 6 (December 2018): 973–88, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0256-z>.

¹⁷ Liao Chi Yang, Li En Min, and Wang Xue Ping, *Kua yue jiang jie: liu xue sheng yu xin Hua qiao = Transiting boundaries: Chinese students and new migrants in Japan 跨越疆界: 留学生与新华侨 = Transiting boundaries: Chinese students and new migrants in Japan / 主编廖赤阳; 副主编李恩民, 王雪萍, She hui ke xue wen xian chu ban she, liu xue ri ben cong shu 2* (Beijing, 2015).

¹⁸ Juan Chen, "An Analysis of Chinese Phonetic Errors of Chinese Students in North Myanmar," *Modern Linguistics* 09, no. 01 (2021): 75–81, <https://doi.org/10.12677/ML.2021.91012>.

¹⁹ Vanessa Fong, *Paradise Redefined: Transnational Chinese Students and the Quest for Flexible Citizenship in the Developed World*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

²⁰ Dennis Yang, *The Pursuit of the Chinese Dream in America: Chinese Undergraduate Students at American Universities* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books, 2016).

versus domestic institutions.²¹ Mei Fong²², Fengshu Liu²³ and most recently, Yingyi Ma²⁴ also investigated the changing role of education as contributing to a family's decisions to send their offspring abroad. Bodycott²⁵ examined the parents' role in the decision-making process. This line of research often constructs Chinese students and their families as customers or as the world's largest floating academic potential, which could lead to intensive competition.²⁶

Once arrived at their destination of choice, international students face many challenges such as finance, housing, lack of social network and support, competence in the English language, and homesickness as well as adjusting to different cultures and classroom requirements.²⁷ How students cope and adapt has been researched in the fields of psychology and medicine, as well as nutritional science. Chinese international students have been of interest in regard to the acculturation processes they go through and how it affects their mental health.²⁸ It has been shown that social connectedness with Americans mediated the links between

²¹ Baoyan Cheng, Aiai Fan, and Min Liu, "Chinese High School Students' Plans in Studying Overseas: Who and Why," *Frontiers of Education in China* 12, no. 3 (September 2017): 367–93, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-017-0027-0>; Patrick Lo et al., "Chinese Students' Motivations for Overseas versus Domestic MLIS Education: A Comparative Study between University of Tsukuba and Shanghai University," *College & Research Libraries* 80, no. 7 (2019): 1013–35, <https://doi.org/10.5860/crl.80.7.1013>.

²² Mei Fong, *One Child: The Story of China's Most Radical Experiment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

²³ Fengshu Liu, *Modernization as Lived Experiences: Three Generations of Young Men and Women in China*, First Edition, Youth, Young Adulthood and Society (New York: Routledge, 2019).

²⁴ Yingyi Ma, *Ambitious and Anxious: How Chinese College Students Succeed and Struggle in American Higher Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

²⁵ Peter Bodycott, "Choosing a Higher Education Study Abroad Destination: What Mainland Chinese Parents and Students Rate as Important," *Journal of Research in International Education* 8, no. 3 (December 2009): 349–73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1475240909345818>.

²⁶ Jürgen Henze and Jiani Zhu, "Current Research on Chinese Students Studying Abroad," *Research in Comparative and International Education* 7, no. 1 (March 2012): 90–104, <https://doi.org/10.2304/rcie.2012.7.1.90>.

²⁷ Linda Tsevi, "Survival Strategies of International Undergraduate Students at a Public Research Midwestern University in the United States: A Case Study," *Journal of International Students* 8, no. 2 (April 1, 2018): 1037, <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v8i2.131>.

²⁸ Ying Xu et al., "The Contribution of Lifestyle Factors to Depressive Symptoms: A Cross-Sectional Study in Chinese College Students," *Psychiatry Research* 245 (November 2016): 243–49, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2016.03.009>; Yu-Wen Ying, Peter Allen Lee, and Jeanne L. Tsai, "Attachment, Sense of Coherence, and Mental Health among Chinese American College Students: Variation by Migration Status," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 31, no. 5 (September 2007): 531–44, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.01.001>;

adherence to the host culture and psychosocial adjustment or depression.²⁹ Other studies have explored the correlation between attachment to parents or peers and depressive symptom level after migrating.³⁰ Furthermore, Chinese students' adaptation to the new educational environment has been a topic in pedagogy and educational sciences. It has been hypothesized that the Chinese have difficulty adapting due to their difference in learning and thinking styles. However, this has later been criticized as culturalizing because it measures students against Western standards and ideals of learning.³¹ Numerous studies have examined the challenges of communication between faculty and Chinese students, among undergraduates but also among doctoral students who often have a closer, high-stakes relationship with their faculty supervisors.³² Among the issues that have

Jing Zhang and Patricia Goodson, "Acculturation and Psychosocial Adjustment of Chinese International Students: Examining Mediation and Moderation Effects," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35, no. 5 (September 2011): 614–27, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.11.004>; Zhongheng Zhang and Juan Xu, "Chinese Graduate Students' Adaptation to Learning in America: A Cultural Perspective," *JOURNAL OF CHINESE OVERSEAS*, 2007, 12.

²⁹ Zhang and Goodson, "Acculturation and Psychosocial Adjustment of Chinese International Students."

³⁰ Ying, Lee, and Tsai, "Attachment, Sense of Coherence, and Mental Health among Chinese American College Students."

³¹ Hongyu Cheng, Heidi L. Andrade, and Zheng Yan, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Learning Behaviours in the Classroom: From a Thinking Style Perspective," *Educational Psychology* 31, no. 7 (December 2011): 825–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410.2011.608526>; Hong-Yu Cheng and Shu-Yi Guan, "The Role of Learning Approaches in Explaining the Distinct Learning Behaviors Presented by American and Chinese Undergraduates in the Classroom," *Learning and Individual Differences* 22, no. 3 (June 2012): 414–18, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lindif.2011.12.009>; LI Jin, "Mind or Virtue: Western and Chinese Beliefs about Learning," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 14, no. 4 (2005): 190–94.

³² Shiyu Wu et al., "Exploring Factors for Achieving Successful Educational Attainment among Chinese Doctoral Students in the United States," *Journal of International Students* 10, no. 2 (May 15, 2020): 244–64, <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v10i2.844>; Andrea G. Trice, "Faculty Perceptions of Graduate International Students: The Benefits and Challenges," *Journal of Studies in International Education* 7, no. 4 (December 2003): 379–403, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315303257120>; Li Jin and Jason Schneider, "Faculty Views on International Students: A Survey Study," *Journal of International Students* 9, no. 1 (January 18, 2019): 84–96, <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v9i1.268>; Chris R Glass et al., "Uneven Experiences: The Impact of Student-Faculty Interactions on International Students' Sense of Belonging" 5, no. 4 (2015): 15; Shelley Rose Adrian-Taylor, Kimberly A. Noels, and Kurt Tischler, "Conflict Between International Graduate Students and Faculty Supervisors: Toward Effective Conflict Prevention and Management Strategies," *Journal of Studies in*

received a lot of attention, accusations of plagiarism— or in other words, diverging definitions of ownership and approaches to academic writing—should be mentioned.³³ Cultural adaptation has in several cases been researched in connection with the use of social networking sites. As internet censorship has made most foreign social networking sites unavailable in China, students' acceptance of and immersion in the aforementioned sites has been viewed as an unambiguous marker of cultural adaptation by some researchers.³⁴ Cultural adaptation and specifically acculturative stress have been of interest to scientists in psychology who have devised a number of studies on students' mental health.³⁵ In a more critical light, the intercultural studies field has looked into stereotypes

International Education 11, no. 1 (March 2007): 90–117, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315306286313>.

³³ Qing Gu and Jane Brooks, "Beyond the Accusation of Plagiarism," *System* 36, no. 3 (September 2008): 337–52, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2008.01.004>; Robert M O'Connell and Nuerzati Resuli, "Academic Challenges for Chinese Transfer Students in Engineering," *Journal of International Students* 10, no. 2 (May 15, 2020): 466–82, <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v10i2.674>.

³⁴ Eric Forbush and Brooke Foucault-Welles, "Social Media Use and Adaptation among Chinese Students Beginning to Study in the United States," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 50 (January 2016): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.10.007>; Jin-Liang Wang et al., "The Relationships among the Big Five Personality Factors, Self-Esteem, Narcissism, and Sensation-Seeking to Chinese University Students' Uses of Social Networking Sites (SNSs)," *Computers in Human Behavior* 28, no. 6 (November 2012): 2313–19, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.07.001>; Chen Yang, "US-Based Social Media Use and American Life: A Study of Chinese Students' Acculturation and Adaptation in America," *Global Media and China* 3, no. 2 (June 2018): 75–91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2059436418783765>; Steven Fraiberg and Xiaowei Cui, "Weaving Relationship Webs: Tracing How IMing Practices Mediate the Trajectories of Chinese International Students," *Computers and Composition* 39 (March 2016): 83–103, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compcom.2015.11.005>.

³⁵ Nasih Othman et al., "Perceived Impact of Contextual Determinants on Depression, Anxiety and Stress: A Survey with University Students," *International Journal of Mental Health Systems* 13, no. 1 (December 2019): 17, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13033-019-0275-x>; Alberta Gloria and Tamara Ho, "Environmental, Social, and Psychological Experience of Asian American Undergraduates: Examining Issues of Academic Persistence," *Journal of Counseling and Development* 81 (Winter 2003): 93–105; Huan Chen, Usenime Akpanudo, and Erin Hasler, "How Do Chinese International Students View Seeking Mental Health Services?," *Journal of International Students* 10, no. 2 (May 15, 2020): 286–305, <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v10i2.765>; Justin A. Chen et al., "Chinese International Students: An Emerging Mental Health Crisis," *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 54, no. 11 (November 2015): 879–80, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2015.06.022>; Xu et al., "The Contribution of Lifestyle Factors to Depressive Symptoms."

and knowledge about U.S. and China among this group.³⁶ Academic achievement, self-efficacy, and persistence of Chinese students have also been widely researched.³⁷ Another strand of research has taken a more positive approach and thematized transformations and learning opportunities³⁸ as well as the rich contributions Chinese students make to the university environment.³⁹ As found by Anke Li, Chinese undergraduates at North American universities reported that their close friends are mainly Chinese due to a deeper emotional connection and being able to communicate in their mother tongue. A common reason for only interacting with non-Chinese peers in the classroom was the lack of shared interests and different preferences in free-time activities, e.g., drinking alcohol.⁴⁰ Li's study is part of a larger body of research problematizing Chinese students'

³⁶ R. David Arkush, ed., *Land without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present*, 1st paperback printing (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993); D. Han, D. Chen, and C. Fang, "Images of the United States: Explaining the Attitudes of Chinese Scholars and Students in the United States," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6, no. 2 (June 1, 2013): 183–207, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/pot007>; Carola McGiffert, ed., *Chinese Images of the United States*, Significant Issues Series, v. 27, no. 3 (Washington, D.C: CSIS Press, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005); Racheal A. Ruble and Yan Bing Zhang, "Stereotypes of Chinese International Students Held by Americans," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37, no. 2 (March 2013): 202–11, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2012.12.004>; Yali Zhao, Xiaoguang Zhou, and Lihong Huang, "Chinese Students' Knowledge and Thinking about America and China," *The Social Studies* 99, no. 1 (January 2008): 13–22, <https://doi.org/10.3200/TSSS.99.1.3-22>.

³⁷ Gloria and Ho, "Environmental, Social, and Psychological Experience of Asian American Undergraduates: Examining Issues of Academic Persistence"; Shengjie Lin, Carlton J. Fong, and Yidan Wang, "Chinese Undergraduates' Sources of Self-Efficacy Differ by Sibling Status, Achievement, and Fear of Failure along Two Pathways," *Social Psychology of Education* 20, no. 2 (June 2017): 361–86, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-017-9367-0>; Samuel S. Peng and Deeann Wright, "Explanation of Academic Achievement of Asian American Students," *The Journal of Educational Research* 87, no. 6 (July 1994): 346–52, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.1994.9941265>.

³⁸ Glen Stafford, "The Unexpected Transformations of Chinese International Students in Australia" (Dissertation, Adelaide, University of Adelaide, 2010).

³⁹ Tang T. Heng, "Different Is Not Deficient: Contradicting Stereotypes of Chinese International Students in US Higher Education," *Studies in Higher Education* 43, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 22–36, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2016.1152466>.

⁴⁰ Anke Li, "University Integration of Chinese Undergraduate Students: *I Never Tended to Break the Bubble [to Make Friends with Local Students]. I Think I Already Passed That Phase When in High School*. The Role of Secondary School Experience in Social Integration of Chinese Undergraduate Students in Canada and the United States," *Journal of International Mobility* N6, no. 1 (2018): 153, <https://doi.org/10.3917/jim.006.0153>.

self-segregating behavior and nationalist tendencies.⁴¹ Chinese researchers, most notably Heng in her essay “Different is not Deficient”⁴² and Ma in her book “Ambitious and Anxious”⁴³ have criticized this approach as unfairly generalizing Chinese students and over-simplifying complex identity negotiation processes.

The experience of returned American-educated Chinese and their integration into the domestic labor market has been of interest, particularly among Chinese economists and social scientists.⁴⁴ A well-researched issue is the contrast between the perception of an American education as a road to career success or high-return investment and the actual positioning of returned graduates in the job market. Compared to their Chinese-educated peers, they may lack relevant (关系;

⁴¹ Vicki Jingjing Zhang, “The Multiple Forces Behind Chinese Students’ Self-Segregation and How We May Counter Them” 11, no. 2 (2018): 17; Yige Dong, “How Chinese Students Become Nationalist: Their American Experience and Transpacific Futures,” *American Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2017): 559–67, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2017.0050>; Yi Zhu and Mary Bresnahan, “‘They Make No Contribution!’ Versus ‘We Should Make Friends with Them!’—American Domestic Students’ Perception of Chinese International Students’ Reticence and Face,” *Journal of International Students* 8, no. 4 (October 1, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v8i4.221>; Xiaoting Xu and Hong Jiang, “Investigation of Patriotic Consciousness of Overseas University Students,” *Journal of Anhui Agricultural University (Social Science Edition)* 27, no. 2 (March 2018): 137–40; Fen Lin, Yanfei Sun, and Hongxing Yang, “How Are Chinese Students Ideologically Divided? A Survey of Chinese College Students’ Political Self-Identification,” *Pacific Affairs* 88, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 51–74, <https://doi.org/10.5509/201588151>; Henry Chiu Hail, “Patriotism Abroad: Overseas Chinese Students’ Encounters With Criticisms of China,” *Journal of Studies in International Education* 19, no. 4 (September 2015): 311–26, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315314567175>.

⁴² Heng, “Different Is Not Deficient.”

⁴³ Ma, *Ambitious and Anxious*.

⁴⁴ Shu Fan Wen, “Return Migration and Economic Turmoil: Experiences of Repatriated Chinese Professionals in Shanghai, China,” *Dialectical Anthropology* 37, no. 3–4 (December 2013): 363–82, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-013-9322-1>; Zhang Yufa, “Returned Chinese Students from America and the Chinese Leadership (1846–1949),” *Chinese Studies in History* 35, no. 3 (April 2002): 52–86, <https://doi.org/10.2753/CSH0009-4633350352>; Chiang Yung-Chen, “Chinese Students in America in the Early Twentieth Century: Preliminary Reflections on a Research Topic,” *Chinese Studies in History* 36, no. 3 (April 2003): 38–62, <https://doi.org/10.2753/CSH0009-4633360338>; Huiyao Wang, *Dang Dai Zhongguo Hai Gui =: Contemporary Chinese Returnees*, Di 1 ban, Hai Gui Tui Dong Zhongguo Cong Shu (Beijing Shi: Zhongguo fa zhan chu ban she, 2007).