Making and Remaking the Youthful Chinese Self in an Australian School: the Complex Logics of Culture, Class and Ethics

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Abstract

This study investigates how young people with various types of links to China grapple with the imperatives of their life-world to craft their selves. It examines the cultural practices and delves into the rationalities behind them to understand the schooling-dominated lives of a group of 15-18 years old youth of Chinese background. These are grouped under two social categories; first, Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry and second, Chinese-born international students, who study in the same high-fee, independent Australian school. Positioned within the field of the cultural sociology of education, this research engages debates about youthful identities against the backdrop of transnational mobilities, flows and global assemblages of contemporary domains of living. It addresses youthful self-making in the transcultural context by attending to the interrelationship between schooling, cultural practices, social class, ethical imperatives and geography.

There is a considerable body of literature on how young people make meanings of their lives in transcultural contexts in Anglophone countries. This usually focuses on ethnic/immigrant background youth and, more recently, international students. However, there is a tendency in this literature to slip into methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism. My study offers a critique of such practices and develops a set of theoretical tools to help advance studies of contemporary youth who do not fit neatly in nation state and Western/non-Western categories.

Little is known about how Chinese-born school students and Australian-born students of Chinese background engage in their projects of self-making in culturally different and similar ways. What is the influence on their projects of self-making of global and national forces? How do the school, the family and the students themselves mediate between these global and national forces? To respond to these questions, I offer an analysis of how the students relate their education, schooling choices and everyday cultural practices to their projects of self-making and their cultural moorings.

To explore these matters, I bring Aihwa Ong's concepts from cultural anthropology into the cultural sociology of education. Specifically, I build on Ong's notion of the

cultural logics of self-making and her culture/power/self formula, through the concepts *geography of forces* and the *self/geography nexus*. In so doing, I delineate the forces at work in processes of globalization and transnationality as well as the forces of the nation state, and explore how they are mediated and translated into Chinese background youth's rationalities and imperatives of self crafting.

I have identified two major strands among the cultural logics of self-making that these young people employ. A majority of Chinese international students engage with what I term *the cultural logics of instrumental transnationalism* in their pursuit of overseas education. They take advantage of transnational mobilities, but they see their future in China. As a contrast, their Australian-born counterparts deploy *the cultural logics of localization or rooting*, by consolidating their projects of self-making in Australia. They rework their ethnic background with rooting imperatives in mind. I, therefore, argue that despite the global and transnational forces in their lives, these Chinese-born and Australian-born students' projects of self-making are still tied to a specific geography. The nation-state still reigns.

Theoretically, I seek to contribute to analyses of contemporary social class by drawing out three nexuses, namely, the *class/transnationality nexus*, the *class/ethnicity/transnational emplacement nexus* and *the class/ethics nexus*. Further, in exploring the students' construction of a good/ethical life in transcultural contexts against the processes of globalization and transnationality, this study contributes to theorizations of youthful self-making.

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge neither does it contain material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 A comparative study of Chinese background youth in Australia

My interest in a comparative study of youth sitting in two cultures, Chinese-born and Australian-born students of Chinese background who study in the same Australian school, was triggered by my personal experience as an immigrant from China, as well as a mother of two Australian-born boys.

Originally, for me, culture never came into it when I landed in Australia. As, in my imagination, knowing the language was everything. A much deeper connotation of culture dawned on me when my husband and I decided to dress our first boy in an Aussie way, which meant we had to discard many Chinese style clothes my mother bought for her first grandchild. Our self-conscious China versus Australia cultural choice, however, met with a different response from childcare staff who kindly reminded us that our Lachlan needed to "keep his culture".

It was a matter of course that immigrant parents were responsible for keeping their children's 'heritage culture'. As far as I could see, it was too big an expectation. For one thing, being an immigrant, I frequently tailored my own cultural repertoire, let alone kept it intact. For another, how could immigrant parents compete with childcare, schools and the omnipresent local cultural environment to intervene in their local-born children's cultural take-up? An example was that although we spoke Chinese at home most of the time, out of convenience rather than to deliberately keep the language, my two young sons spoke English between themselves, singing ballads and songs in English that bore no

resemblance to my childhood memories, and watching English medium TV programs. Witnessing how the formal early childhood education they started receiving since they were one year old had transformed them, I could not stop wondering: what would their 'culture' be and how would they perceive it?

Culture, it seemed, was not the only thing to be concerned about. The nation state became the marker of identity in a strange way. During our visit to China, my relatives and friends spoke Chinese to my sons in a taken for granted way. But still, they used 'little foreigners' or 'little Australians' to comment on what they believed to be different behaviors that they identified in my boys. As a contrast, in their eyes, I was still the same Chinese, despite my Australian citizenship and my long stay in Australia. How did culture and the nation state work to produce a national identity that sometimes challenged the legal citizenship status, or nationality?

Considering that both my sons and I faced two cultures, how different might my kids be so much so that it rendered the Australia/China distinction, whereas I remained to be regarded as a Chinese? How did my relatives and friends construct the difference between Australians and Chinese? Why did they neglect my transnational experience and cultural localization while overemphasizing the impact of being born and raised in Australia on my sons? In summary, what were the imprints of nation states, culture, schools and families on schoolboys in transcultural contexts? These questions kept prodding at me and ultimately led to a serious research topic for my PhD study.

To navigate my initial layperson interest and shape up my research questions, I engaged with a range of literature on youth in transcultural contexts. The study of youthful transcultural subjects usually focuses on ethnic/immigrant background youth mainly from migration/diaspora/ethnicity studies. Or, more recently, attention has been increasingly paid to international students from the field of the internationalization of Higher Education. There is some research on how Chinese

background youth make meanings of their lives in transcultural contexts in Anglophone countries. In this literature, however, there was a lack of attention to Chinese background school students—both local and overseas students, in particular, in Australia.

To address the gap in the literature, my study offers a comparative investigation of 15- to 18-year old students of two social categories, Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry and Chinese-born international students, who study in the same school in Australia. It is from within the field of the cultural sociology of education that a broad interest in these youth arises. A major theme in this field addresses how education can be tailored to attract the youth and to aid them to achieve their best potential; it explores how young people grapple with their education by putting their cultural practices and identities at the center of analysis. In this field, students' cultural choices and practices regarding education is one broad concern and, how students relate to education as a major building block in their self-making, is paramount. However, in the literature on Chinese youth in transcultural contexts, there is insufficient attention to their cultural choices as practices of self-making for 'a good life'.

Therefore, the central question for my research is: *How do Chinese-born students and Australian-born students of Chinese background, who study in the same Australian school, engage in their projects of self-making in culturally different and similar ways?*

In an attempt to reveal the implications of Chinese background youth being raised in their formative years in Australia and/or China, I was particularly motivated to explore the connections between the nation-state, school education and culture in shaping youthful selves. Taking into consideration the fact that commonalities of class positioning and strong family financial background made it possible for these two groups of youth to end up studying in Melbourne in the same high-fee, high

SEA, independent school[1]—Beachton Grammar, I came to realize the role of social class in the analysis of these Chinese background youth. Through a comparative study of school students of two social categories, I want to highlight in my first sub-question: *What can an analysis of the intersection of the nation state, culture, education and social class tell us about these youthful projects of self-making?*

Waters and Brooks (2011c: 159) define international/transnational education as "formal education that takes place outside of local or national education systems, whether that is delivered 'at home' or overseas". Studies on immigrant/ transnational/international education, which highlight educational experiences of youth in transcultural contexts with a focus on the intersection of transnational imperatives and education, were drawn on to complement my study of Chinese background youth from the perspective of the cultural sociology of education[2]. A global perspective to understand youthful lives from within the field of the cultural sociology of education also complemented my study of youth in transcultural contexts. These led to my second sub-question: *What is the influence on their projects of self-making of global and transnational forces?* A comparative study can highlight the intersection of the forces of the nation state, global and transnational imperatives that hail youth in transcultural contexts.

I will explore how societies or nation-states help shape self-making, along with the processes of globalization and transnationality. Amongst the forces of the nation-state, globalization and transnationality, this study aims to explore which is more

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[1] Beachton Grammar (pseudonym) is a high-fee, high socio-educational advantage (SEA) independent school. In Australia's education system, there are broadly two types of schools: government and non-government (Catholic and independent) schools. Among independent schools, Beachton Grammar can be categorized as a school that charges a high tuition fee and whose parent body is of a high socio-educational advantage. See Chapter 3, section 3.5 for an introduction of Australia's education system and, section 3.6 for a briefing about Beachton Grammar.

[2] In Australia's school sector, many schools, government, Catholic and independent, now take international students, along with local students who make up the majority of school enrolments. There are also schools in Australia that are called international schools. In this regard, Beachton Grammar, which the Chinese international students and local-born students of Chinese background both attend, is a 'local' school.

salient in shaping the youthful self and how these forces intersect, interact and interweave in these students' projects of self-making.

Besides these forces, this study also examines the roles of the school and the family in shaping students' self-making trajectories, with the third sub-question: *How do the school, the family and the students themselves mediate between these global, transnational and national forces?*

The warrant for my study does not lie simply in the empirical foci that I have mentioned above. The literature on youthful 'Chinese' subject in transcultural contexts tends to slip into methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism, the latter is a term I coin regarding the methodological divide between the West and 'the Rest'[3].

I also try to deconstruct 'Chinese' as a national and/or cultural marker through a comparative study of Chinese-born and Australian-born students of Chinese background against global, transnational, national, institutional and individual imperatives. However, linking two groups of young people with the label of 'Chinese' runs the danger of racial, ethnic and cultural absolutism. Besides, for a comparative study, how can we understand China and Australia as social categories?

The conventional understanding people hold is that China and Australia are like chalk and cheese, since China is a non-Western society racing on its specific track of capitalist development with some ideological and political tint associated with its socialism and central governance, whereas Australia is regarded as a Western, Anglophone society long set in the well-established capitalist camp. Capitalism versus socialism, Western versus non-Western, democracy versus central governance, just to name a few dichotomies, and such dichotomies go on and on. So,

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[3] By methodological Westernism, I aim to highlight Western/non-Western binaries in the social sciences. I seek to move beyond these binaries in an attempt to deconstruct them. In the meanwhile, in my study, I acknowledge and endeavor to develop methodological Westernism in terms of engaging with and enhancing 'Western' theories.

what is the 'social' common ground for the study of students from two such distinct social entities?

The first thing that I find particularly useful to my study is Aihwa Ong's critique of the methodological divide between the West and 'the Rest', in terms of modernities, techniques of govermentality and cultures. She draws me to the complexities of contemporary living that cut across the nation-state unit of analysis and the West/rest divide. In particular, she has challenged conventional ways of understanding China as a dichotomized contrast to Western nation-states with regards to its economic, political and ethical regimes (Ong 1997; Ong and Zhang 2008). From 'Chinese modernities' to 'socialism from afar', she captures China's economic reform that has undergone changes from a centralized and planned economy to a market economy. She draws attention to how China's take-up of neoliberalism for a boost of its economy has an impact on contemporary Chinese subjects. More importantly, she links these reforms to the global forms that seep into and take root in China in specific ways. She further proposes that China is best researched as a 'global assemblage'.

Secondly, Ong's approach to look at and understand China as a social entity helps not only the theorization of a Chinese subject today but also informs new ways of theorizing and defining the human. She prioritizes cultural practices and human agency in her theorization of subjects and situates her analysis in specific power/knowledge schemes. Her culture/power nexus makes it possible to examine a range of power registers in many research milieus, such as social class, neoliberalism and cultural hierarchies, all of which are orchestrated through processes of globalization. Her formula of the 'cultural logics of self-making', in terms of what makes a worthwhile life, informs my theorization of the self in contemporary domains of living.

Thirdly, Ong (1999, 2009) is actively working with the phenomena of transnationality and globalization, the latter she prefers to call 'the global'. Her vantage point, gained in exploring the "transversal, latitudinal and entangling phenomena of life and living" in relation to transnationality and global forms (Ong 2009: 90), generates a body of theories. These theories epistemologically and

ontologically challenge methodological nationalism in sociology by problematizing the use of the nation-state and the nationed notion of culture as the taken-for-granted units of analysis.

More importantly, Ong's empirical and theoretical focus is on subjects in such a context, and her work seeks to reveal the "practices and predicaments of transcultural navigation" (ibid). I find her recognition and depiction of the transcultural context particularly enlightening in that she takes seriously the social contexts in which transnationally mobile subjects are located. Ong (1999, 2005 with Collier, 2009) provides a conceptual toolbox for me to work with and seek to develop in my comparative study. So my last sub-question is: *In what ways are the theoretical concepts of Aihwa Ong instructive for responding to these questions?*

1.2 Research questions

In summary, this is a comparative study exploring youthful self-making through interviews with Chinese background students, their teachers and parents, by responding to the following questions:

Central question

> How do Chinese-born students and Australian-born students of Chinese background, who study in the same Australian school, engage in their projects of self-making in culturally similar and different ways?

Sub-questions

1. What can an analysis of the intersection of the nation-state, culture, education, and social class tell us about these youthful projects of self-making?
2. What is the influence on their projects of self-making of global and transnational forces?
3. How do the school, the family and the students themselves mediate between these global, transnational and national forces?
4. In what ways are the theoretical concepts of Aihwa Ong instructive for responding to these questions?

1.3 My approach

This study focuses on exploring Chinese background students' cultural practices and rationalities behind them. In particular, it examines how the students reason, calculate, negotiate and make decisions in a range of education-related choices to understand their imaginations and practices of self-making. It takes a qualitative

approach and, face-to-face interviews are deployed to uncover the rationalities behind these youth's cultural ways and choices.

Although theoretically engaging with 'big' theories concerning transnationality, global forms and global assemblages, this study adopts a low-flying approach by focusing on the high-fee, high SEA, independent school these students attend and their families as two sources of institutional forces that shape their youthful cultural ways. Apart from that, I place a high priority on capturing how everyday life spheres are interrelated and intersected with the broader socio-cultural dynamic that changes everyday experience of living. The youth in my study spend up to seven hours a day at school on weekdays and on Saturdays. Therefore, their school becomes a major site for investigation of cultural activities of all kinds. School-related practices, including school choices, schooling experiences and involvement in school activities, are all counted as major empirical foci with cultural logics embedded in them.

However, the focus on school-related activities does not mean that the students' after-school activities are neglected. This study also scrutinizes these youth's activities outside school and tries to make a theoretical linkage between two sets of activities that happen. Youthful activities, on the whole, become the central focus in this study and are linked to their self-imagination.

1.4 Outline of chapters

This study explores the cultural logics of self-making by looking at Chinese background students under two social categories, namely Chinese and Australian citizens. Following this chapter in which I introduce my motivations for choosing such a topic for my PhD study and elaborate on my research questions, Chapter Two reviews the literature on overseas Chinese and youth in transcultural contexts and engages with studies of youth in Australia. I critique the tendency towards methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism this literature tends to slip into, bring the insights of migration and diaspora studies into the cultural sociology of education, and develop the warrant for my comparative study's focus and approach.

In Chapter Three, I firstly synthesize the theoretical resources that underpin my comparative analysis of Chinese background youth's projects of self-making through the notions of the geography/self nexus, geography of forces and global assemblage. Following that, I offer a perspectival discussion of contemporary China as a transnational 'social' brought to the Australian context. I then introduce the methods I employ for my study. This chapter is wrapped up with a briefing about Australia's education system, the site of investigation, Beachton Grammar and, a profile of student participants.

Chapters Four to Six focus on *Chinese-born international students'* self-making processes. I begin my portrayal of these students in Chapter Four by offering a class analysis of their overseas schooling imperatives and education-related expectations. Linking this class analysis to transnationalism, Chapter Five attends to the logics behind students' wider imagination of a worthwhile life and career aspirations. Along with these pre-set life goals I further the examination of processes of transnationality in Chapter Six, exploring the connections between the students' everyday transcultural experiences, cultural identifications and projects of self-making in Australia.

How *Australian-born students of Chinese background* engage with their self-making projects are probed in the following two chapters. Chapter Seven offers a class discussion of the local-born students' educational choices for a high-fee, high-SEA independent school with its linkage to an aspired future self. With a focus on how these students interpret cultural connotations of their activities inside and outside the school, in Chapter Eight their cultural moorings are examined through an intersected analysis of class, ethnicity and neoliberalism.

I draw together the findings and present my arguments in Chapter Nine, the concluding chapter. I also highlight my theoretical engagement and the theoretical contributions I have made in this study. I conclude this chapter with a proposed longitudinal research of the same group of youth in the future and offer a discussion of potential theoretical building.

In sum, through drawing on the cultural practices, experiences and rationalities of Chinese background students in Australia, this study will develop a theoretical approach to understanding youthful projects of self-making against the backdrop of transnational mobilities and flows. By looking at a particular category of youth, Chinese background youth living permanently or temporarily in the Western world, this study seeks to contribute to the field of the cultural sociology of education by focusing on youthful experiences in cross-cultural contexts as well as offers new understandings of 'Chinese' youthful subjects.

Chapter 2

Researching Youth in Transcultural Contexts

Introduction

This chapter offers a review of literature that engages with the broad topic of youth research in (Western) social sciences. I am looking at two specific groups of youth—Chinese international students and local-born students of Chinese backgrounds in Anglophone countries. The discussion I initiate in the broad topic of youth is from the vantage point of the cultural sociology of education.

The major body of literature is loosely gathered under the combination of 'Chinese' and the following key words: international students, students, pupils, diasporic youth, children of diaspora, immigrant children, and children from immigrant families. This body of literature falls into a diverse range of fields that are divided in approaches, theoretical frameworks and foci. Therefore, my literature review is organized according to the specific field of research. I roughly divide the literature into four fields, namely: migration studies, diaspora studies, transnational studies of international/immigrant students and the cultural sociology of education. International/immigrant students or 'parachute children' is a marginalized group which is neither strictly categorized as immigrant children nor as children of diasporas. The literature on international students I attend to in this thesis sits in the interdisciplinary fields of the internationalization of education and transnational studies.

This chapter is organized as follows. Reviews of works from migration and diaspora studies constitute the first and second section. In the third section, I review work from transnational studies of international/immigrant students. I then bring insights from these reviews to initiate a meaningful dialogue with my target field of research—the cultural sociology of education. Finally, with a concluding discussion

of the themes, perspectives and theoretical frameworks, I offer my critiques and the warrant for my comparative study of Chinese background youth in Australia.

2.1 Youth research in migration studies

Before elaborating on specific work from migration studies, I will briefly introduce some basic concepts in this field. First and foremost, immigrants are defined as having a country of origin outside their host country. Immigrants' country of birth and country of origin are not always the same. Generational status of immigrants is a key variable in migration studies and its major theoretical frameworks are highly dependent on it (Portes and Zhou 1993). Factors such as the age of immigrants at which migration happens, country of origin and country of birth determine the generational status of immigrants. As Zhou (1997b) points out, although migration scholars may differ slightly on the specific age range in categorizing the generational status of immigrants, there is a general agreement on the terminologies: first generation and one-and-a-half generation refer to those whose country of birth is other than the host country; second generation refers to those local-born into families with a parental country of origin outside the host country. For third- or multiple-(third and more than third, or multi-generation for short) generation immigrants, they are born into families where their parental birthplace is the host country. According to this categorization, the Australian-born children of Chinese background in my study are second generation.

For Chinese students in this study who come to Australia to further their studies at the age of 16 and 17, they roughly fall into the category of Chinese international students. However, four students among this group have achieved Australian permanent residency status. In this regard, they can also be called immigrant students.

In Australia, both immigrant students and local-born students of Australian citizenship or permanent residency status can be colloquially called local students. However, the four Chinese students with Australian permanent residency status identify themselves as 'international students', to distinguish themselves from Australian-born students of Chinese background. Likewise, there is a strong tendency among the students in this school that students coming from countries

outside Australia to start schooling at Year 10 or Year 11, irrespective of their legal residency status, are 'overseas/international' students.

In terms the differing legal status linked to immigrant students and international students, international students have to apply for Australian visa to pursue their study here. In addition, in Australia, independent schools (and government schools) charge different tuition fees to international students and local students. For example, in the school where my study took place, in 2010, a Year 12 local student paid the tuition fee of around A$20,000, whereas an international student at the same year level paid about A$28,000.

2.1.1 Themes and foci

I outline three themes in the literature on one-and-a-half and second generation school-age Chinese in the US: the ethnicity-centered cultural thesis of educational achievement (Ogbu and Simon 1998; Kaufman 2004; Vivian Louie 2004), their everyday experiences of ethnic labels from the perspective of class (Vivian Louie 2004), and their transnational orientations (Vivian Louie 2006a, 2006b).

The first theme is Ogbu's (1974) 'ethnic model minority thesis', based on his investigation of the links between ethnic minority children's educational outcomes and their ethnic background. Ogbu and Simon (1998) conducted a comparative study exploring the reasons behind different groups of minority children's varied educational outcomes. They found that, in spite of cultural and language differences and the relatively low economic status, the second-generation Chinese immigrant children achieve higher average grade points than groups such as African Americans. Equating school performance to educational success, they attribute this 'success' to the children's successful integration into Chinese ethnic values related to education. Ogbu and Simon also found the 'community forces', or services that ethnic Chinese communities offer, such as Chinese language tutoring and education-related tutoring, which have been utilized by Chinese immigrant parents' to aid their children's education in the US. Apart from this, Chinese immigrants also demonstrate 'immigrant optimism' towards the fairness of the host country. By differentiating between immigrants as voluntary and involuntary groups, Ogbu and Simon (1998) theorize immigrant optimism as a belief held by voluntary immigrants

about the host country, in which education is a major means to achieve upward social mobility.

The work by Louie (2004) and Kaufman (2004) engages with Ogbu's (1974) ethnic model minority thesis. Kaufman (2004) scrutinizes this cultural interpretation by looking at the inner-group differences between 1.5-generation and second-generation Chinese immigrant children in their engagement with their community forces. She explores what forms of community forces have been used, how different groups of students interpret such community forces, and looks at social factors that influence students' access to and evaluation of community forces. She also examines these children's family, social groupings and interactions within school as their social environment, and the children's interpretations of ethnic values. She reveals in her study of the two groups of Chinese background children that their practical social/cultural interactions influence their access to, and attitude towards, community forces. She finds that both groups' social and cultural interactions extend far beyond the ethnic Chinese community.

Engaging with the 'ethnic thesis of education', Vivian Louie (2004) challenges the tendency to interpret educational success through an emphasis on how ethnic values prioritize education. She closely examines how specifically perceived education-related Chinese values and beliefs are communicated to children by their first-generation immigrant parents. She points out that the intergenerational ethnic cultural transfer within the household is not smooth. On the contrary, it causes major intergenerational discord in Chinese immigrant families. For second-generation children, "the process of growing up becomes a negotiation with parents across language, culture and national context" (ibid: 146).

The highlight of Vivian Louie's (2004) approach is in the class dynamics she attends to. She chooses to interview two groups of students whom she recruits from both downtown Chinese enclaves and well-off white suburbs, which represent quite disparate socio-economic backgrounds. Her introduction of class as a new lens complicates and enriches the ethnicity-centered cultural thesis. Vivian Louie explores how class status and family location of second-generation children influence their belief in, and employment of, the Chinese community forces. She

also links these second-generations' academic performance to their familial class strategies that cut across ethnicity.

Apart from the ethnic thesis of academic success, the second broad theme is how Chinese immigrant children experience racial and ethnic hierarchies in the US context. Vivian Louie's (2004) work attends to how race and ethnicity impact the second-generation's lives, and in particular how they negotiate their ethnic minority status. She examines the question of national belonging by looking at these second-generations' national moorings. She contradicts immigrants' 'dual frame of reference' (Ogbu 1974), which refers to the notion that immigrants resort to their former conditions of life in the country of departure to understand their current situation in their country of destination. She argues that, for second-generation Chinese in her study, their country of birth is the one and only frame of national reference, and they negotiate their Chinese ethnicity within the frames of their broad minority status in the US and in relation to their respective situatedness in socio-economic positioning in the US. She explores how the second-generations of different socio-economic backgrounds see the impact of their minority status on their prospect of social mobility.

The third theme is Vivian Louie's (2006a, 2006b) investigation of second-generation Chinese children's transnational identities. Engaged with the field's 'transnational turn' at the turn of the 21st century, she explores how immigrant families, Chinatown and brief transnational visits to the country of ancestry as 'transnational spaces' shape the second-generation's transnational orientations. She differentiates between 'ethnic orientations' and 'transnational orientations', with the former referring to the unanimous identification of second-generation Chinese in national belonging in the US. She concludes that the second-generation have not developed a transnational identity. Their self-labelling of 'being Chinese' is the result of recognizing Chinese as an ethnic minority label in the US's identity politics, a minority category embedded in the US minority hierarchy, rather than relating it to China in terms of national belonging.

2.1.2 Highlighting conceptual frameworks

Ogbu (1974), with his 'ethnic thesis of model minority', draws to the relationship between minority status and educational outcomes. Ogbu regards ethnic minority status as a social structure in terms of the racial hierarchy in power relations against the White dominant group, which has been formed through the history of an ethnic minority's collective experience of incorporation into the US (White) mainstream. Ogbu suggests that a minority group interprets its experience of social incorporation in relation to the fairness of the mainstream society. Linking these perceptions to the minority group's education outcomes, Ogbu argues that a belief in the fairness of the host society will boost their belief in education.

In addition, Ogbu suggests that a minority group's perceptions of the fairness of their country of origin (or home country) in contrast to those of their country of arrival (host country) also shape minority group's belief in education in their host country. Dividing minority groups into autonomous, voluntary and involuntary (immigrant) minorities, he argues that voluntary and involuntary groups of migrants differ in their frames of reference (in which country will they fare better), belief in education, and attitudes towards taking up the 'White ways'. Ogbu suggests that voluntary immigrants/ethnic minority tend to hold rosy views on education in the host country as a fairer place, compared to where they come from.

Ogbu theorizes the ethnic minority's perceptions of and responses to education as 'socio-cultural adaptation'. He links it to what he calls 'community forces', which refers to 'products of socio-cultural adaptation…located within the minority community' (Ogbu 1983, quoted in Ogbu and Simon 1998: 157). The products of socio-cultural adaptation are extended by Zhou (1997) to entail specific beliefs, interpretations, and coping strategies that an ethnic group adopts in response to often-hostile societal treatment.

In a different vein, Vivian Louie (2004) works on the concept of 'community forces' by drawing on a class perspective. Here community refers to that of an ethnic minority, such as ethnic networks and ethnic organizations. She suggests that working-class families tend to rely more on community forces as social capital, while middle-class families resort to social capital outside community affiliations.

Therefore, the ethnic community is not always an indispensible resource for migrant Chinese and their second generations. Vivian Louie highlights a different interpretation of community forces, either as a liability or a credit from the second generation's point of view. She argues that community forces, in the form of ethnic cultural transfer within households, are not always smooth, let alone successful, for the reason that second generation Chinese see ethnic cultural practices and values more as a 'liability' rather than a 'credit'.

Vivian Louie's work not only challenges Ogbu's ethnic thesis of minority educational outcomes, but also contributes to the theorizations of ethnicity in the light of the second-generation's experiences. And, importantly, she theorizes ethnicity in its intersection with class. Furthermore, what needs to be mentioned here is her attention to not only the education outcomes of Chinese-American youth through the lens of ethnicity and class, but also her depiction of the linkage between this groups' self-identities and their education perceptions and practices.

Vivian Louie (2006a, 2006b) also explores the theorization of Chinese ethnicity by attending to second-generation Chinese students' transnational visits to their ancestral homelands in China. By transnational, she refers to these students' border-crossing movements from their country of birth to their countries of ancestral origin. She uses the concepts of 'transnational social fields' (Levitt and Schiller 2004) and 'transnational spaces' interchangeably to investigate the second generation's transnational experiences. Transnational spaces include the households of second generation Chinese, and visits to their country of origin and Chinese communities in Chinatown enclaves.

Having listed the major conceptual frameworks and theories these works engage, I will outline some of their pertinent strengths and weaknesses. Ogbu's 'ethnic thesis' of minority educational outcomes provides educators with an understanding of some of the sociocultural dynamics affecting minority children's educational performance, from the perspective of ethnicity. However, his analytical approach to ethnicity as structurally mediated, in terms of white/minority racial hierarchies and mainstream/minority cultural dichotomies, has been challenged. For example, Zhou (1999) critiques Ogbu's white/minority race hierarchy, arguing that racial-

hierarchical articulations in the US undergo change with time. Vivian Louie (2004) and Kaufman (2004) challenge Ogbu's emphasis on 'community forces' as linked to his 'ethnic success thesis', by highlighting the varied perceptions and interpretations of ethnic values by Chinese immigrant parents in the US. Besides, their studies suggest that there are broader social forces wherein immigrant families and their children are situated. Ethnicity alone as the analytic of an ethnic minority's educational outcomes is rendered inadequate in Vivian Louie's endeavor to draw attention to class, when she argues for an intersection of ethnicity and class to understand an ethnic minority's educational performance.

In addition, Vivian Louie (2006a, 2006b) draws particular attention to a transnational approach to the study of second-generation immigrants. This is a new 'site' in which to theorize both ethnicity and the self-making of youth.

2.1.3 Debates and critiques emanating from an overview of migration studies

On the whole, I feel that the field of migration studies alone is not adequate to enable a comprehensive investigation of immigrant children at school, for two reasons. The first reason is about narratives of schooling, which come to occupy a crucial place in immigrant aspirations (Ogbu 1974). In migration studies, school, pedagogy and students are terms that centre on schooling outcomes of immigrant children. Attending school and obtaining knowledge and skills that may be capitalized upon in future labour markets is a crucial first step toward successful adaptation to American society for immigrant children (Zhou 1997b). Therefore, it is not hard to understand why academic success is narrowly interpreted by this field as educational attainment of immigrant children in terms of their academic orientation, aspiration and performance. As Varenne and her colleagues point out, " 'education' is about far more than what we typically call 'achievement', which usually translates into grades, graduation, or test scores" (Varenne, Hervé and McDermott 1998 in Pollock 2008: 369).

The second reason is that an understanding the greater trend of immigrants is what this field seeks. Therefore, a certain minority group is always the subject matter. Nuanced analysis of intra-group differences and the theorizations of individual identities are, however, neglected. Overall, there is inadequate attention in migration

studies to well-developed theorizations of identities from a sociological perspective (with Vivian Louie's work as the exception).

Nevertheless, these limitations cannot rule out the prospects and promises that this field holds for my research on Chinese background students in Australia. One of the major advances made in the field over the years is that it begins to "turn away from grand theory of migration and a comprehensive theory which is pitched at such a high level of abstraction as to be useless for the explanation and prediction of concrete processes" (Portes and DeWind 2004: 830). Portes and Dewind advocate the development of mid-range concepts and theories and attune to new research agendas on areas such as transnationalism and transnational communities, the new second generation, gender in households, and so on (2004). There is a fierce critique of methodological nationalism within this field and scholars endeavor to engage with the lens of transnationalism (Levitt and Schiller 2004). All these developments provide theoretical lenses for my own study of Chinese background children in Australia. There are many possibilities of 'cross-fertilization' between this field and the cultural sociology of education.

2.2 Youth research in diaspora studies

In the Australian context, a range of studies under the rubric of the Chinese diaspora (Ang 2001; Beal 2001; Choi 1975; Coughlan 1992; Fung and Chen 1996; Huck 1967, 1970; Hugo 2008; Inglis 1968; Marcus 1983; Ommundsen 2003; Ryan 2003; Shen 1998; Tan 2003, 2004, 2006; Wang 2000) contributes to an understanding of diasporic Chinese experiences. Generally speaking, this body of literature has provided invaluable knowledge about the established Chinese community and its function in Australia, the broad picture of the Chinese family structure, settlement patterns, socio-cultural status and the diasporic Chinese experience that can date back to the open-migration policy of the 19th century. However, it scarcely touches the age-based cohort of teenage youth.

Although some research is on multi-generations of Chinese offspring (Tan 2003, 2004, 2006), it empirically focuses on their experiences of the White Australia era,

in particular their negotiations of the White Australia Policy[4]. What this Australian-based literature lacks is an analysis of the Chinese diaspora's negotiations with contemporary discourses of Australia's race and ethnicity relations, which witness policy changes (Castles and Vista 2000) and cause widespread debates in the wider Australian society (Ang 2001; McLeod and Yates 2003).

In the US, compared with area study that analyses Chinese diasporic experiences by relating to the nation of arrival as the major frame of reference, anthropologists' transnational turn has begun to look at the border-crossing movement of migrants in the 1990s. Under the key words of diaspora, belonging, root and route, and nationalism, this literature focuses on adult and/or first-generation Chinese migrants' transnational practices and transnational identity construction (e.g. Ong and Nonini 1997; Ong 1999). This body of work is very important and constitutes building blocks for research into second-generation diasporic youth. However, the question remains: will the approaches employed to study diaspora in cultural anthropology be adequate to research the youthful offspring of the diaspora?

Andrea Louie's (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004) work on second and multi-generation Chinese American youth helps to addresses this gap in this field. My review of her work centres on relevant themes and foci, an elaboration of theoretical frameworks, critiques and a discussion of the possibility of cross-fertilization of migration and diaspora studies.

2.2.1 Themes and foci

Andrea Louie's (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004) research draws on an ethnographic study of a group of 17 to 25 year old Chinese American youth of Cantonese descent, which was conducted in 1992, 1994 and 1995. These second and multi-generation

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[4] In 1901, the new federal government passed the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901,* better known as the White Australia Policy. The intention was to place certain restrictions on immigration. Only Europeans, and then mainly northern Europeans, could immigrate to Australia. The abolition of the White Australia policy took place over a period of 25 years. In 1973 the Whitlam Labor government removed race as a factor in Australia's immigration policies.

Chinese American youth participate in a 'roots searching' program, organized by a Chinatown in the US and sponsored by the Chinese government in Guangdong Province, to visit the native villages of their ancestors and research their respective family genealogical stories during the trip.

She engages with the field of transnational migration studies and a cultural anthropology's approach to diaspora, looking at second and multi-generation children of the diaspora, attempting to rethink theorizations of diasporic identities in the transnational turn of both fields. In particular, she examines "the relationship between processes of globalization and the continued importance of place (native places) as a location for identities" when transnational mobility makes the ancestral place accessible (2004:31).

More importantly, she engages with the broader field of cultural globalization to theorize contemporary Guangdong Chinese identities (2004). Although her ethnographic study of Guangdong Chinese (in which only a few teenage participants were involved) is mainly about their attitudes towards the roots-searching, American-born youth of Chinese ancestry, her ethnographic work also opens new ways to understand contemporary Chinese and, therefore, offers some purchase in theorizing Chinese subjects who witness and think about transnationality.

I detect four lines of inquiry in Andrea Louie's investigation into the relationship between American-born youth's identity construction and 'transnationalism', which I think are of particular importance to my study of Chinese background students in Australia.

The first line of inquiry investigates the relationship diasporic youth construct with their ancestral native land. She points out that the native place is the place where ancestors were born, which cannot be equated with the nation-state or territory (2001, 2002, 2004). Andrea Louie scrutinizes terms such as diasporic consciousness, belonging and national allegiance, and differentiates between feelings of attachment for ancestral land and ideological allegiance to a nation-state. She finds a certain degree of cultural identification with the place of their ancestors amongst these youth, mainly in the form of some local cultural practices and rituals that can still be

found the transnational cultural sphere from their upbringing in immigrant families in the US. In contrast, the traditional high culture of China, such as language, tradition, and art meets with little cultural resonance among these youth.

In particular, she explores the transnational connections or ties these youth keep with their native land within the territory of People's Republic of China (PRC), and examines the frequency and nature of these transnational attachments. She, comparing these root-searching youths with Ong's (1999) flexible, cosmopolitan, Hong Kong business immigrants, suggests that these American-born youths are engaging with sporadic transnational practices and are not elite or transnationally mobile tycoons seeking capital and fame. On the contrary, American-born youths of Chinese ancestry lose their privilege of mobility and access to capital because of a lack of Chinese linguistic capital, transnational ties and business opportunities (2000).

In the second line of inquiry into the formation of American-Born Chinese identities, she particularly examines the identities of Chinese American youth with a focus on how they negotiate Chineseness in the transnational social fields of both China and the US (2000, 2001, 2004). She reiterates that the roots-searching trip to China is not a tourist activity in the general sense, for the nature of the Chinese government-sponsored trip represents a strategic move by the Chinese government to 'pull' back children of the Chinese diaspora. In this way, the roots-researching mission of the participants is mixed with the rhetoric of Chinese state and popular Chineseness. She compares Chinese official discourses with discourses of Chineseness that have originated from US multiculturalism and cultural citizenship discourses. In so doing, notions of Chineseness, breaking the confines of nation-states, become transnational in scope. She investigates how these American-born youths negotiate complicated notions of transnational Chineseness as part of their identity work, as Chinese-Americans. She especially highlights the ambivalences and confusions in these youths' negotiations.

The third line brings place-based identity into the bigger picture of transnational identities of these root-searching youths. She detects two forms of transnational identity among them: place-based identity shaped by transnational Chineseness and

youthful identities informed by their hybrid subculture that incorporates Asian popular culture into their American-based, hip hop youth culture. She differentiates between 'place-based identity' and hybrid youthful identities according to the conceptualization of Chinese culture in the US multiculturalism rhetoric. She reveals that American-born youths interpret Chineseness as traditional high culture related to China. In this way, Chinese popular culture does not have a place in the US definition of Chinese culture and, thus, is not deemed to be 'authentic' Chinese culture.

The last point Andrea Louie raises is the question of identities as a whole, transnational or not, how American-born youths experience their identities in a specific nation-state. She investigates how they negotiate their personal identity in the US after their trip back to their land of ancestral origin. She argues that their identity work is mostly negotiated within the US identity politics embedded in its multiculturalism discourses established in the Cold-war era. She traces the origin of scholastic obsession with Chineseness in theorizing Chinese-American identities in the multicultural discourses that mix into Chineseness the notion of race, transnational notion of difference (derived from Orientalist views of the Asia-Pacific relations) and the notion of culture as being and ethnicity. She also discusses the empowering potential of transnationalism for the experiences of these youth.

2.2.2 Theoretical frameworks and contribution to theorizations

Andrea Louie employs the notion of transnationalism which is viewed as a "more novel and distinct development" in transnational migrations studies (Portes et al 1999: 223). This transnationalism has been brought about by technology development and time-space compression which feature greater access to, and greater frequency and scope of transnational practices (ibid: 220). The individual and his/her networks comprise the most "viable point of departure in the investigation" and "the proper unit of analysis" of contemporary transnationalism (ibid). Andrea Louie takes up the argument by Portes et al (ibid) that "a study that begins with the history and activities of individuals is the most efficient way of learning about the institutional underpinnings of transnationalism and its structural effects" by looking at how discourses of Chineseness under different structures shape these Chinese-American identities.

Andrea Louie focuses on the networks forged with the nation of ancestral origin, or transnational relations. These transnational relations tend to assert newly found counter-power in the nation of arrival (Ong 1999; Schiller 1999). In both diaspora and migration studies, the power born out of transnational relations draws "a renewed focus on the meanings of place and territory within transnational contexts" (Dirlik 1999, quoted in Andrea Louie 2001: 345). She answers Schiller's (1999) call to further unpack a range of forms of identification with places and how they change over time and across generations as sources constructing place-based identities.

Furthermore, in an attempt to re-territorialize transnationalism and counter the undifferentiated celebration of new border-crossing identities (Appadurai 1996; Clifford 1997), Andrea Louie calls for a 'closer examination of transnational processes'. She pays special attention to how the Chinese American youth mediate the meanings of place and territory in transnational contexts. Her work explores how old conceptions of roots, routes, ancestral native places and homelands change in the transnational turn of diaspora studies and migration studies. This includes how the roots-searching program facilitates the second- and multi-generation Chinese American youths' negotiation of their relationships with their ancestral roots and places in the transnational field of both China and the US. She examines discourses of native land attachments, national belonging, allegiance, race, nation and culture mobilized by the youths to make sense of their ancestral place, as well as feelings and sentiments elicited in their imagined and actual construction of the ancestral place.

Her work is ground breaking in that she theorizes Chineseness more as a transnational and historical construction than a state structure. She outlines historically built Chineseness in Chinese nationalist discourse that equates Chineseness with race and national identity; in socialist narratives that see Chineseness as overseas Chinese's attachment to hometowns; and, in post-socialist official and popular discourses which relate Chineseness to patriotism towards mainland China (2004:51). Chineseness as a cultural category, that is, where all racially Chinese people share the same Chinese culture, becomes a new endeavour to buttress transnational nationalism by both Chinese nationals and Chinese diasporas. It is within these discourses that overseas Chinese are attached to the label of

Chineseness which implies the racial and cultural sameness and unquestioned allegiance to China. In the US, Chineseness has been indistinguishably used as ethnicity, as culture and as an inescapable part of identity work on the overseas Chinese subject.

Andrea Louie uses the framework 'place-based identity' to explore American-born Chinese youths' transnational experiences and negotiations of Chineseness as the focus of their Chinese-American identities. Andrea Louie situates her investigation of 'place-based identity' in the transnational social field. From this, the experience and negotiation of Chineseness, as a mixture of ethnicity, race, culture and difference, becomes the major transnational structure under examination.

I find Andrea Louie's focus on one structure—Chineseness—important but insufficient. As Levitt and Schiller point out, when "society differs from polity and is made up of sets of social relationships in intersecting and overlapping national and transnational social fields, individuals occupy different gender, racial, and class positions within different states at the same time" (2004: 1015). Therefore, we need to look at the structural placement of migrants in their country of destination. Levitt and Schiller propose five emerging perspectives, including the effect of "migration on gender hierarchies and racialized identities; family dynamics; the significance of nation-states, membership and citizenship; and the role of religion" (ibid: 1014).

Andrea Louie's theorization of Chinese subject—contemporary Guangdong Chinese—is a highlight. She theorizes Guangdong Chinese identities as 'transnational', treating Guangdong as a 'transnational space' brought about by the Cantonese-diaspora-driven capitalist economy or capitalism which can be termed as 'alternative modernity' (Ong 1997b), by its opening attitude to diasporic media especially those from Hong Kong, as a long-standing immigrant hometown. She uses Bourdieu's 'symbolic capital' to refer to overseas Chinese's mobility, foreign citizenship, access to information and goods, and economic position, suggesting that Guangdong Chinese rethink their place in China and the world because economic reform has brought China as a major player into the competition of global capitalism. The layers of overseas Chinese's symbolic capital 'have gradually been stripped away' as Guangdong Chinese hold their own form of 'China-centered non-

Western cultural capital' coming out of the self-reliance confidence and a sense of agency (2004:132). Andrea Louie also documents Guangdong Chinese's increasing affordability of mobility and consuming goods. I think Andrea Louie's alternative approach to theorizing contemporary Chinese, rather than through Orientalist or postcolonial lenses is particularly useful in guiding and shaping my conceptual frameworks on Chinese international students.

It is worth mentioning that Andrea Louie's participants are a highly selective group. The selection criteria include age cohort, Cantonese descent and a long family genealogy in particular villages in Guangdong Province. Therefore, her work on American-born youth of Chinese heritage cannot represent all Chinese American youths' experience.

In addition, Wimmer and Schiller (2003) point out three distinct versions of transnationalism in migration studies: prior to WWII, between WWII and the Cold War (1945-1989) and the Post Cold War era (1990 onwards). In each phase, the connotations of race, ethnicity and national identity in the US state discourses of migrants are different. Although this historical classification cannot be fully applied to the Australian context, the Cold War ideology (socialism or capitalism) definitely involves China and Chinese at home and abroad. Andrea Louie's participants grew up under Cold War rhetoric. Post-Cold War ideologies and China's embrace of capitalism and transformation by globalization constitute new geopolitical dynamics and, therefore, serve as a warrant for my work to investigate mid-90s born Chinese-background youth.

2.2.3 Debates of the field and cross-fertilization with migration studies

Both migration and diaspora studies are concerned with how to research children of immigrants in specific nation-states within the transnational moment. They ask the same question: how powerless will nation-states, as dominant sociological entities, be rendered by transnationalism? Andrea Louie's work attends to the gap between the focus on diasporic identities in diaspora studies and the focus of migration studies on new second generations. Her cultural anthropology approach to American-born youth of Chinese heritage provides a nuanced, detailed description of

the identity construction process, finally putting the central focus back onto the subject itself.

However, despite pointing out that the study of Chinese American identities tend to be locked into the framework of identity politics, Andrea Louie does not offer a way out of this vicious circle that prioritizes Chineseness as the identity. How can we break the minority label of the second generation Chinese youth? Work on both minority youth and mainstream youth shows promise in leading the study of Chinese background youth out of the ethnic/diasporic trap. I will come to this point in section 2.4 in this chapter.

Migration studies' approach to transnationality looks at transnational connections in physical transnational space and ignores global cultural flows (Appadurai 1996) and the impact on immigrants' identity construction. Andrea Louie's work not only attends to the transnational field of 'here' and 'there', but also to the effect of cultural globalization. Transnationalism and globalization, therefore, are two theoretical frameworks that need to be addressed in my own study of Chinese international students and Australian-born youths of Chinese heritage.

2.3 Transnational studies of international/immigrant students

There is a body of literature that researches international students from the field of the internationalization of education, and the majority of the literature focuses on the Higher Education sector. But, international students, as a transnationally mobile group, are also attracting attention from transnational studies and being addressed through transnational conceptual frameworks (eg. Findlay et al 2012; Waters and Brooks 2011a).

One major theme in this literature engages with 'the implications of emergent international or transnational spaces for education and learning' (Waters and Brooks 2011c: 156). Some work (Ball 2010; Brooks and Everett 2008; Brooks and Waters 2011; Findlay et al 2012; Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Rizvi 2005; Waters 2005, 2006, 2009; Waters and Brooks 2011a) examines how international students or immigrant students make overseas educational choices to facilitate their class reproduction that may go transnational and their class or social identity construction within the new

educational setting. Overseas/transnational/ international education is theorized as 'elite' space for advantage reproduction. This advantage reproduction is also associated with geographical mobilities, for example, such mobility is theorized as the 'habitus' of the elite (King et al 2011: 259).

Other studies look, instead, at students' everyday cultural experiences of transnationality or globalization to understand their cultural practices (Findlay et al 2012; Kenway and Bullen 2003; Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Singh and Doherty 2008; Waters 2006, 2008; Waters and Brooks 2011) and their construction and negotiation of contextualized discourses of 'international student' and 'international education' (Koehne 2005, 2006; Devos 2003; Mathews and Sidhu 2005).

A body of work from the field of the internationalization of education examines how international students negotiate discourses of international education in the Australian context[5] (Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Devos 2003; Koehne 2005, 2006). Mathews and Sidhu (2005) look at how these discourses in Australian state schools intersect with postcolonial constructs of race and ethnicity that seep into international students' Australian schooling experiences. In particular, they draw attention to international students' experiential interpretations of racism as reflected in international student stereotypes, as well as tensioned and complex relationships between international and local students and between international students and teachers. They argue that the economic, political and cultural changes associated with globalization do not automatically give rise to international students' 'supra-territorial forms of subjectivity'. Their research suggests that schools tend to privilege 'narrowly instrumented' cultural capital, thus perpetuating and sustaining 'normative' national and ethnic identities along cultural lines.

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[5] Work on the internationalization of education is so relatively developed in the Australian context, compared to other Anglophone countries. There are many reasons behind this: firstly, the location of Australia in Asia attracts a large number of Asian international students. Secondly, tuition fees in Australia are more competitive to those in the UK and other overseas study destinations. Thirdly, Australia attracts more international students due to its agreeable climate.

Similarly, Devos (2003: 164) captures historically and spatially contextualized 'othering' practices in Australia's paradoxical media representations of incoming international students, as both 'valuable' in a revenue sense and as subjects of 'contempt', from their lack of Australian cultural capital such as English language skills, compared to local students.

In a different vein, Koehne's (2005, 2006) work on international students in higher education examines international students' self-representation within discourses of the internationalization of education, by putting these students into discourses of consumers of Australian education. This opens another vantage point of empirical investigation, which has a resemblance with Kenway and Bullen's (2001) exploration of the relationship between school and students within discourses of the cultural logic of late capitalist Australia.

The discourses identified in the internationalization of education field shape international students' experiences, add new content to their identity work and open the avenue for theorizing the intercultural or cosmopolitan potential of students. A body of Australian-based research makes a great effort to bring methodological contributions to this line of theorization (Kenway and Bullen 2003; Marginson 2009; Rizvi 2005; Singh and Doherty 2008). Kenway and Bullen (2003), using a global conceptual framework, look at the intersection of race and gender in their exploration of international women postgraduate students' intercultural experience. Likewise, Marginson (2009) heeds the cosmopolitan dimension of international students' identity. Drawing on Rizvi's (2005, 2008) de-territorialized notion of culture as the process of becoming in the cultural/identity duet and Stuart Hall's (2002) 'vernacular cosmopolitanism', he proposes that international students' experience should be interpreted in an active process of self-formation, where the students, exerting agentic forces, manage their own biographical records in their sojourns. Singh and Doherty (2008) employ liquid modernity (Bauman 2000) to refer to the geographic transnational field that overseas study substantiates. They use culture-in-travel (Clifford 1997) to deconstruct the 'established' conceptual tools of culture, cultural difference and fixed cultural identities of adult students. These methodological endeavours and theorizations of identity and self open up the

possibility to examine international students' cultural identities by situating international students in multi-cultural rather than mono-cultural contexts.

Similar methodological endeavors have also been found in other research based in Anglophone countries. Waters (2005, 2006, 2009) engages with a set of transnational frameworks to investigate the links between transnational strategies of educational choice, immigration and class making. Waters and Brooks (2011a, 2011b) and Findlay et al (2012) extend the international student group, that used to be taken for granted as non-Western students from less privileged countries, to include British students who travel overseas and study in Ivy League universities and other elite universities around the world. Class-making and projects of self-making for both non-Western and Western youth seem to be released from national confines, as these mobile students make transnational journeys for educational purposes and accordingly, harbor transnational self-imaginings.

Ball (2010) pushes this transnational approach further, arguing for a methodological shift in researching these transnationally mobile students. He urges scholars to think beyond using bounded notion of the nation state as the unit of analysis. He adopts Beck's (2002) 'cosmopolitan sociology', in an endeavor to theorize these students' class formation and class-making that are directly linked to international educational choices.

2.4 Youth research in the cultural sociology of education

I will bring the insights I draw from these three broad fields of study I have highlighted above to my target field of research: the cultural sociology of education. The literature to be reviewed in this section retains its focus on ethnic/diapora Chinese. It also includes a small body of literature on ethnic and school students in Australia.

But, it is worth mentioning that the youth researched in this field by no means refers to a homogeneous group of young people. Rather, categorical labels such as minority ethnic or diasporic, 'mainstream', non-Western and Western are attached to it. I am engaging with this field by reorienting the study to young people with a Chinese background—Chinese minority youth in Australia and Chinese-born international

students in Australia. Above all, I want to initiate a methodological discussion and methodological cross-fertilization by bringing different perspectives to this field: how do we research Chinese-background youth under the categorical Western, non-Western, minority or 'mainstream' labels that imply varying methodological stances and trajectories in the social sciences?

2.4.1 'Chinese' in Anglophone countries as subjects of investigation

Under the rubric of diasporic or ethnic minority Chinese, the major work I review is by Louise Archer and colleagues (Archer and Francis 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007; Archer, Francis and Mau 2009, 2010) on British-Chinese students' identity construction and schooling experiences.

Archer and Francis' studies (2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007) focus on identities, inequalities and education among Chinese-British students from a feminist perspective. This literature explores the British-Chinese young people's identities in relation to class (Archer and Francis 2007, 2006), gender (Archer 2007; Archer and Francis 2007, Archer and Francis 2005a, Francis and Archer 2005a), race and racism (Archer and Francis 2007, 2005b), and ethnicity (Archer 2008; Archer, Francis and Mau 2010; Francis, Archer and Mau 2009) both within normal school settings and within ethnic language schools. They examine how these structural inequalities—race/ethnicity, gender and class—impact their schooling experience which shapes their raced-gendered-and-classed student identities (Archer and Francis 2007).

They look at how race, gender and class play a role in the engagement of British-Chinese young people (aged 14-16, second and third generation Hong Kong immigrants) with education and how they form their aspirations about their future. They argue that youthful aspirations are not just personal: rather, structural inequalities and diasporic cultural identity discourses also intervene in what young people see as possible and achievable.

In parallel with debates about the 'ethnic thesis of academic success' in the US-based migration studies (Ogbu 1974), this body of work (Archer 2008; Archer and Francis 2007) also scrutinizes the high-achiever-Chinese discourses as understood and interpreted by teachers, Chinese parents and students. Other parallel attention

has been paid to the diasporic dimension of students' identities. Drawing on another study of Chinese background youth whom they recruit in Chinese language schools in the UK, Archer and her colleagues (2009, 2010) closely examine the British-Chinese students' negotiations of identity in relation to diaspora, Chineseness and Chinese knowledge as to the utility of Chinese language schools. I will come back to this point later.

Overall, they explore the British-Chinese students' schooling experience in relation to racism, gender and class. They take up Bourdieu's theories of social class to analyze the 'reproduction of classed inequalities', which adopts 'a cultural mode of analysis' (Skeggs 2004) to produce understandings of class in terms of habitus (Bourdieu 1984). Their research suggests that working-class British-Chinese students do not follow the Bourdieusian model of class reproduction nor are keen on working-class jobs. Instead, these students rely on education as a means to achieve their 'middle-class' aspirations for their future. This 'discrepancy' between their actual class positioning and their class aspirations is interpreted as Chineseness. This Chineseness is further theorized as embedded in 'a discourse of valuing education' as part of the British Chinese's class-less 'collective habitus', and as a strategic reaction towards parental economic or social hardships endured in the migration experience (Archer and Francis 2006, 2007).

Archer and Francis' analysis of British-Chinese youth's racist experience is informed by Stuart Hall's (1992) notion of 'new ethnicities' under Thatcherism, a post-colonial notion of 'Other' (Said 1978; Spivak 1987; Bhabha 2001) and discourses of diasporic/minority stereotypes in the popular cultural sphere of schooling (Rattansi 1992). They point out that some Chinese-background female students strategically stick to ethnic stereotypes such as 'being shy and quiet' to fend off racism. That racist encounters compel some students to excel in academic performance echoes some research findings (eg. Vivian Louie 2004).

They draw on critical feminist scholarship (hooks 1982; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992) to explore the Chinese background youth's gendered identities as fused together with racism, in particular, and class. Their findings show the "passive, quiet

and repressed" femininities and "feminized and soft" masculinities among the British-Chinese youth that are fed by racialized discourses of Chinese identities.

The work of Archer and Francis very adequately delivers their intention to look at how structural factors impact on British-Chinese youths' schooling experiences and academic performance. They depict how situated race-ness, gender-ness and class-ness shape these students' school life. However, there are some questions arising out of their work. First, as they emphasize the intricate interactions of classed, gendered, and raced identities of the British-Chinese youth, which counts more, or which is the most salient experience in these youths' identity construction? And, how should scholars communicate their theorizations of diasporic and social identities of 'ethnic Chinese' youth in this complicated intersection of race, gender and class?

Archer and Francis (2006, 2007) have insightfully pointed out that 'classifying' the Chinese background students in class categories without considering the intersection of ethnicity is problematic. However, they somewhat fail to see class as a 'foundational category of political and social life' challenged in a number of quarters such as neoliberalism, the restructured market and new socio-cultural configurations (Ball 2003; McLeod and Yates 2008). In addition, their analysis of British-Chinese students, from an intersection of ethnicity/race, gender and class perspectives, tends to focus on an ethnicized dimension or, a 'cultural mode' of class rationalities of diasporic Chinese families.

It is worth mentioning that Archer and Francis' (2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007) earlier work on British-Chinese students focuses solely on their schooling experiences in 'mainstream' schools, where the students' social identities are the priority of their theorizations. In contrast, the students' diasporic identities are not actively explored and their diasporic background is not considered by these researchers as a structural constraint associated with the students' experiences of racism. It is only in Archer, Francis, and Mau's later work (2009, 2010) in which they draw on another study of British-Chinese students recruited from Chinese language schools, that the question of diasporic identities has been raised and the Chineseness discourses re-thought and probed.

This is an interesting point. Actually, it manifests the epistemological dilemma encountered by those who study and theorize diasporic youth identities within the field of the sociology of education. Deep down, it stirs the basic questions about diasporic background youth from a cultural sociology of education perspective: what is their 'social' and what is their 'cultural'? How are they different from those of their counterparts, their fellow 'mainstream' youth?

2.4.2 Ethnic minority or diasporic youth study in Anglophone countries

UK-based global ethnographies of minority youth (Nayak 2003; Nayak and Kehily 2008) adopt the notion of 'place-specific analysis of youth identities' that brings together historical and cultural approaches to the study of diasporic youth. They draw on cultural globalization theses to understand and theorize the wider cultural choices and extended scope of everyday experiences made available to ethnic minority youths, with a less obvious presence of structural factors and more focus on agential cultural 'creolizations'.

In the meanwhile, there is more focus on postcolonial notions of race, racism, and ethnicity (Nayak 2003; Nayak and Kehily 2008). This makes race/ethnicity/diaspora a global/postcolonial construct. That Blackness, African-ness and Latin-ness have 'gone global' has been documented by numerous scholars (eg. Kelly 2008; Maria and Soep 2004; Valdivia 2008).

It is still prevalent in the postcolonial approach to diasporas to situate them in 'sutured' (Hall 1996) and 'ruptured modernities'(Gilroy 1993), or the disrupted socio-cultural alignment preserved in the nation-state unit of society. How do we understand and theorize this suturing through the perspectives of globalization? This postcolonial approach has been reworked by Mercer with a postmodern notion of postcolonial, diasporic identity "imbricated in Western modes and codes". She argues that the question is not about "the expression of some lost origin or some uncontaminated essence [but] the collision of cultures and histories that constitutes the very condition of our existence" (Mercer 1994: 63, quoted in Kenway and Bullen 2001). Still, the question remains: in which modernity should I situate my study of Chinese diasporic youth? I will elaborate on my engagement with the notion of modernity in Chapter 3 (Chapter 3, section 3.1.2).

The perspective of transnational diaspora studies and its emphasis on the co-existence of 'here' and 'there' (Clifford 1997) further complicate the question of modernity. This co-existence makes diasporic youth all the more unable to fit neatly into the sociological theorizations of identities bounded by and based in the nation-state notion of the 'social'. The time-space compression of globalization renders the co-existence of 'here' and 'there' even more complicated in terms of society/modernity alignment. I shall come back to this point later.

2.4.3 Research on youth at school in Australia

I return to the research on youth at school using insights from a global perspective, paying particular attention to the 'institutional local'—school discourses and student identity construction within the context of Australia.

School as an institution that exerts governmentality has been widely theorized. Numerous studies explore minority youths' schooling experience in relation to their minority status or ethnicity, where multiple discourses are located and scrutinized (Mathews 2002; McLeod and Yates 2003, 2006; Mansouri and Trembath 2005; Tsolidis 2006). Mathews (2002) explores how stereotypical ethnic success discourses about Asians contribute to Asian-background students' racialized schooling experience. Tsolidis (2006) probes the discourses of race and ethnicity prevalent in student subcultures and subcategories in a public school in Melbourne. Different epistemological approaches have been employed by scholars to tackle minority students' race-based structural experiences within the context of schooling. McLeod and Yates draw on the notion of Whiteness (Hage 1998) and national belonging (Ang 1998) to explore race matters. Tsolidis (2006), in contrast, avoids the discussion of belonging. Instead, she uses terminologies like minority, immigrant and citizenship to legitimize their membership in, and ownership of, multicultural Australia.

Discourses of race, ethnicity and minority sometimes go beyond national levels. For example, global discourses of terrorists and dubious multiculturalism discourses work together to shape minority students as raced-nationed-religioned subjects (Mansouri and Trembath 2005). They discuss the social and cultural dimensions of the educational experiences of Arab-Australian secondary school students. They

examine how Arab-Australian students and their families understand and construct their own social and educational experiences in relation to the school's initiatives of multiculturalism as well as the global terrorists discourses that implicate the Arabs.

These discourses are invaluable constructs for me to understand the minority/majority relations in Australian secondary schools. However, two points need to be highlighted here. Firstly, it must be noted that such discourses of race, ethnicity and minority status change with time. New initiatives keep coming forward and new vernacular forms emerge. As Harris (2010) correctly points out, multicultural rhetoric within secondary schooling in Australia has given way to state-propagated policies of social cohesion and inclusive education.

Secondly, along with attention to discourses about diasporic youth, Kenway and Bullen's *Consuming Children* (2001) also draws me to the broad socio-cultural change by which schools and students—diasporic or not— are implicated. They clearly situate their studies of youth in Australia in the late 1990s, using the notion of consumer-media culture and neoliberal logics to scrutinize the relationship between school, students and education. They offer a lens through which students and schools become consumers/customers and the entrepreneurial entity, respectively. Their re-interpretation of student-school relationships through neoliberal logics more than a decade ago is still applicable today in the global turn of studies of youth which has been incorporated into the cultural sociology of education.

The school is not simply a social site but a cultural site as well (eg. Pollock 2008). There are ongoing debates as to how much they are cultural and how much structural in theorizing youth. Studies of youth transitions and studies of youth cultures are two inseparable components of youth research. In the cultural sociology of education, there is an emphasis on culture as an important and indispensible analytical tool that intersects with the 'social' to shape youthful selves.

2.4.4 Minority youth? Mainstream youth? The global turn of youth research

Actually, the distinction between who is 'mainstream' and who is 'diasporic' or 'ethnic' is becoming methodologically blurred as the multi-ethnic composition of

participants is becoming a more inevitable and inescapable feature in recent empirical research by Australian education scholars.

Tsolidis's (2006) school-based ethnography recruits focus group members from a range of backgrounds, including diasporic, immigrant, Asian and mainstream categories. She uses 'liquid modernity' and Lacanian notion of identities to investigate the relationship between student identities and student subcultures/subcategories within the schooling site. Participants in McLeod and Yates' longitudinal study (2006) includes students of Asian background (both East Asian and South Asian) where they employ Giddens' notion of the reflexive self-identity in late modernity to understand youthful identities in relation to class and gender. Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody's piece, *Masculinity Beyond Metropolis* (2006), captures 'Greek' masculinities that dominate ways of being boys at a particular time in a certain school. What do these theoretical endeavors and the changing population landscapes mean for researching second or multi-generation ethnic/diasporic minorities in Western countries?

The global turn of youth has been captured by research investigating the interplay of the personal, local, national and global in the identity work of young people with a focus on youth's cultural (and gendered) ways (Kenway and Bullen 2001, 2003; Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody 2006). Some are exploring the impact of globalization on the construction of youthful identities that goes beyond the schooling sites (Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody 2006; Dolby and Rizvi 2008, Maria and Soep 2004, Nilan and Feixa 2006). McLeod (2009: 270) concludes that the field of the cultural sociology of education demands that "young people's identities and lives today be understood with reference to global phenomena and frameworks, and in terms of how they negotiate and are formed in the intersection of local and global contexts". The implications of the global turn have brought about changes in theoretical frameworks, giving rise to the question of the re-construction of the youth's 'social' and 'cultural'.

This global process manifested in its local (social) form will definitely impact on youth—diasporic or not. A case in point is Demerath and Lynch's (2008) focus on US middle-to-upper class youth's neoliberal, entrepreneurial mode of self-identity,

which is shaped by the globalization of capitalism. As Australia also experiences the same global process of job-market re-structuring, the entrepreneurial technologies of the self emerge (Kenway, Bullen, Fahey and Robb 2006).

This whole body of extended literature is mobilized in my comparison with the study of Chinese background youths in epistemological and theoretical discussions. It informs me of the major approaches to theorizations of the Chinese background subject in Australia and in other English-speaking countries. It also alerts me to the implications of globalization on youthful identities and education (Apple, Kenway and Singh 2005). In particular, it draws me to the importance of the global/local nexus as a major theoretical framework in youth research (Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody 2006).

Overall, except the work by Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody (2006), there is not much critique of the nation-state bounded society as an analytical unit. Notions of liquid modernity, cosmopolitanism and risk society have been employed to refer to western societies under the impact of globalization, such as Australia and the UK.

To sum up, what implications do these global-related 'realities' and theoretical frameworks have for the Chinese diasporic youth? The study of the Chinese diaspora, as Clifford (1997) points out, needs not employ a postcolonial perspective, due to alternative socio-historical circumstances associated with the historicity of China. How, then, shall I situate China in the social sciences in terms of society, modernity and culture?

2.5 Critiques and warrant for this study

So far, I've outlined the broad relationship between society and culture and its implications for subject formation under the impact of globalization. Although methodological nationalism has been under attack from many quarters of research interests, the central line of self theorization is still on the relationship between blurred notions of society (versions of modernity) and culture permeated and penetrated by the force of globalization. There is focus on the interface of ruptured modernities associated with globalization. However, the alignment between society, culture, modernity and self in Western sociology is not strongly challenged. Nor has,

what I call, methodological Westernism, a methodological dichotomy erected between Western and non-Western societies, cultures, modernities and subjects, been seriously engaged with. How shall I theorize a Chinese subject, for example, who is implicated in the processes of globalization and transnationality? Can the postcolonial conceptualization of 'ruptured modernities' be used to capture the border-blurring processes a Chinese subject is traversing?

I think not. If the global stands for Western, or the 'scapes' of the global north, what does the local, for instance, China represent? It is yet to be known how China is implicated in globalizing forces. A better understanding of China today as both a 'society' and a 'social' is similarly necessary. The need, therefore, arises to rethink the notions and application of socialism, post-socialism to China as a social entity, and the theoretical and epistemological changes and shifts from Cold War social sciences to post-Cold War, and de-Cold War social sciences (Chen 2008), with a focus on China studies, in particular.

Overall, in the literature on Chinese background youth there is certainly a lack of understanding of and reference to post-Cold-War China studies with a focus on sociology (Zhang 2001; Liu 1996; Rofel 2007; Wang 2004; Zhang and Ong 2008; Croll 2006). How do we understand China as a social category, in terms of culture, modernity, its residual socialism and the disjunctured, emerging neo-ideologies? These are indispensible components if we want to understand and theorize in a serious way the Chinese youthful subjects born in the mid-1990s.

The drawing on of contemporary China studies will facilitate engagement with the larger debates around the de-Cold War of social sciences and bring these thoughts and contributions to the study of youthful subjects, ultimately to initiate a more robust comparative approach to youth subject theorizations. Still, I need to pay special attention to avoiding the pitfalls when drawing on a global lens. Questions of modernities and culture cannot be taken for granted in a transnationally comparative study of youth under two social categories. I will draw on Ong (2009) to challenge methodological nationalism and also to engage with uneven globalizing processes.

As for the study of Chinese diasporic/ethnic/minority youth and Chinese international students (mid-teens), there is no study to date that seriously and exclusively focuses on their social and personal identities and the question of selfhood. There is no research on Chinese diasporic youth in the global north using a socio-cultural analysis of youth in Australia. There is no work to date that examines the family and high-fee independent school as bases of Chinese background youth's life contexts, under the call for new times featured by transnational mobilities, flows and new geopolitical dynamics. Against these backdrops, for a comparative study of Chinese background youth in Australia, first and foremost, what is their 'social' and what is their 'cultural'? These are new concerns that I will bring to the cultural sociology of education.

I propose a comparative approach in researching Chinese international students' experiences of identity-in-mobility. A comparative approach calls for a synchronic comparison, and accordingly, sensitivity to the historical period or era of nation-states. It also calls for sensitivity to terminologies (eg. culture, class), which have socio-context connotations and cannot be treated as universally applicable in the era of globalization. In contrast to the existent contemporary research on Western youth, or youth from the global north, there are big gaps in the existent literature on Chinese background youth in relation to approaches, methodologies and subjects of inquiry. In terms of empirical foci, there is no research to date (in the field of cultural sociology of education as well as in diaspora studies, on Chinese background mid-teen youth in Australia) that investigates this group's cultural ways, moorings and its linkage to their career imaginations.

Generally speaking, I engage my study with the broad debates in the cultural sociology of education that highlights "the importance of culture to the sociological enterprise" and the "mutually implicated, intersected and constituted" forces of "culture, social life and social institutions" (Hall, Grindstuff and Lo 2010: 2). In my study of Chinese background youth in Australia, first and foremost, what is their social and what is their cultural? How can I capture the situated and interrelated social and cultural under the influences of globalization and transnationality? How shall I theorize contemporary youthful identities from a transnational/comparative perspective?

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I have offered a literature review on Chinese background youth from four fields of research—migration and diaspora studies, transnational study of international students (in conjunction with the internationalization of education) and the cultural sociology of education. By engaging with major debates about youthful identities, globalization, and transnationality, I have offered a discussion of the theoretical purchase of some dominant frameworks employed in the literature. I have highlighted problematic issues concerning studies of youth—methodological Westernism and methodological nationalism. In the next chapter, I will address these methodological concerns and bring the theoretical insights I extract from the literature to the cultural sociology of education, where I mainly locate my study of Chinese international students and Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry in the Australian context.

Chapter 3

Chinese Background School Students in Australia: Theories and Methods

Introduction

This study is situated within the 'cultural turn', which features two major shifts. These are the shift of attention from a collective notion of culture in the culture/nation-state duet to an individualized culture in the culture/identity duet (Willis 1990), and the shift from high culture to 'common culture' (Featherstone 1995; Jameson 1988; Willis 1990). This 'cultural turn' destabilizes the nation-state notion of culture with its connotations of being and membership. Consequently, people are now placed at the centre of inquiry in relation to culture and are, thus, considered to be the producers of their individual culture.

Against that theoretical backdrop, this chapter draws on discussions and debates from three fields—sociology, cultural globalization and transnational studies—to initiate a theoretical cross-fertilization in the field of the cultural sociology of education. The central theme is: how do we theorize a youthful self of non-Western background or, more specifically, Chinese background, in the era of global assemblages? Through the notion of 'global assemblage', this chapter critiques and challenges methodological nationalism, or the practice of naturalizing the bounded notion of 'society' or the nation-state as an analytical unit in social sciences.

By using the term 'non-Western', this chapter also heeds *methodological Westernism* in the form of the West/rest division in the social sciences. The field of social sciences, originating in the 'West', establishes itself in its specific, nation-state bounded history of colonialism and imperialism and, matures in the Cold War context (Chen 2008). This is not to say that there is no universal value of this field itself. Rather, my whole thesis is based on questioning the legitimacy attached to the 'universal appeal' of Western social sciences and, consequently, the practice wherein

Western social sciences function as a universal frame of reference within which the discussion of any non-Western societies or subjects must engage.

Therefore, the central foci of this chapter is on how the processes of globalization and transnationality challenge the West/rest divide, the nation-state as the taken-for-granted unit of analysis and, most importantly, how these processes offer new formulae to theorize youthful projects of self-making.

This chapter initially introduces the implications of global and transnational perspectives for sociology in relation to the notions of culture and modernity and how these lenses challenge methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism. I then explain how, by linking these challenges to the culture/self formula and drawing heavily on the work of Ong (1999; 2009), I employ global assemblages, a geography of forces, culture/power duet and mediation as my major theoretical frameworks. I also set my own line of theorization with a focus on the *self/geography* nexus. The chapter closes by introducing the methods, the site and the profiles of participants of this study.

3.1 Perspectives on globalization and transnationality

How do processes of globalization and transnationality challenge the culture/self duet? I raise two broad methodological problematics, methodological Westernism and methodological nationalism, in answering this question.

The term 'global', according to Featherstone, "suggests all-inclusiveness, along with a certain finitude and limit. It brings to mind connectivity, "that space has somehow been shrunk, as we find in the popular phrase 'we are all in each other's back yard'" (2006:387). Globalization makes national borders porous and de-territorializes nation-states as bounded entities, into which media, capital, technology, migrating populations and ideas flow rapidly and in great volume from the rest of the world (Appadurai 1996).

Appadurai (1996) links these flows and explores their implications for culture. He uses 'global cultural economy' to refer to the multi-dimensional nature of cultural flows which de-territorialize nation-states' bounded notion of culture. Actually,

globalization is not the only factor that stretches the notion of the nation-state culture. Before globalization became *the* word, Featherstone (1995) observes, cultural flows in the form of commodities into Western societies already gave rise to the difficulty of containing culture in the frame of the nation-state, straining the alignment between culture and class in social theories.

Globalization draws attention back to the concept of nation-state culture, and relies on the construction of this bounded idea of the nation-state as a salient contrast or difference to global culture. The nation-state culture thus becomes "disembedded, deterritorialized, highly differentiated and segmented" (Waters 1995, quoted in Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody 2006: 24). Culture becomes less a bounded entity and more of a resource as increasing 'parts' of culture are drawn into global capitalist market relations. It is argued that cultural difference is commercialised as people consume 'a smorgasbord of cultures' (San Juan, quoted in Hutnyk 2006: 354). Indisputably, the nation-state notion of culture is becoming 'slippery'. Hutnyk adeptly draws attention to the complexity that culture renders in the intricacies of people's identity work,

> Culture is both playground and commodity; it is the refined and profound, mundane and extreme. Culture is simultaneously crossed by identity, tradition and change; resource, bulwark, contest…. We live in it, are soaking in it (ibid: 357).

3.1.1 Challenging methodological nationalism

Besides the debates regarding the implications of cultural globalization on how culture is to be understood and framed in the social sciences, issues of globalization, Beck maintains, are becoming part of everyday 'local experiences' and the 'moral life-worlds' of the people (2002: 17). Beck argues that globalization not only changes "the relation between and beyond national states and societies ('interconnectedness') but the inner quality of the social and political itself" as well (ibid: 23). Globalization as 'global–local dialectics' (Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody 2006) or 'glocalization' (Robertson 1995) happens not 'out there', but 'in here'. And, Beck observes, "the sphere of experience…is *glocal*" (2002: 31). The global-local nexus thus constitutes the cultural fabric in a geographical place within a nation-state society. Beck further proposes that "the national has to be rediscovered as the internalized global" (ibid: 23).

Given that, argues Beck, globalization is not an additive but a substitutive aspect of the nation-state society which, accordingly, invites 'a new space of sociological imagination'. Beck claims that normal social sciences categories are becoming "living dead" categories and blind the social sciences to the rapidly changing realities in and out of the nation-state. To move beyond the nation-state bounded notion of society seen as the power container of 'the social', he puts forward a cosmopolitan sociology to capture the glocal sphere of experience. Besides, Beck makes his cosmopolitan sociology more inclusive of alternative ways of life and rationalities. A cosmopolitan sociology, he maintains, is more open to oppositions from outside the society. He particularly stresses that 'the logic' of the cosmopolitan sociology "signifies its thinking and living in terms of *inclusive oppositions* and rejects the logic of exclusive oppositions" (2002: 19). He also proposes to revisit the role of the notion of Western modernity in social sciences, which I will elaborate on later.

To sum up, Beck's cosmopolitanization thesis is a methodological endeavour which helps overcome methodological nationalism and builds a frame of reference to analyse the new social conflicts, dynamics and structures in global times within Western societies. Therefore, it is an epistemological shift to correspond to this ontological shift. However, Beck's cosmopolitan sociology interprets globalization from a purely cultural perspective by putting cultural forces in the form of negotiation at the centre of analysis, while reducing in importance the forces of the political, the economic, the scientific and the social.

Talking from a transnational vantage point, Wimmer and Schiller (2003: 576) argue against 'methodological nationalism' or "the naturalization of the global regime of nation states by the social sciences". They further identify three variants of methodological nationalism as:

> 1) Ignoring or disregarding the fundamental importance of nationalism for modern societies. 2) naturalization, or taking for granted that the boundaries of the nation-state delimit and define the unit of analysis, 3) territorial limitation, that confines the study of social processes to the political and geographic boundaries of a particular nation-state (ibid: 578).

These three variants, they argue, "may intersect and mutually reinforce each other, forming a coherent epistemic structure, a self-reinforcing way of looking at and describing the social world" (ibid). Their transnational perspective challenges methodological nationalism in an attempt to reformulate 'the social'. It reconsiders the relationship between the "territorialized" nation state and the "de-territorialized" life world of transnationality. They maintain that diasporas and people in mobility are embedded in multiple national settings, where not only power relations are a transnational construct but, as Levitt and Schiller (2004:1003) point out, "basic assumptions about disciplining structures—of family, community, and nation-state as well need to be revisited".

Levitt and Schiller (ibid: 1008) proceed to critique Beck's 'formulation of reflexive cosmopolitanization' that focuses on 'global media flows and consumerism' and the appearance of 'new form of consciousness', but fails to explore the social relations and the individual's situatedness in the de-territorialized 'social'. They challenge Beck in two ways :

> 1. Without a concept of the social, the relations of power and privilege exercised by social actors based within structures and organizations cannot be studied or analyzed.
> 2. By trying to move beyond methodological nationalism, much of this theory building neglects the continuing power of the nation-state (ibid).

Levitt and Schiller posit that people in multiple settings "come into contact with the regulatory powers and the hegemonic culture of more than one state" (ibid: 1013). They extend Bourdieu's notion of the 'social field' from the boundaries of the nation-state to a "transnational social field", to draw attention to "multiple loci and layers of power" embedded in such a field. They propose a new theoretical framework of 'dual units of analysis' or, 'simultaneity', to grapple with the layered power relations in this transnational social field, which I will come to later. Overall, their transnational perspective and critiques of sociology have epistemological significance for the social sciences generally and my study particularly.

3.1.2 Challenging methodological Westernism

Border-crossing flows and mobilities incurred by the processes of transnationality and globalization give rise to methodological Westernism. Two sociological

practices are drawn in this sociological problem. One is the alignment of the Western nation-state society with a historical notion of modernity which, according to Mandel (1975, quoted in Jameson 1984) is tied to different phases of capitalist development. The other is how this Western society/modernity nexus is used as a legitimate frame of reference against which to understand non-Western societies.

To start with, cultural globalization greatly impacts the nation-state bounded notion of modernity. Specifically, Beck points out that his 'methodological cosmopolitanism' challenges "the mono-logic national imagination of the social sciences" that assumed

> Western modernity is a universal formation and that the modernities of the non-Western others can be understood only in relation to the idealized Western model (2002: 22).

Likewise, Dirlik (2007) is also against the use of Western modernity as a universal frame of reference for non-Western societies. However, his vantage point differs. He captures the culturalist practice in the culture/modernity nexus, observing that the claims of 'modernity' from non-Western countries appear to focus on 'culturally different ways of being modern'. He thus argues that the cultural framing of modernities "within the boundaries of reified cultural entities" not only "nourishes off", but also consequently "legitimizes the most conservative cultural claims on modernity" (ibid: 82). It is these claims of alternative modernities against Eurocentric modernity, he continues to argue, that

> perpetuate the culturalist biases of Eurocentric modernization discourse, relegating to the background social and political differences that are the products of past legacies and specific modernity and that cut across national or civilizational boundaries (ibid: 81).

Strongly against the culturalist interpretation of Western modernity, Dirlik posits that modernity "is subject to debate within the cultural, civilizational, national or ethnic spaces" as its unit of analysis. He proceeds to define the notion of modernities in relation to globalization as a process in which "practices of contemporary capitalism have gone global" (ibid: 66). Focusing on the West/rest divide in terms of global north and global south, Dirlik observes that while the capitalist system is left intact as global capitalism proceeds, Western modernity is under attack. Because of

'modernity at large' in the globalization era, some 'third world regimes' claim alternative or multiple modernities against the Eurocentric version of modernity or, 'Eurocentric modernity'. Taking China as a case in point, Dirlik notes that capitalism gets de-centred in analysis in the global north, as China becomes a 'new centre of capitalist power' (ibid: 81).

Dirlik further suggests that there is no such thing as a Western, European or American modernity. Instead, he proposes the notion of 'modern discourses' rather than a fixed notion of Western or Eurocentric modernity, as "any historical modernity represents different mixtures of modern, pre-modern, or non-modern elements" (ibid: 77). He stresses that 'modern discourses' can better capture and represent all kinds of local varieties. Given that modernity is de-territorialized from its spatial associations and is globalized, Dirlik argues that discourses of modernity are thus 'transportable' across geographic or cultural boundaries.

In a different vein, Barlow (1993) de-dichotomizes the West/rest divide, arguing that modernity is not a historical stage of capitalist development but a cultural project. Stressing that the notion of 'modern society' is an 'ideological construct' by the process of global colonization, she regards modernization as the product of the US's Cold War discourses[6].

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[6] There are critiques of the modernity dichotomies between the West and the Rest from other quarters, too. An example is Schmidt's (2011) challenge of the substantial difference between Western modernity and East Asian modernity. Classifying Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan as exemplars of East Asian modernity and grouping the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy as representatives of Western modernity, Schmidt (ibid) examines the dichotomizing conceptualizations between Western modernity and East Asian modernity. He has employed both qualitative analyses and quantitative performance indicators, such as the Human Development Index (HDI), economic performance, political effectiveness, and education, science, research and development, and healthcare or social welfare of the nations, to scrutinize the differences between Western modernity and East Asian modernity. He claims that differences within the West, within East Asia and between the two regions signal "greater intra- than inter-regional divergence".

In the social sciences, theorizations of the self in the culture/self nexus remain intricately linked to the nation-state, culture and modernity in the rest divide. The debates and arguments I outline above, however, stretch the nation-state dominated, modernity/culture approach to theorizing the self. Above all, they highlight the epistemological and ontological dilemma regarding my study of a non-Western social category—Chinese international students—as subjects from Chinese 'society', but who choose to embark on a transnational journey to study in a 'Western' society, Australia. Furthermore, the challenges of both methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism inform my own research with regards to how to juggle the study of Chinese international students as a Chinese/non-Western social category and Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry as an Australian/Western social category under the rubric of non-Western, Chinese background youth.

Persuasive and insightful as these critiques of methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism are, they offer limited purchase for me to work on a set of frameworks that can heed the forces of globalization, transnationality and the nation-state. Beck's (2002) critiques and arguments are raised as the problematic of 'Western' sociology that fails in some way to understand the everyday experiences of non-Western subjects. That is, Beck's cosmopolitan sociology contributes to deconstructing the nation-state/culture duet mainly from a Western perspective. Therefore, we still need to see how this will affect or implicate theorizations of non-Western subjects.

Beck's work fails to address the question of how globalization impacts non-Western nation-states or the so-called global south. If there is a thing called 'global culture', Featherstone argues, it is better conceived as "a field in which differences, power struggles and power prestige are played out" (1995: 13-4). The flowed 'cultural' is by no means neutral, although the "strongly polysemic notion" of globalization has the "effect, if not the function, of submerging the effects of imperialism in cultural ecumenism or economic fatalism and of making transnational relationships of power appear as a neutral necessity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999: 42). Similarly, Tomlinson argues that the way that the cultural flows mainly from the West to the non-West raise concerns that the 'corrosive power' of globalization puts 'weaker cultures' of the developing world 'at risk' (2003: 269-270). This critical cultural

politics of globalization implies a question to which the answer seems obvious: whose culture has more capital in globalization? What are the implications of the de-territorialized nation-state culture for non-Western countries, as non-Western countries are increasingly and 'inevitably' involved in global cultural flows and the global capitalist system? How do we relate to the West/rest dichotomy in regard to bounded notion of nation-state culture?

Besides, Beck's challenge to methodological nationalism is based on globalization as a cultural force, neglecting other readings of the forces of globalization. While Levitt and Schiller (2004) are most insightful in pointing out Beck's non-structured approach to globalization in his cosmopolitan sociology, their vantage point is transnationality, or the foci of two nation-states, which falls short of an understanding of the forces of globalization by focusing solely on the structural emplacement of migrants. Even despite the fact that these scholars point out the necessity to move out of the social container theorization and propose some new tools for us to work with in the social sciences from their own specific fields of study, they do not show the way out of this methodological trap. Neither do they focus on subjects of 'Chinese' background.

Having said that, I argue for the need to initiate a theoretical dialogue that combines my comparative study of Chinese background youth under two social categories, with the key words, namely, globalization, transnationality and the project of self-making. Along with my every effort to avoid Chinese as the marker of race and ethnicity and to guard against the trap of race or ethnicity absolutism, I propose a set of frameworks that not only bring together the obviously different social categories to which both groups of students belong, but also attend to their varied Chinese, non-Western background as well as their varied degree of 'immersion' or 'rooting' in Western society. This set of frameworks should also be able to capture the forces of globalization and other forces at national, institutional and personal levels that bring both similarities and differences in their projects of self-making.

Still, one methodological concern remains. For my comparative study to work, which looks at two groups of Chinese background students with different social categories, first and foremost is the theoretical platform that initiates a theoretical

dialogue between two sets of sociological theories based on each nation-state society. This is one of the questions I will address.

3.2 Theoretical pondering

3.2.1 Global forms and global assemblages

Pointing out that globalization in everyday speech is described as "a kind of planetary force", "the world proliferation of some phenomenon such as capitalism, mass media or world-girding systems", Ong prefers to use 'the global' to capture "the uneven effect of global forms on particular contexts of articulation and response" (2009:88). In her elaboration of 'the global' as opposed to globalization, global forms is a key concept underpinning her notion of 'the global'. She defines global forms as context 'detachable' and 'universalizable' political entities, modern knowledges and technologies, and the 'adoption', 'use' and 'migration' of global forms cut across nation-state and culture (ibid). She further outlines the features of global forms,

> First, modern technologies—by shaping social behavior, living environments and self-understanding—have proliferated the meanings of being human. Second, global forms can be detached from their original sites of emergence and taken up in a variety of contexts. Global forms are independent of culture in the sense that culture is no barrier to the adoption and use of modern knowledges and technologies. It is in this sense that they are 'global' or universalizable (as opposed to universal). Third, the migration of global forms and their articulation with particular sites engender a variety of emerging contexts for problematizing and defining the human (ibid).

Putting human agency at the center of her analysis, Ong is concerned about how to understand and explain "the complex interrelationships and actual practices through which global forms articulate in particular environments" (ibid: 89). To "pinpoint this process of articulation among heterogeneous elements", Collier and Ong (2005) work out a framework—global assemblage. Ong elucidates the concept that

> recognizes disparate components—e.g. mobile rationality, transnational actors, free-floating desires and situated politics that form an unstable assemblage of interacting forces. The concept thus captures the simultaneity of macro and micro politics, intertwined in an unstable formation in which outcomes cannot be determined in advance. Situated interactions crystallize conditions of possibility for defining problems and solving them within the space of the assemblage (2009:89).

Global assemblage therefore can be used to capture a range of unstable and situated forces that interweave 'disparate' macro and micro components. Global assemblage looks to the situated, unstable constellation of global forms and their situated interactions that form particular 'milieus of living'. The forces that intervene in the 'contemporary milieus of living' include not only political entities, knowledges and technologies but also politics and ethical regimes. Ong reiterates her vantage point to globalization,

> We approach 'globalization' not in the sense of a shared global condition, but through an examination of how global forms such as knowledge, technology, … are increasingly involved in governing a range of contexts and shaping contemporary milieus of living (ibid: 92).

3.2.2 Theorizing the self

I draw on another work of Ong's, *Flexible Citizenship,* for her approach to theorizing the self, which is characterized with the treatment of culture "as a contingent scheme of meanings tied to power dynamics" (1999:243). Her cultural/power/self formula links the project of self-making to the cultural logic of "cultural self-theorizing and re-envisioning in relation to fluid power dynamics" (ibid), as global capitalism accords a postmodern logic to culture and, thus, every practice becomes cultural practice.

Ong's theoretical tool, global assemblage, is most useful to capture the "new knowledge/power schemes" (2009: 94). With this new tool, she revisits power which she identifies as "intersections of ethics, politics, and knowledge that define life and configure living situations" (ibid: 89). In particular, 'the space of the assemblage' can capture situated interactions, constellations and networks that "do not engender planetary social uniformity unfolding according to some inherent logic but form particular milieus that vary historically and geographically" (ibid). Stressing that "the concept of assemblage recognizes the reflexivity involved in the interplay of global forms, politics and ethical regimes" (ibid), Ong argues that an empirical focus on situated constellations of knowledge, politics and ethics that cut across homogeneous categories, such as the nation-state and culture, is a new way to work on the theorization of self-making of contemporary times.

I find the concepts 'global forms' and 'global assemblages' particularly relevant and useful in my study in several ways. Firstly, they help to deconstruct methodological Westernism buttressed by Western notions of modernity and nation-bounded culture that set the study of non-Western Chinese subjects in a different theoretical and epistemological track. The 'detachable' and 'universalizable' features of global forms that Ong (2009) emphasizes and captures penetrate the rigid West/rest dichotomies constructed in terms of the bounded notions of modernity and culture. Secondly, these conceptual frameworks further weaken methodological nationalism and reject what Ong calls 'the idea of planetary social uniformity'. These frameworks make it possible to focus on and explore what Ong (ibid: 87) highlights as "a diverse range of complex global constellations and geopolitical imaginations that configure human subjects in contemporary times". Ong is most insightful in that she regards 'the global' as a 'modern form' and links it to the question of 'what it means to be human today', instead of locking subjects into nation-state containers. These theoretical tools epistemologically situate the empirical foci of inquiry beyond the confines of 'a given culture or given geography'. As Ong convincingly argues,

> The idea of global assemblage points to the fact that different constellations of relationships create situated conditions of possibility. Instead of a given culture or given geography, a global assemblage configures a particular field of inquiry (ibid: 93).

Above all, the frameworks—global forms and global assemblage—are also applicable to and inclusive of the flows and forces implicated in transnationality. They enhance Levitt and Schiller's (2004) dual units of analysis or, 'simultaneity', by attending both the structural emplacement of class, gender, race and ethnicity and macro forces that global forms exert. These theoretical frameworks aid my comparative study of two groups of Chinese background youth under different social categories.

3.2.3 Geographies of forces, the self/geography nexus and mediation

Ong's theorization of the self with a focus on the space of situated assemblage of components alludes to the complexity of self-making processes in the increasingly globalized world. However, as the forces become an assemblage, how can we tell which force is more salient? Furthermore, how does the nation-state exert its force in the face of this assemblage? In particular, how does the nation-state deal and

negotiate or appropriate global forms to assert its national power? To delineate the entangled forces working at global and national level, I put forward the notion of *a geography of forces*. In the face of transnational flows and mobilities, to delineate the entangled forces working at global, transnational and national levels gives rise to the question of geography. Hence, I put forward the notion of *a geography of forces* to complement and add nuances to Ong's notion forces on all levels that are entangled as a result of global assemblages. In this regard, the notion of the geography of forces highlights that forces, which hail an individual in their self-making processes, have their geographical origins and confines, be it institutional, national, transnational or global. By the geography of forces, I aim to capture the inter-relations and interactions among these geographic forces. In addition, it is worth mentioning that citizenship status, place of birth, and legal status are all forces attached to the specific geographical location.

I also intervene in linking the project of self-making with geography. It is not a rehearsal of the idea of the territorial identity bounded by nation-state culture. Rather, by putting self-making in the centre of analysis, I highlight that the project of self-making is located in, and oriented to, a specific geography as both *the job market* and *the destination of residence*. Geography as a material existence is linked to the question of what makes a life worth living.

Despite the fact that Ong (2009: 90) innovatively brings culture to the fore by problematizing "the use of 'culture' as the given framework", she somewhat fails to link the cultural project of self-making to the question of cultural mooring. In other words, the question of how subjects reflexively interpret or make sense of their cultural practices of incorporation and/or rejection in relation to their cultural mooring is not attended to. This particular link of reflexive mediation in cultural terms can be captured by William Mazzarella's notion of mediation, which he argues is a "constitutive process in social life" (2004:345). I find his notion of mediation particularly useful for me not only to scrutinize the rationalities behind subjects' cultural practices but also to capture the self-reflexivity of their own cultural choices of incorporation and rejection. In this thesis, I extend his focus on mediation in subjects' global media reading to a wider sphere—everyday cultural practices of youth at school.

Chinese international students and Australian-born youth of Chinese heritage are located in situated global assemblage that gives rise to the need to draw on two sets of overlapping but distinctively different analytical frameworks. On the whole, my analytical frameworks originate from Bourdieu's (1984a, 1984b) concepts of capital and class, Collier and Lakoff's (2005) notion of 'ethical living', with Chinese international students' anchored by Ong's (1999) theoretical framework of transnationality, and my own conceptual framework of localization/rooting that is applied to local-born students of Chinese ancestry. My enhancement of Ong's transnationality/capital nexus in the concept of capital imaginary is also an analytical framework adopted in analysing both groups of students. I will elaborate on these conceptual tools in chapters 4 to 8.

Armed with these theoretical tools, I come to the point: how do we understand present China that exerts 'social forces' today in particular in the Australian context where I situate my study. How do we understand the geographic force of China that may continue to shape Chinese background students?

3.2.4 The geographical force of China in the Australian context

I conceptualize the geographical force of China as a transnational 'social' from the intersection of transnationality and a geography of forces, by focusing on the Australian context. According to Ong (1999:4), "'trans' denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something". She differentiates between two 'trans' phenomena in border-crossing activities: transnationality and transnationalism. Using transnationality to refer to "the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space" (ibid), Ong further elaborates,

> Besides suggesting new relations between nation-states and capital, transnationality alludes to the *transversal*, the *transactional*, the *translational*, and the *transgressive* aspects of contemporary behavior and imagination that are incited, enabled, and regulated by the changing logics of states and capitalism (ibid, italics in original).

Transnationalism, in contrast, is employed by Ong to capture "cultural specificities of global processes", to trace "the multiplicity of the uses and conceptions of culture", and to portray border-crossing subjects' "practices and imagination" (ibid).

'Trans' implies that mobile border-crossing subjects carry with them an internalized old 'social' to a new geography. To make that linkage, I argue that the geographic force of the Chinese 'social' is a transnational force in the Australian context. In what follows, I briefly offer an account of China and the Chinese 'social' as *a transnational 'social'* in relation to its global forms, consumer culture and its relying-on-the-self mentality[7].

Chinese society is hard to define for several reasons: its semi-colonialized and semi-feudal history, its Confucian cultural ethics, its socialist legacy, its authoritarian regime, its mixed modes of production and its rise to the status of being the second largest economic entity on the globe. As the country with the largest population in the world, China has witnessed huge disparities between its urban and rural populations, between coastal and inland cities, and disparities among regional developments. There are areas that are in stark poverty but there exist emerging metropolitan centres too, such as Shanghai, which challenges "disciplinary controls that map cities according to a global division of global capitalist and postcolonial regions" (Ong 2011:2).

In the literature on China, there are discussions and debates on the possibilities of theorizing contemporary China within the theoretical frames of modernity (Barlow 1994; Dirlik 2006, 2007; Liu 2010; Ong 1997); the third world (Dirlik 1997); globalization (Cartier 2001; Liu 2004; Zheng 2004); and neoliberalism "with Chinese characteristics" (Wang 2004). Some scholars attempt to understand China 'from above' via the party-state's official policies ranging from economic to gender relations reform (Croll 1978; Evans 2008; Rofel 2007). These methodologies and

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[7] I must make a disclaimer here. As my introduction of China in this chapter aims to focus on China as a specific geographical location that exerts geographic forces in the transnational context, I have to select what to be included and what not. The discussion of China, in this regard, is perspectival and it cannot be attending to all aspects. I have offered a list of literature on China and China studies in this section, for further reference on the part of the reader.

theorizations cover a range of perspectives and theoretical grounds and offer various insights.

Ong and Zhang (2008: 3-9) convincingly argue that, in the increasingly globalized world, China is to be read as intersecting and interacting with global forms in terms of political entities, contemporary knowledges and technologies. This is in contrast to theorizations of China in binary ways such as civil society versus authoritarian state, socialism versus capitalism, advanced modernity or alternative modernity or top-down party-state policies. To further avoid binary theorizations of China or Chinese society in terms of East/West or North/South divides, Ong and Zhang argue that "each globalized space" is to be treated as a "configuration that is at once universal and particular" (ibid: 9), and suggest that analyses of China based on such binaries and large-scale categories "miss the dynamism, multiplicity, cross-currents, and multiple scales of transformation that are unfolding unevenly throughout China" (ibid: 4). Employing the conceptual framework of global assemblage (Collier and Ong 2005), they see China as a specific 'space of analyses', a complicated configuration of various and flexible assemblages.

They identify that the transformation of China, especially after 1989, can be captured through a consideration of particular intersections of "neoliberalism, situated politics, and cultural norms" embedded in complex global forms (Ong and Zhang 2008: 4-5). Arguing against Harvey's (2006) and Wang's (2004) theoretical treatment of neoliberalism as 'universal arrangement' with 'a fixed set of attributes', they maintain that neoliberalism is "a mobile set of calculative practices" that can be selectively "taken up in any political environment" (ibid: 9). This neoliberalism takes on a particular articulation of powers,

> In early 1992, Deng's (then Chinese president) southern tour in China signalled a new, more friendly political atmosphere for rapid capital accumulation and the development of mass consumption. This new biopolitical regime de-totalized the socialist society by reconfiguring socialist power in relation to self-enterprising powers (ibid: 14).

Ong and Zhang examine the impact of neoliberalism, initially taken up by the party state as an economic policy, on China's socialist ideological legacies formed in its previous centralized and planned economy. Uncovering that neoliberal thinking and

practices are selectively taken up in very specific ways in mainland China, they argue that China's neoliberalism opens the "new social" of China, or the social space for 'micro-freedoms' for citizens to 'experiment' with 'the power of self' in the domains of "livelihood, commerce, consumption and lifestyles" (ibid: 7). Delving into the new 'social,' they draw attention to the ethics of such newly emergent citizenry in China:

> Neoliberal biopolitics have thus engendered new ethics of self-management and self-orientation. Indeed the widespread adoption of self-animating practices is central to the new relationship between socialist rule and the citizenry. Increasingly, self-governing activities, through the promotion of responsibility for oneself, are recast as non-political and non-ideological matters in need of technical solutions from individuals in the course of their everyday life (ibid: 8).

With the "multitude of autonomous decisions, practices, and goals now freed from direct state control" (ibid), there is a shift of Chinese subjects' mentality from 'relying on the state' to 'relying on yourself'. People are obliged to engage in activities of 'self-authorizing', 'self-care', 'self-governing', and 'self-promotion'. To summarize,

> Increasingly individuals are obliged to exercise diligence, cunning, talents, and social skills to navigate ever-shifting networks of goods, relationships, knowledge, and institutions in the competition for wealth and personal advantage (ibid: 8).

Maintaining that the party-state has "carved a space of individual freedom and political autonomy within Chinese socialism" (ibid: 13), Ong and Zhang point out some particulars of the Chinese new social in the forms of dichotomies. The Chinese political regime remains authoritarian. Claiming that China's neoliberal configuration is 'distinctive' as China's liberalism is associated with economy and markets but not with its political sphere, Ong and Zhang argue, the lack of 'political individualism' results in the lack of a 'liberal technology of governance'. Theoretically speaking, the individuation of the Chinese subject is different from the notion of 'liberal individualism', informed and buttressed by western individual rights and democratic regime (ibid: 16). Therefore, Chinese subjects are a product of China's neoliberal rationality and particular forms of governmentality.

This specific mode of governmentality in China also raises "questions about the future direction of ethical responsibility and political identity" within its political configurations (ibid: 15). Ong and Zhang suggest that the cultural ethics in China are now 'chaotic', with 'a widespread collapse of belief in socialist ethics' (ibid) along with the co-existence of remnants, transformation of Confucius ethics and a making-money mentality. Ong and Zhang skilfully navigate the link between cultural ethics and technologies of the self by maintaining that "techniques for care of the self are recasting ethics in relation to the logic of risk in disparate spheres of life" (ibid). They link the techniques of the self, ethics and modernity in China:

> Techniques of the self *configure a life worth living*, *putting into practice values that define a particular moral order*. We suggest that modernity as an ethic of 'how one should live' is being proposed again in contemporary China, shaped by an unstable constellation of events: fading collectivist values, the compulsion to self-govern, and the heavy hand of authoritarian socialism. These disparate forces (values, self-govern compulsion, socialism) interact to create uncertain situations in which problems of living arise. For many Chinese, privatization creates an ethical dilemma about how the life of goods can be linked to the good life, or how the self-governing life can be linked to an emerging economy. New 'regimes of living' emerge from the dynamic configuration of technical, political, and normative elements, provoking new ethical problems and dilemmas (ibid, italics original).

Ong and Zhang's elaboration of 'Chinese socialism from afar' against the 'universal' neoliberal governmentality provide the particulars and universals of China in the process of reform. They point out that the Chinese political regime and melange of cultural ethics constitutes the 'particulars' of the Chinese social.

Not paying special attention to Chinese culture, Ong and Zhang do point out the rise of consumer culture in China in the early 1990s. They associate "the development of mass consumption" with a 'friendly' political atmosphere (ibid: 14). Rofel (2007: 10) makes a similar argument that "an emphasis on consumer and mass culture has dominated urban life" for more than two decades. However, Rofel stresses that this state-orchestrated consumption mentality started as early as in 1978, when China's economic reform

> led to a heightened consumer-oriented social life mediated through the burgeoning market. The desire to transform China into a wealthy nation on a par with the West, official rejection of Maoist asceticism, the promotion of a market economy, and the need to overcome the visceral unpopularity of the party all met in the state's encouragement of consumption (2007: 43).

In the following chapters, I draw on Zhang and Ong (2008) and Rofel (2007) to offer an account of China as a social category in terms of its culture, neoliberalism, and subject-making logic to initiate a theoretical dialogue, weeding the theoretical gardens so my comparative approach can carry on.

I need to reiterate that in the Australian context, the geography of forces exerted by China and the Chinese 'social' may be situatedly experienced, interpreted and internalized by the Chinese international students. These students may bring their perspectival geographical forces of China with them to Australia to interact with a set of geographies of forces there. Although I use Chinese background to refer to both Chinese international students coming from China and Australian-born students, I specifically use Chinese heritage or ancestry to refer to the Australian-born group, to differentiate them from their Chinese-born counterparts. For Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry, I explore how China and their Chinese background as a geographical force, residual or not, shape their projects of self-making. This is the broad picture of geography of forces I use to locate these Chinese background youth in the schooling site in Australia, by attending to its intersection with transnationality in the form of situated global assemblages. I will now introduce how I began my study in Australia.

3.3 An interview study

Overall, my study is an interview study, in which I interview students as my major participants, together with parents and teachers. As is argued by Seidman, "(T)he adequacy of a research method depends on the purpose of the research and the questions being asked" (1998:5), my choice of an interview study relates to the central question regarding how Chinese-born students and Australian-born students of Chinese background engage in their projects of self-making in culturally similar and different ways. I intend to examine these self-making processes through an analysis of the intersection of the nation-state, culture, education and social class. In the meanwhile, I want to examine how global and transnational forces implicate these self-carving projects, along with national forces. In particular, I am interested to know how the school, the family and the students themselves mediate between these global, transnational and national forces.

Guided by these direct theoretical questions, I draw out a set of very specific inquiries. To unpack their projects of self-making, I look at how these Chinese background students imagine a life worth living and what they think is realistic, possible and achievable. How these youth relate their self-imaginations to their education and school choices is another empirical focus of this study. More specifically, the activities of these students, both inside and outside schools, are examined in terms of their broader self-making projects as well as their cultural identifications. In short, I am empirically focusing on the students' self-imaginations and their schooling-dominated everyday cultural activities, while trying to draw out their mediations, calculations and rationalities against the backdrop of global, transnational and national forces. In this regard, I find an interview study is most pertinent. Interview, summarized by Punch, is

> the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research. It is a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality. It is also one of the most powerful ways we have of understanding others (Punch 2009: 144).

Seidman observes that interviewing helps understand "the experience of other people and the meaning they make of the experience" (1998: 3). He continues,

> Interviewing provides access to the context of people's behaviours and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behaviour…Interviewing allows us to put behaviour in context and provides access to understanding their action (ibid: 4).

In an attempt to understand the students' project of self-making, I need to capture the picture of their lives and link the details of their experiences, actions, choices and mediations with meaning making processes. Through interviewing, researchers can attend to "focused life history, the details of experience, and reflection on the meaning" (ibid: 12). Making sense of the process of making meaning, particularly,

> requires that the participants look at how the factors in their lives interacted to bring them to their present situation. It also requires that they look at their present experiences in detail and within the context in which it occurs (ibid: 12).

More importantly, interviewing as a data collection method has a potential to explore 'complex and subtle phenomena'. Denscombe argues that it is a method that can be "attuned to the intricacy of the subject matter" (2010: 174), especially "when the

researcher needs to gain insights into things such as people's opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences" (ibid: 173). Semi-structured interviews are very effective in extracting information targeted to the core issues and at the same time "leaving the consequence and the relevance of the interviewee free to vary, around and out from that core" (Freebody 2003:133). This in-depth capability of a semi-structured interview, Denscombe maintains, allows the interviewee to "develop ideas and speak more widely on the issue raised by the researcher…and there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest" (ibid: 175). Considering those strengths, I employ a semi-structured, in-depth interview study, which enables me to focus on a set of core issues that I want to address in this study, and to explore with considerable latitude students' mediations, negotiations, imaginations, actions and feelings.

3.4 Procedures

Seidman points to the importance of preparing, planning and structuring in-depth interview questions, as the "essentially open-ended" method "requires a series of instantaneous decisions about what direction to take" (1998:33). Drafting interview questions is not straightforward. I have been through a lot of thinking and rethinking, and have undertaken much work in ensuring a dialogue between my interview questions and my theories. The questions of who (the choice of participants), what (themes and issues of concern) and how (availability of participants) and where (recruitment of participants) feature in my drafting of interview protocol.[8]

My preference for studying a high-fee, independent school was fed by some anecdotal evidence. As a new immigrant, I found that almost all Chinese immigrant parents I knew enrolled their children in after-school tutoring classes to get a scholarship for a high-fee, independent school. One family, living in the school zone of Glen Waverley Secondary College, a highly coveted public school for its

[8] See Appendixes for my interview questions for Chinese international students (Appendix II), Australian-born students of Chinese background (Appendix III), school staff members and the school Principal (Appendix IV), parents of Australian-born students (Appendix V), and parents of Chinese international students (Appendix VI).

performance in VCE[9] which adopts a zoning policy for student enrolment, even chose to send their children to a high-fee independent school. This realization of mine met with media reports of such scholarship-grabbing practices in immigrant parents (eg. Pung 2013). I wanted to know why high-fee independent schools were so popular among Chinese immigrant families.

The other reason behind my choice of such a school related to my choice of the participants. To enable a comparative study, I needed both Australian-born students and Chinese international students. Again, anecdotal evidence showed that Chinese international students tended to regard independent schools as of higher education quality than government schools. Furthermore, full-fee paying overseas/international students have to pay public schools tuition fees that were slightly lower than what was charged in high-fee independent. As a consequence, only a small number of international students choose to go to pubic schools (Leve 2011). A high-fee, independent school, therefore, would also ensure that I had enough Chinese-born and Australian-born participants of Chinese background for my comparative study.

3.4.1 Getting started

Getting permission from such a school proved to be a bumpy experience. After my ethics application was approved by Monash University, I spent four months trying to get access to a high-fee non-government school in Melbourne. At first, I wrote to several well-chosen non-government schools but was rejected quite perfunctorily. In the meantime, I heard many stories about how a PhD study had been terminated because of the failure to get permission from a suitable school as the venue for data collection. And, in my case, it is not simply to get permission from a school: I need to get to a 'high-status' independent school, where an independent school in the Australian context, as opposed to government schools, charges an annual tuition fee and is usually regarded as holding more socio-economic advantage (Kenway 2013).

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[9] VCE, the Victorian Certificate of Education is the credential awarded to secondary school students who successfully complete high school level studies (Year 11 and 12 or equivalent) in the state of Victoria, Australia.

Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2012) mention the status hierarchy that makes it harder to gain access to a high-status research site. Taking this into consideration, I changed my strategy and began to contact a list of schools by phone, speaking directly to the school receptionist, explaining my research project and expressing my hope to be connected to those in charge of school-based research. One receptionist was most warm and patient and, luckily, I was transferred to the Director of International Students at Beachton Grammar (a pseudonym), Mr Ford (a pseudonym). After I briefly introduced my research and my intention of data collection, the Director was obviously interested. He asked when I could do my data collection, how long it would take and said I could come to his school. I was overjoyed and tried my best to compose myself, asking cautiously whether the Principal would be against it. Reassuringly, Mr Ford told me that he would talk to the Principal about it and so he made me feel it would not be a problem. Almost straight away, I emailed him my ethics approval form and, within a week, I received official approval from the Principal of the school, informing me that I could undertake my research there. In the end, this study was undertaken in Beachton Grammar, a bayside, coeducational, independent school that offered Kindergarten to Year 12 programs.

Mr Ford was most helpful in my participant recruitment. The first day I came to Beachton Grammar, Mr Ford showed me around, in particular the library where I was going to interview the student participants, and introduced me to the librarian, Anna, who would reserve a seminar room for my research purpose. I was also introduced to two English as Second Language (ESL) teachers, who were teaching English to international students in Year 10 and Year 11. I was then entrusted to the two teachers to meet potential student participants, as arranged, in separate ESL classes for Year 10 and Year 11 students.

In my first meeting with the Chinese international students, I introduced myself as a PhD student from Monash University and my experience of lecturing English in a university in China. Then, I explained about my project, voluntary participation and confidentiality issues. I also handed out the participant recruitment kit designed for Chinese international students, which is written in both Chinese and English (see Appendix I). The students' responses were quite positive. The number of participants

who volunteered exceeded what I originally planned for. Twelve of them took part in my research.

The local student participants proved to be hard to recruit. One reason was that the number of Chinese background local students was quite small. And, as one of the participating school staff members, also a mother of one local student participant, herself also Chinese, said, "Beachton is not a school sought after by local Chinese. They are either after VCE results, or the fame of schools, like Melbourne High[10] or Scotch College[11]". Finally, I settled with six local students.

Along with the students, I also intended to interview parents. However, only two parents of local student participants attended my interview, with one parent accompanying his daughter doing the interview, and one parent who was also a staff member in this school. Although four parents of Chinese international students were also in Melbourne at the time of the interview, none showed any interest in participation.

The school Principal and seven staff members were interviewed, too, including two ESL teachers, the welfare officer for international students, marketing manager, student career advisor, Director of International Students and one staff member working in the area of school publicity and marketing.

To sum up, the participants of focus in this study are 12 Chinese international students (7 boys and 5 girls) and 6 Australian-born students of Chinese heritage (3 boys and 3 girls) who study in a high-fee independent school in Melbourne in Year

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[10] Melbourne High School is an academic select entry school. Admission is via statewide academic entry test. It is the oldest, most prestigious and academically successful government secondary school in Victoria. The ethnic composition of this school is overwhelming. According to the *Myschool* website, in 2010, 83% of its students were from language background other than English.

[11] Founded in 1851, Scotch College is the oldest independent secondary school in Victoria. It charges a high tuition fee. Statistics show on *Myschool* website that in 2010, 83% of its students came from highest SEA quarter, and 98% came from top half of SEA. Only 15% of its students were of language background other than English.

10 and Year 11. I also interviewed 7 school staff members, the Principal, and 2 parents of local-born students. I started my interviews in mid-October and ended them in early December 2010. Most student participants were interviewed twice. All interviews were audio recorded.

3.4.2 Conducting the interview

Overall, this study used semi-structured, in-depth interviews as the major data collection method. I also used other data collection methods, such as focus group discussion (only for the international student group) and follow-up questions via phone calls and casual talk with local students in the schoolyard, to complement, further inform and elucidate these interviews.

Each data collection method has its advantages and disadvantages. Besides the advantages mentioned above, I am fully aware of the disadvantages. 'Interviewer effect', in particular, "the researcher's personal identity, self-presentation (courtesy, conventional clothes, neutral and non-committal), and personal involvement in the data to be collected" (Denscombe 2010: 178-180), both in the processes of data collection and data analysis, cannot afford to be overlooked.

In addition, as my study was undertaken in a high-fee, independent school, where 89 per cent of its students are from high socio-educational backgrounds in 2010, the interviewer effect also involves the 'status' dynamics, which Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2012:290) identify as the social status distance between the researcher and the researched. Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2012) suggest that a lower social status of the researcher, when compared to that of the researched, causes methodological issues such as in building rapport with participants. However, they caution against the practice of automatically positioning the researcher in a lower social status hierarchy. In my study, this 'status' dynamics took on a nuanced effect. In my interviews with student participants, I did not feel this status dynamic, partly due to my former professional role as a lecturer in a prestigious Chinese university and, partly due to the student participants' cultural reading of the PhD student with high esteem. In my interviews with school staff—teachers and marketing personnel—this status dynamics did not demonstrate much owing to our similar middle-class positioning. However, I felt the status gap when I interviewed the

school principal, but this gap manifested more in the form of authority, as I had to report my appointment to the principal's assistant first, was then led to a solemn-looking, single-housed office.

In my interviews with two parents, among them one was a teacher, who worked in the school where I carried out my research and, another was a businessman. I did not feel the 'status' discrepancy between us. My immigrant/ethnic background, instead, turned out to be a salient interviewer effect. The Chinese language I spoke in the interviews and my immigrant background, along with my educational background, worked to my advantage in establishing rapport with these parents.

While I carried out my interviews, I kept in mind Denscombe's (2010: 178-180) 'interview effect', and employed a range of interview skills (ibid: 182-183; Seidman 1998) to make the most of my interviews. I recognize that my experiences and who I am also have some impact on the dynamics between the students and me. To both groups of students, I was an 'insider' and an 'outsider'.

My past experience of working with first and second year university students (aged 15 to 20) in two Chinese universities helped me to build rapport with these students, particularly with Chinese international students. Also, my former profession of teaching at the top ranking university in China —Tsinghua University—served as symbolic capital that put me into a trustworthy role to them. For these young people who endeavor to gain entry into universities, Tsinghua University is their Mecca. In addition, speaking their home language endeared me to them. Some international students regarded me not as a researcher from Monash University. Instead, as some students said, I was an approachable, sisterly, or even motherly figure, but definitely not their stereotypical teacher image. In short, for international students, my upbringing and education in China endeared me to them as 'Chinese', my immigrant experiences resonated with some of theirs, but my choice of Australian citizenship and the fact of having a family in Australia with two local-born young children distanced us in certain ways.

For local-born students of Chinese background families, I was a 'foreigner' from China, with my accented English, education and upbringing in a country different

from that of theirs. But I chose to stay in this country and that might have brought us closer due to our similar ends: i.e. to make good in Australia.

Among the twelve Chinese international students, one student preferred to be interviewed in English, the rest used Chinese language. Some students had one-on-one interviews and some chose to do the interview with a close friend. Eight students were interviewed twice, two students were interviewed three times, and two students had one interview, with each interview lasting about forty minutes. The interval between the first and second interview was roughly three weeks.

All interviews with local students of Chinese background were in English. Five students were interviewed once, for about 30 to 60 minutes, and one student was interviewed twice, for a total of 80 minutes. My interview with school staff members, the Principal and two parents of Australian-born students, each took 20 to 40 minutes. Except with one Chinese immigrant staff member who spoke Chinese, all other interviews were in English.

I made the most of my visits to this independent school to carry out pre-arranged interviews with the students, staff members and a couple of parents. I talked to the warm-hearted librarian, Anna, who knew about my PhD project and was most helpful in reserving the interview room and making me feel at home whenever I was in the library. I was also shown the school's staff room by the Director of International Students, invited to use it freely for a decent break between my interviews and, introduced to some friendly staff members whom I did not interview but had some casual chats with. Both the Director of International Students and the marketing manager of this school provided me with written materials detailing the school policies, facilitates, enrolment and activities, so I had up-to-date information about the school. These documents, handbooks, school bulletins, together with the school's website, offered me another pool of data and that was woven into my understanding of this school.

3.4.3 Analysing interview data

In my preparation for data analysis, I firstly transcribed the audio-recorded interviews. Silverman points to the change of medium in this "mere act of

transcription", which turns an interview into "a written text" (2000: 825). Being aware of the loss of "intonation, emphasis and accents" (Denscombe 2010: 276-277) of spoken words incurred by the act of transcribing, I made special notes regarding the interviewees' apparent feelings and attitudes.

In the process of transcription, I gave each of my participants a pseudonym. Name giving in the field of international education has cultural connotations and sensitivities (Kumar 2010). Proper pronunciation of the Chinese names of the approximately 50 Chinese students, for both teachers and local students in the school, proved hard to achieve. Therefore, the Chinese international students have been required by the school to have an English name, mainly to facilitate their involvement in school life. Some Chinese students prefer an English name to avoid their Chinese name being abused by poor pronunciations. Considering that my thesis needs to be finished in English and that giving them a Chinese name does not make sense without being represented in Chinese characters, I give each Chinese international student an English pseudonym name.

I employed some strategies to maximize the quality of my interview data. I checked the transcripts with the student participants who had two interviews with me and asked, in follow-up phone-calls, or through emails, some students to clarify certain points that I found not clear.

Printing the transcripts out, I now had a written text to study. Freebody (2003: 133) makes some "cautionary notes about the naïve treatment of interview materials". He argues for "rigorous treatment of interview materials", as interviews are special cases of talk in the form of 'coordinated interactions' (ibid). The contextualized, interactive nature of interviewing as a data collection method theoretically and empirically challenge the warrant to treat interviews as "transparent windows onto people's stable, self-contained knowledge or beliefs about a topic" (ibid: 134). Likewise, interview questions, as the central part of the data, are not to be viewed as "neutral or uninterested invitation to speak; rather, they shape the grounds or the footings on which the participants can and should speak" (ibid: 137).

In this regard, Perakyla argues, "interviews can be, and have been analysed as specimens of interaction and reasoning practices rather than as representations of facts or ideas outside the interview situation" (2005: 869). Fontana and Frey further explain the interactional nature of interviewing,

> Interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but rather active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results. (2005: 698).

Regarding the stories told and the views conveyed in interviews as contextually and interactively constructed, Freebody maintains that interview materials can be "approached with an eye to the internal structure of the speakers' account of the world" (2003:133). Therefore, interviews as a data generative method can provide

> insight into individuals' constructed social worlds and into the ways in which they convey those constructions in the particular interactional setting of the interview (Silverman 1993, quoted in Freebody 2003:137).

Furthermore, I find useful Denscombe's argument for the necessity to "read between the lines" rather than stopping at "a surface level for the facts and information they contain" (2010: 279) in data analysis.

In my study, translation of data in the form of written text also involves translation from one language into another. For those interview transcripts that are in Chinese, I needed to translate them into English. There were some instances where I struggled to find English equivalences to the Chinese vernacular the Chinese international students use. Another example that made translation a little bit hard was the basketball jargon some students used when talking about their involvement in school sports in Melbourne. In my translation, I also stuck to the principle of prioritizing the meanings conveyed in interviews, guarding against distortions or losses of meanings in interview talk and paying heed to the contexts of the interviews.

I understand the limitations of a qualitative study that a human researcher incurs. According to Denscombe (2010: 300), "the researcher's identity, values, and beliefs cannot be entirely eliminated from the process of analysing qualitative data". I understand that my personal involvement in my interview study shapes not only the way I interpret these interview texts, but it also shapes my research agenda, my

choice of the research topic, and my angle of empirical and theoretical exploration and interpretation. And as I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, my interviewer identity as an immigrant, as a Chinese background researcher, and as a member of the middle-class, has shaped the contextualized, interactional interviewing processes and the interview materials. Hard as I may try to reduce the way that my research agenda has been shaped by my own positioning and experiences, I understand and acknowledge that, to some degree, they have unavoidably affected the way I read and interpret my data. However, working with theoretical resources available and the research literature helps me to address this issue.

With my data at hand, came the long journey of analysis and my engagement with theories, which, as Babbie concludes, "involve[d] a continuing interplay between data collection and theory" (2011: 419). As my study is based on semi-structured interviews, I had a set of themes to begin with. I did not code my data but I did use a range of coding skills put forward by Denscombe (2010: 285) to divide my data by "event, action, and opinion", and mark them by "implied meaning and sentiment". These techniques helped me navigate and refine my theorizations around notions and theories of social class, culture and ethics.

Broadly speaking, in my analysis of data, I took cues from Ong's 'theory of practice' by drawing on her enhancement of Sherry Ortner's 'modern practice theory'. According to Ong,

> 'Modern practice theory' is an approach that places human agency and everyday practices at the centre of social analysis. Ortner notes that the little routines and scenarios of everyday life are embodiments and enactments of norms, values, and conceptual schemes about time, space, and the social order, so that everyday practices endorse and reproduce those norms (1999:5).

Ong enhances this 'modern practice theory' in two ways. Firstly, her focus on 'transnational practices', one of my major categories, releases the study of class making and self-making from within the boundaries of a physical nation-state. Secondly, Ong's enhancement lies in the analytical linkage she makes between social practices and situated relations of 'domination, reciprocity and solidarity'. She argues,

> An anthropology of the present should analyse people's everyday actions as a form of cultural politics embedded in specific power contexts. The regulatory effects of particular cultural institutions, projects, regimes, and markets that shape people's motivations, desires, and struggles and make them particular kinds of subjects in the world should be identified (ibid: 5).

This link between culture and power, or power regimes, offers a new lens to examine how national and global forces work in situated 'global assemblages' in shaping new youthful selves against not only methodological nationalism, but also methodological Westernism. These lenses help extract the subtleties of the emerged themes and link them to the existent theories that I engage with.

Above all, in this study, I seek to make a contribution to theory development. That is, on the one hand, I have sought to have a dialogue between the data that I have produced in the school and the theories that are pertinent. On the other hand, in the process of that dialogue, I have sought not only to apply those theories, but I have also sought to develop some theoretical tools myself.

3.5 Background briefing: Australia's education system

Before introducing, further, the site of my study, Beachton Grammar, it is necessary for me to offer some background knowledge of Australia's schooling system. This provides some insights into how we understand and position Beachton Grammar in this system. However, my introduction of Australia's school system is not a comprehensive one, as it has a focus on situating Beachton Grammar in its own groupings amongst what are called independent schools. In this regard, I heavily draw on Kenway's (2013) work.

Since the late 1980s, dominant policy discourses in Australia's school education have revolved around market neoliberalism and school choice. From 2007, the national Labor government's education policy interventions put an emphasis on national curriculum, professional standards and the National Assessment Program Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) (ibid).

The *Review of Funding for Schooling Final Report* (2011), colloquially known as *Gonski Report*, points out that Australia's education has failed to combine its high quality with the issue of equity, with specific regard to Australia's school funding

policies. Engaging with the Gonski Report, Kenway (2013) proceeds to point out more educational issues of 'compounded advantage', 'compounded disadvantage' and 'educational segregation'.

Before moving to these education problems, I will briefly introduce the categorization of Australia's schooling system. The conventional practice to frame Australia's school education in terms of sectors, namely, government, Catholic, and independent, as Kenway (2013) observes, is closely associated with Australia's particular education funding models. One major feature of Australia's schooling funding mode is that, primarily, Commonwealth funding subsidize both the independent school sector and the Catholic school sector, along with government schools. This sector approach to categorizing Australian schools is also strengthened by school funding lobbying mechanisms, i.e. "lobbying by sector" (ibid: 7). That is, Catholics schools lobby for Catholic schools, government for government and independent for independent. Allocating public money to the non-government sector (Independent and Catholic) has caused its expansion, demonstrated by the rising proportion of overall school students from 21% in 1976 to 34% in 2010 (Preston 2011, quoted in Kenway 2013).

However, Kenway (2013) argues that this representation of Australian schools involves 'historical and ideological constructions' and is not based on a clear-cut 'private versus public dividing line'. She draws attention to the intricacies of such categories in this regard,

> The Catholic sector is largely funded by the government and the independent sector also gets significant government money and is only independent to a degree. And the government sector has adopted many features of the private sector. Further, only the government sector is a fully coordinated system but via state, territory and Commonwealth governments. Not all of the Catholic sector is tied into the Catholic Education System, and the independent sector is not a system at all (ibid: 4).

Knowledge about socio-educational advantage (SEA) is unarguably crucial background knowledge to understanding the Australian schooling system. The official national government website *My school*, established by the Labor Government to make school profiles transparent and accessible to all, outlines four SEA statuses, namely, top quarter, second top quarter, bottom quarter and second

bottom quarter. Kenway links SEA to the question of education equity and initiates a discussion of "the overall systemic dynamics of prestige and power" (ibid: 10), basing her inquiry into the issue of SEA in the school system in the Victorian state of Australia. Despite the fact that, in each sector, there is a certain number of 'top-band' (ibid: 7) schools, when it comes to SEA-related indices, the three schooling sectors manifest equity problems. According to *Gonski Report*, independent schools draw on the highest SEA quarters, followed by the Catholic sector. The government sector, while being the least funded, struggles with a high proportion of low SEA background students. Kenway pushes the equity critique further, poignantly revealing what she emphasizes as a 'fact' that,

> even those schools at the top of the government system in terms of socio-economic advantage are not as advantaged as many such schools in the independent sector…Social and educational advantage is concentrated primarily in the independent sector (ibid: 21).

Kenway observes that "within the independent sector, there is a band of high SEA schools that draw primarily from the highest SEA quarter" (ibid: 15). She calls these schools 'high-fee/high-SEA' independent schools. These 'top-band' or 'high fee/high SEA independent schools' are emulated by an increasing number of 'lower-fee/middle half-SEA' independent schools. She regards the high fee/high SEA schools as the embodiment of 'compounded advantage'. Drawing on her own global ethnographic study on high-status schools in many countries, Kenway argues that these schools, capitalizing on privileges and enjoying a reputation for being 'the gold standard' of education (ibid: 11), offer their students "a sheltered, privileged, even mollycoddled, educational life" (ibid: 20), which exacerbates education equity issues in the form of the class/education nexus. With these matters in mind, how shall I position my research site—Beachton Grammar?

3.6 The site

Beachton Grammar is a co-educational school about 20 kilometers from Melbourne's central business district. According to *My School*, an official website sustained by Australian Federal Government mentioned above, it has 1,197 students (in 2010) and offers education within its kindergarten to Year 12 curricula. The *My School* website statistics show that in 2010, only 19% of students at Beachton Grammar were from non-English language background, which included 5% of

international students. That is, the ethnic composition of this school was a mainly Anglophone background, 81%.

In 2010, its annual fees are $21,358 per annum for local day students in Years 11 and 12. In the same year level, the annual fees are $27,222 for international students. This excludes approximately $10,625 of homestay costs per student per year based on 42.5 weeks of term time, as international students are required to live with homestay families by the school, if without parents' company in Melbourne. Contrasting these fees, in Australia, the minimum wage was $30,643 and the median income was $44,146 in 2010 (Kenway 2013:16). Compared to government schools that charge tuition fees of several hundred dollars per year per student and, compared to other independent schools that charge a tuition fee of several thousand dollars per year per student, Beachton Grammar is a high-fee, independent school.

The *My School* website shows that Beachton Grammar's index of community socio-educational advantage (SEA) can be categorized as a high SEA status. In 2010, when I carried on this study, 59% of its total enrollments came from top quarter, and 87% were in the top half, with only 3% coming from the bottom quarter.

Beachton Grammar presents itself as a school offering a strong academic program that enriches and is necessarily complemented by its extensive co-curricular choices in sport, arts, debating, music and drama. It prides itself not only on its excellent VCE results but also on its mentoring and pastoral care system, by attaching prioritized importance to the welfare and wellbeing of students. As is claimed on its official website, Beachton Grammar endeavors to develop in its students a wide range of skills oriented to their university education and future work place success.

The senior sector of this school provides its students with a learning environment with abundant facilities and state-of-art learning technologies. It has four specialist laboratories and two general laboratories, all upgraded with the most up-to-date instruments and technologies. Other facilities include computer laboratories and a multi-function library. At school, all students have high-speed computer and broadband Internet access.

The school's co-curricular programs are backed up by a music center that has practice and rehearsal rooms and a drama center, and a Hall that can seat a maximum of 700 people for the performance of musical and drama productions by students. In Beachton Grammar's exquisite yearbook, there is an introduction of its sporting facilities, including two gymnasiums, several basketball courts, tennis courts, pavilions and a huge sports oval that is situated at the center of the campus. Also introduced is the school's newly built sport and function center which boasts two glossy timber-floored multisport courts, a remarkably sizeable gymnasium space and an area for Physical Education class teaching.

In addition, Beachton Grammar takes advantage of its bayside location by offering water and beach-based sporting activities such as swimming, surfing and life saving, as well as off-campus and outdoor education programs in environmental and marine studies.

3.7 Profiles of student participants

The Chinese international students in my study were born and raised in China, the majority of which were the only child in their families. Most students started their schooling in Australia at the age of 16 and 17. All except one had spent an average of over one year in Australia at the time of interview. They go back to China at least once a year. In contrast, the Australian-born students of Chinese background spend most of their time in Australia, except for occasional overseas travels for a short period of a couple of weeks at the most. In the brief profiles of student participants, I draw attention to salient aspects of their personal identity that were demonstrated in my interviews with them.

3.7.1 Chinese international students

Tracy, 18, in Year 11, the only child in the family, was from Jiangsu Province. Both her parents have university qualifications. Her mother works in the local Bureau of Taxation, holding a position with certain amount of administrative power. Her father has his own business. She made her own decision to study overseas which her parents supported. Learning for her mostly happens at school. Her after-school time is spent chatting with friends (all Chinese international students), shopping, watching movies and partying.

Frank, 17, in Year 10, the only child in the family, came from Zhejiang Province. His parents hold university degrees. His mother used to be a doctor, but quit her job and stayed at home as a full-time housewife when his father's high-tech company started to flourish. His parents had planned to send him overseas to study, but he did not want to go until he found he could not endure the high-pressured Year 9 senior high school entrance examination. He has been adjusting to the new school life in Melbourne. A very eloquent and incisive speaker, he is confident and opinionated. He spends his leisure time listening to music, watching movies and playing computer games.

Jack, 17, in Year 10, the only child in the family, came from Shichuan Province. His mother has a bachelor degree and used to be a secondary school teacher before establishing her own business. His father finished high school and now owns and manages a business of 400 employees. His family applied for business migration to Australia and now have Australian permanent residency status. He and his mother live in a house that they just bought in Melbourne, and his mother also owns a grocery store here. In his spare time, he takes part-time jobs on and off in Melbourne. An avid basketball player, he joins the school's basketball team and trains in the morning. He loves cooking, watching movies, reading novels and listening to a smorgasbord of music sourced from mainland China, Hong Kong, Europe and the US. He is easy-going and has made quite a few local friends here.

Natalie, 18, in Year 11, was from Shenzhen, Guangdong Province. She has a three-year-old brother. Her father was educated to university level and her mother holds a three-year diploma offered by a university, which is immediately below a bachelor degree. Her parents jointly own and manage a factory in Shenzhen. Her family has applied for business immigration to Australia and her father is staying with her in their own house in Melbourne to comply with the immigration conditions that demand at least three years of stay in Australia. She is studious, confident, and enjoys schooling in Melbourne.

Jane, 18, in Year 11, the only child in her family, was from Shenzhen, Guangdong Province. Both her parents graduated from universities with a three-year diploma. They own and operate a company dealing with issues of industrial pollution. Jane

lives with her mother in their newly bought house in Melbourne, who stays here to get her permanent residency status. She is study-focused and aims for the University of Melbourne.

Tim, 17, in Year 10, the only child in his family, was from Fuzhou, Fujian Province. His father received tertiary education in China and went to Japan to further his study. His mother became a full-time housewife when Tim started junior school. His family has transnational businesses with Europe, the US and Japan, as well as businesses orienting to China. He believes that his father just 'follows the tide' and sends him studying in Australia because all his cousins have studied overseas. He wants to go to university in Japan, not only for his interest in Japanese culture, but also for his family's transnational business' sake. While in China, he was a high-achiever but, after he came to Australia, his attitude to schooling has become a little bit too relaxed and his academic ranking has dropped badly.

Tom, 17, in Year 11, from Jiangsu Province, has a baby sister. His parents barely finished secondary schooling. They own a family business. Tom is a keen observer, a decoder of culture, always ready to offer his perspectives about intercultural experiences and understanding. He is philosophical, a deep thinker about life. He spends most of his leisure time on the Internet, watching movies and Chinese TV series, reading news and playing computer games. He stopped going to gym after coming to Australia.

Phil, 18, in Year 11, the only child in the family, came from Dalian. His parents received tertiary education. He is from a very wealthy family that has their businesses successfully put on the stock market. He is very hardworking and a high achiever both in China and his new school in Melbourne. He is also versatile, being good at swimming, in particular butterfly stroke, five musical instruments, piano included, and singing. He has composed a song for an event in his Melbourne school. An insatiable learner, he is always ready to absorb new knowledge. He is funny, easy-going and quite popular in his new school in Melbourne.

Erick, 18, in Year 11, the only child in his family, was from Shanghai. His father works in the area of sales, including to overseas, and his mother has her own

business to manage. He was trained in athletics in his former schools in Shanghai, which, in retrospect, were hard and strict. He enjoys schooling in Melbourne and, in particular, school sport and Physical Education. He regards his overseas study as 'a compensation' for his deprived childhood, with much less homework, without his mother's prodding and nagging, and with the freedom of living without his parents for most of the time in Melbourne. He is a nice and quiet boy, struggling with his English.

Bob, 18, in Year 11, the only child in his family, was from Shanghai. He is from a business background family, with his father managing the family business and his mother a housewife. He has never liked studying, but understands that his future is tied to it. His principle is to study the least he can. His love of basketball playing has been dampened in his new school by isolation from his new local peers on the basketball court. He does not attend PE classes but goes to Saturday sport. Watching movies and playing computer games are his favourite pastimes in Melbourne.

Rose, 17, in Year 10, the only child in her family, came from Henan Province. Her parents finished junior high school. They manage a family business which has taken most of their time, so she started her boarding life since she was in childcare at the age of 3. All schools she attended in China were boarding schools. Only on weekends and holidays, did she go home. At home, she spent most of her spare time doing schoolwork and watching TV. Her mother expects her to go to a university with a ranking no lower than the University of Melbourne in return for the 'big money' invested in her education.

Cindy, 17, in Year 10, the only child in her family, came from Jiangsu province. Both her parents finished secondary school. Her father is a manager and her mother a housewife. She calls her mother at least once a day and video-chats over the Internet with her family on a weekly basis. Besides this, she goes back to China four times a year, during semester breaks. Although claiming to not being 'good at' study, she is determined to go to university. Her favourite leisure pursuits are watching TV series made by mainland China, South Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong. Compared to her heavy-loaded school life in China, overall she enjoys her school life in Melbourne.

3.7.2 Australian-born students of Chinese background

Dory, 16, in Year 10, Australian-born, is the only child in her family. She is on a 50% music scholarship. Her parents came from Shanghai and at home they speak Shanghainese. She also speaks fluent Putonghua. Her father used to be an engineer and her mother a nurse. Since migration to Australia, they work eight hours a day in their self-owned fish and chips shop. She helps in the shop every Friday afternoon. Calling her parents' job 'manual labour', she hopes that, in the future, she can earn an income that does not capitalize on physicality. She is a vivacious girl, hating sport but loving reading and watching Chinese TV series, Japanese manga, as well as local TV programs on her computer after school.

Mary, 17, is Australian-born to a two and a half generation father of Hong Kong background and mother of Caucasian origin. She is in Year 11, on 100% scholarship for overall excellence in sport. Both her parents received tertiary education. Her father works in the Information Technology business, and her mother is a part-time primary school teacher. She has two younger brothers. Her whole family is into sport, especially swimming and lifesaving, and they spent most of their spare time at the beach. Sport is a major part of her life both inside and outside school, with her parents' strong support and investment in both time and money. Since Year 10, her family have reoriented her priority to study: university is her new goal.

Nathan, 16, in Year 10, has started this school since pre-prep. He was born in Australia to a German father and Chinese mother, who are both first generation immigrants. He has a younger sister. He speaks English at home, but he learns both German and Chinese languages. His father is a businessman and his mother works in the same school he attends. He is a boy of few words. Academic work, sport and music occupy a vast majority of his time. Chatting with one favourite friend and reading are his beloved activities.

Walter, 16, a Year 10 student, is on a 100% scholarship. He was born in Australia. Both of his parents were Malaysian Chinese, who migrated to Australia in their mid to late teens. His mother has a bachelor degree and his father holds a Master's degree. His father is an engineer and his mother works for a company using her

expertise in chemistry. He has a younger brother who attends Caulfield Grammar. He is eloquent, loves debating and aspires to be a diplomat in the United Nations.

Nick, 16, in Year 10, was born in New Zealand to first generation immigrant parents who were from Guangdong Province in China. He has a younger sister. His parents own and manage a Chinese restaurant. He is on a 100% scholarship for academic excellence. He spends a lot of his after-school hours going to tutoring classes in Box Hill.

Nina, 15, on a 50% music scholarship, is in Year 10. She was Australian-born to Shanghainese parents. Her father is well-educated with a Master Degree in medicine. He used to be a doctor in Shanghai but had to give up this profession after migration. He is now a businessman. Nina is expected by her parents to realize the doctor dream her father has not been able to achieve.

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My critique of 'methodological nationalism' and 'methodological Westernism', challenging the alignment of culture, modernity and identity in theorizing the self from the perspectives of globalization and transnationality, began this chapter. I also challenged, after Beck (2002), the Western sociological model of culture/modernity/identity as a standard frame of reference to understand and theorize non-Western subjects. Following this discussion, and drawing on and enhancing Ong's work, I put forward my own theoretical frameworks with which to situate the theorization of the self in global assemblages. Having set the theoretical context of my thesis, I proceeded to present my data collection method and procedures and my school site and offered a profile of each of my student participants to complete the introduction of my study.

My next chapter will focus on one group of students—the Chinese international students. It will explore their imperatives for choosing an overseas education.

Chapter 4

Capital Imaginaries versus Ethical Intervention? A Class Analysis of Chinese International Students' Overseas Schooling Choices

> When I was in Year 9, my father thought about sending me to study in Canada, but I didn't want to go. In the second half of Year 10, my father asked me again whether I wanted to study abroad. At that time, I found it hard to cope with my schoolwork, as I didn't really like studying and couldn't concentrate 100% on it. I have heard that at abroad education is much more lenient and consequently easy, so I begin to think that I have nothing to lose if I go studying overseas (Bob, interview transcript).

> I was meant to study in Canada, but it is too cold there. The United States is too dangerous. And there are many instances of racial discrimination in the UK (Jane, interview transcript).

With a burgeoning 'globalized' education industry, educational research has recently drawn attention to the familial choices of 'overseas' and 'international' education. An increasing body of literature explores the motivations behind such choices (Findlay et al 2012; Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Rizvi 2005; Waters 2005, 2006; Waters and Brooks 2011a, 2011b), links these educational choices to class reproduction theses (Ball 2010; Waters 2005, 2006, 2009; Waters and Brooks 2011a; Weenink 2008; 2009), and draws attention to newly emergent class identities within the 'international'/'overseas' educational setting (Ball 2010; Findlay et al 2012; Waters 2009; Waters and Brooks 2011a; Weenink 2008).

In this literature, however, there is a tendency to overemphasize the class reproduction purpose of education, which is readily linked to market rationalities. This is a capital approach to education choices. Probing 'overseas'/'international' educational choices from the education/class/market nexus, the capital approach highlights the focus on how classed families and/or students understand and translate

market imperatives in terms of cultural capital and other forms of capital, and deploy corresponding strategies of accumulation.

The way in which students interpret the *usefulness* of education in relation to their projects of self-making is, therefore, insufficiently attended to. In other words, students' educational choice as part of their individual life planning (Brooks and Everett 2008) in their pursuit of classed perspectives of 'a good life' (Ong and Zhang 2008) has been largely ignored. To enable this line of exploration, this chapter introduces Ong's (1999) thesis of the 'cultural logics of capitalist accumulation' (Ong 1999) and the idea of 'ethical living' (Collier and Lakeoff 2005) to examine further the rationalities behind the Chinese international students' overseas school choice and their self-making. By drawing attention to the education/self-making nexus, it seeks to contribute to this academic endeavour by exploring Chinese students' rationalities of educational choices—both economic and ethical—and the links between them, to unpack further the project of self-making from a class perspective.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the theoretical frameworks I employ, namely, capital imaginaries and ethics of the self. It then looks at the educational choices made by Chinese students and families and their construction of overseas education imperatives. In particular, it explores how these students make sense of education and their educational choices in China and Australia, in relation to their projects of self-making. A discussion is offered that speaks back to the theoretical frameworks this chapter initially engages with, and the chapter is drawn together at its conclusion.

4.1 Capital imaginaries and ethics of the self

According to Ong (1999), behind each cultural practice lie cultural logics. Therefore, in this chapter, educational choices are considered as a cultural practice with mediated cultural logics behind it. To explore the classed cultural logics of Chinese international students' overseas educational choices, I draw on the literature that views overseas educational choice and experience through the frames of globalization and transnationality.

Broadly speaking, my conceptual frameworks are informed by two lines of theoretical engagement to understand Chinese international students' educational choices and classed identities in the making. The first concept I employ is Ong's (1999) notion of market-based capital accumulation, which I use to understand the students' classed interpretations of and orientations to market endorsed capital and their strategies to get it. The second concept comes from the theoretical development of 'ethical living' by Collier and Lakeoff (2005). I emphasize that classed perspectives of a 'good life' are embedded in the students' educational choice, made as a life choice.

4.1.1 The education/capital/self nexus

I will start by elaborating on the capital approach to overseas educational choice and introduce the relevant theoretical frameworks I deploy in this chapter. Linking education with capital, Bourdieu (1984a) argues that educational systems 'validate' certain cultural capital in the form of qualifications or credentials. In *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1984b) regards these qualifications as a complicated form of cultural capital which exists in an objectified state, an institutionalized state from the perspective of the society and an embodied state or as 'embodied properties' for the bearer of an educational qualification.

Bourdieu (1984a) also distinguishes educational qualifications from educational experiences. He points out that education qualifications are only one form of cultural capital transmitted by educational institutions. Schools, as Bourdieu (1986a:24) maintains, help "form a general, transposable disposition towards legitimate culture", which

> is first acquired with respect to scholastically recognized knowledge and practices but tends to be applied beyond the bounds of the curriculum, taking the form of a 'disinterested' propensity to accumulate experience and knowledge which may not be directly profitable in the academic market (1984a: 23).

Ong (1999) draws on Bourdieu (1984a, 1984b) to link culture to class in terms of 'capital accumulation'. With the notion of 'flexible cultural capital accumulation', Ong (1999) extends Bourdieu's nationed notion of cultural capital embedded in educational institutions by drawing attention to the practice of capital accumulation

across national borders. Flexible cultural capital accumulation is characterized by mobility in subjects' accumulation strategies and practices that cross 'cultural and geopolitical spaces' (Ong 1999:90). She uses 'flexibility' to refer to the fluid, opportunistic and purposeful incorporation of other nation-state cultural elements materially and symbolically.

Waters (2006) concentrates on a group of Hong Kong migrant students in Canada, a particular student category she identifies as sitting between migration and international/overseas education. Following Ong (1999), that overseas education manifests symbolic or cultural capital and embodies global/universal value, she examines the 'inherent values of overseas credentials' from the point of view of these students and their test of the value of such qualifications in the banking niche of the Hong Kong market. Waters (2006) is most insightful in linking the notion of cultural capital to geographies in what she calls 'geographies of cultural capital'.

In a similar vein, Weenink (2008:1092) argues, from his Holland-based study that 'international schools' are sought after for a form of 'cosmopolitan capital', which he defines as a form of cultural capital that "comprises bodily and mental predispositions and competence which help engage confidently in globalizing social arenas". It is worth mentioning that this notion of cosmopolitan capital refers to any nationed form of cultural capital as long as such cultural capital facilitates opportunities of a specifically targeted geographical job market.

I argue that a synthesis of both lines of investigation, in particular Waters' and Weenink's varied approaches to capital theorization, gives rise to the need to link the targeted capital to the purposes of accumulation if we are to understand the rationalities behind such accumulation. To facilitate better this empirical focus and highlight the theoretical linkage, I propose three sets of conceptual tools.

To elucidate the flexibility of capital accumulation that goes beyond the territorial national confines, I use *non-native capital* to refer to the foreign, transnational, or global forms of capital to be accumulated through overseas or international education. Borrowing from Waters' (2006) 'geographies of cultural capital', I add

that this concept of non-native capital is linked to specific geographies or in other words, is a specific geography of capital.

To bridge Bourdieu's and Ong's theoretical linkage between the role of education and cultural and/or symbolic capital accumulation or inculcation, I use the notion of *capital list* to capture students' education-related capital in relation to their school choices. In an attempt to explore other forms of capital beyond cultural capital in the accumulation processes, I stress that the capital in these two concepts includes any forms of capital, namely, the social, the economic, and the symbolic capital, that Bourdieu (1984b) puts forward.

To extend Ong's notion of 'capital accumulation' in an attempt to delve into classed rationalities, I use what I term *capital imaginaries* to refer to subjects' situated and classed interpretations of, orientations to, and desires for market endorsed forms of capital. Here, I link capital imaginaries directly to their classed and class-to-be goals. With these tools, I can identify Chinese international students' capital imaginary in relation to education and disclose the mechanisms at play in their market translation that takes the form of *capital endorsement* and *capital negation.*

Overall, I identify three shortcomings in the capital approach employed by existent literature to overseas education. The first is that this literature, with the exception of Waters (2005, 2006), seems to take for granted, or assume, a neoliberal ethic of capital accumulation as a universal motivation for subjects' school choices. In doing this, the capital approach fails to explore other rationalities that inform subjects' class orientations and desires, and thus, produce the *capital list* and *capital imaginaries,* in terms of the links between their class goals and education choices. My intervention lies in an exploration of the situated imperatives and rationalities against the backdrop of forces of specific global assemblages at the time when the Chinese students and their families make overseas education choices.

Secondly, this approach's emphasis on capital calculations neglects the question of how education is interpreted through other lenses. Waters (2006) points out that, for some children of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, their choice of an overseas education is not an active embrace of it as a capital accumulation venue, but a

passive reaction to their former educational systems as 'failures'. Taking this cue, I will explore the Chinese international students' experiences of, and expectations for education, particularly at the time of overseas education choice making. I am interested to probe, along with capital as the measuring stick of the benefits of education, how overseas education is imagined.

Thirdly, to push this line further, I regard educational experiences, expectations and choices as a life experience and a *life* choice, and link them to a set of what Collier and Lakeoff (2005) theorize as the 'ethics' that construct a worthwhile life. Conversely, choices or not, Ong maintains, overseas educational institutions, like other disciplining structures, such as the nation-state, "condition, shape, divert, and transform its subjects and their practice and produce moral-political dilemmas" (1999:14). Combining these two views, I approach an educational institution as, also, an ethical regime.

Finally, I propose that ethical rationalities are yet to be included when theorizing classed and class-to-be identities. An attention to ethics or 'moral-political dilemmas' embedded in an educational institution needs to be explored along the lines of class making. As Skeggs (2005) argues, all identities are classed in nature. Subjects' perspectives, capital imaginaries, strategies, choices and practices of accumulation are geared towards class orientations and desires and are limited by their present class positions. But, at the same time, they constitute the ongoing process of their class-making. This thesis is an attempt to combine morals with class. To complement the capital approach, in the following section, new theoretical frameworks revolving around ethics will be introduced to address the questions posed.

4.1.2 The education/ethics/self nexus

This second set of conceptual ideas frames educational choices as part of individuals' life choices, under the broader backdrop of 'how one should live' or the ethical rationalities of self-making. A school is seen as an ethical regime that helps to shape a subject of ethical reflection. Concurring with Ong's (2006) view that globalization and transnationalism problematize 'questions of morals and status', I

approach the education choice of Chinese international students as one site of such problematization.

Ethics, according to Lakeoff and Collier (2004:420), refers "not simply to the adjudication of values but also to the response to the question 'how should one live?'". In so doing, they appropriate this philosophical term in order to offer a useful vantage on 'anthropological' problems that relate to forms of human life and the constitution of human subjects. Ethics thus involves "a certain idea of practice ('how'), a notion of the subject of ethical reflection ('one'), and questions of norms or values ('should') related to a certain form of life in a given domain of living" (ibid). In this regard, ethical questions are framed and posed in terms of techniques, practices and rationality (Collier and Lakoff 2005: 22).

It is worth noting that this notion of ethics can be related to domains such as the nation-state but is not confined to such regimes. Rather, ethics is conceptualized as the product of global assemblages of technical, political and economical imperatives and forces that implicate nation-states (Collier and Ong 2005).

To understand better the situated constellation of ethics in global assemblages of the everyday life, I draw on Dirlik (2007) to locate this conception of ethics in modern discourses (Chapter 3, section 3.1.2) rather than against a universal notion of Western modernity. In this way, the conceptualization of ethics breaks the nation-state containment of sociology and allows it to go global and transnational. To facilitate an investigation of the particulars of these ethics, I use *geographies of ethics* to refer to spatially articulated ethics concerning 'how one should live' that are geographically configured in a specific 'domain of living'.

The question of ethics has been raised mostly in the form of problematization, or ethical problematization. Ethical problematization is a concept that captures the moment when ethical problems arise. It refers to an ethical state that 'how one should live' is rendered as a problem in uncertain situations (Collier and Lakoff 2005; Ong and Zhang 2008). A site of ethical problematization is linked to problems of ordinary life, a specific problematic or uncertain situations which are "characterised by a perspective gap between the real and the ideal", in which

subjects are "in search of norms and forms to guide action" (Collier and Lakoff 2005: 32). Schooling choice can, therefore, be regarded as one such site of ethical problematization.

This chapter aims to unpack its investigation of schools as ethical regimes as well as capital inculcation and accumulation sites. In particular, it will explore the link between ethical problematization and capital imaginaries by drawing attention to Chinese international students' schooling experiences in China, their imperatives of overseas schooling choice and their imaginings of overseas education. Ultimately these empirical foci will help us to understand how these students relate education to their projects of self-making.

4.2 Choosing to study overseas

Since the 1990s in China, schooling as involving strategic choices has been a widely accepted notion by urban Chinese (Donald and Zheng 2008; Wang 2009; Yang 2005, 2011; Ye 2007; Zhang 2004). One reason behind it is the emergence of a range of non-government schools and the diversification of government schools. The other reason is the one-child-policy that makes parents believe that they cannot afford to take their only child's education for granted. Therefore, expenses on children's education have been a major source of family expenditure for city dwellers (Croll 2006).

Compared to the options students have for primary schools and junior high schools, the choices for senior secondary schools are highly reduced. Students have to go through selective procedures by sitting entrance examinations to secure a seat in academically outstanding senior high schools, to which a wealth of educational resources are allocated (Wang 2009; Zhang 2004), and which boast a higher probability of entry into a prestigious university (Wang 2009). The intense competition for an academically high-ranking senior secondary school is triggered by China's massification of the higher education sector in the 1990s. According to Wang (2009), this educational reform has greatly raised the percentage of university enrolments, and, consequently, created a saturation of university graduates in China's job market, leading to a market preference for graduates from prestigious universities.

4.2.1 Classifying children of the Chinese 'new rich'

Twelve Chinese international students aged 17-18, at the end of their studies in Year 10 and Year 11, participated in my study (see Chapter 3, section 3.7.1). All students are city-dwellers, with two from Shanghai, two from Shenzhen (the first special economic zone in China), one from Fuzhou (the capital city of Fujian Province), four from cities in Jiangsu Province, one from Dalian (a well-known coastal city in Northern China), one from Chengdu (capital city of Sichuan Province) and one from a city in Henan Province. Generally speaking, the majority of these range from medium-size cities (with a population of 4 millions) to a metropolitan scale (with a population of 20 million) and are located in well-off regions of China.

All students come from business background families. Their parents, either mother, father, or both, can be labelled as private entrepreneurs or self-employed business people in China, depending on the scale and profit margin of their businesses. These people, are categorized as the Chinese 'new rich' (Goodman and Zang 2008). By definition, private entrepreneurs refer to "those who own or control the means of production, and offer goods and services in a market for profit" (Zang 2008:53-54). They constitute "a key component" of the 'new rich' in China (ibid: 54).

It is not easy to categorize private entrepreneurs in class terms in China because of their possession of varied cultural capital (Zang 2008). To make it more difficult, private enterprises differ in size, scale, profit margins and social status (Zang 2008; Goodman 2008). Contrary to the common practices of Western societies that categorize 'professionals and managers' as middle-class, Chinese entrepreneurs and managers cannot be readily called middle-class in the Western sense, because they "represent a significant component of the current ruling class", in particular with regards to their affiliation with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (Goodman 2008: 36).

This complexity of the 'new rich' label has been reflected in my data. Considering the economic situations of the Chinese international students, it can be said that all families belong to the 'new rich'. They are able to send their children overseas with some financial ease. As it is hard to identify the volume of wealth these participants' families possess, I can only piece together my other sources of data. As I have

mentioned in Chapter Three, the school they attend is an independent school, which charges each overseas student A$27,222 for basic tuition fees. Some students live in their own houses with one parent with them in Melbourne. For students who do not have a parent accompanying them in Melbourne, they are expected to pay for his or her homestay approximately $10,625 per year based on approximately 42.5 weeks of term time. So, the total amount reaches up to A$38,000 for an education opportunity and a shelter provided by homestay families in Melbourne on a yearly basis, without other living expenses. More importantly, the familial financial investment in their children's education is a long-term one as the ultimate goal for these families is for their children to pursue tertiary education in Australia, which means their investment in overseas education has a minimum of 5 years—the final two years of school and a three year undergraduate degree.

Besides, there are other expenses incurred when undertaking overseas education, including the cost of flights back to China in the semester breaks. Most students go back to China twice a year, with one girl student going back home four times a year and one girl student goes back only once a year. In addition, for many families, expenses involve more than one family trip to Australia for inspection of their children's school environment and sightseeing along the way. In some cases, parents stay in Australia to keep their children company. Amongst them, five families have bought houses in middle-class suburbs in Melbourne, with three families applying for permanent residency under the Business Migration Scheme. This type of migration is only applicable to people with a strong financial and business background. Given that, these families are richer than the average in China, considering their obviously stronger 'naked money power'.

The complexity of their class position also lies in the lack of detailed information about the financial income their family businesses produce and their familial social capital, due to the ethical agreement I had to comply with when recruiting participants. The students, however, do provide sketchy information regarding their parents' educational backgrounds and their family businesses. As this chapter focuses on the link between class-making of the Chinese international students and their educational choices both at home and abroad, it is important that the analyses of their familial school choices start from their current class positions.

Given their naked money power, all students are categorized as from middle-class families in China. I find Bourdieu's class topography pertinent in further dividing the twelve middle-class students broadly into three sub-groups, depending on their parents' educational background as a major form of cultural capital. Phil, Frank, and Tracy belong to the high cultural capital group with both of their parents holding Bachelor's degrees or Master's degrees. The medium cultural capital group includes Jane, Natalie, Tim, Bob and Jack with one parent holding tertiary qualifications. Tom, Erik, Cindy and Rose are from low cultural capital families where no parent has university education.

4.2.2 Children's and parents' constructions of overseas education imperatives

I will now offer an analysis of how Chinese international students 'use' education to achieve their self-making end. Putting the education/self-making nexus at the center of my analysis, I examine themes about their educational experiences in China, how they construct domestic/overseas schooling differences and their situated imperatives for overseas education. Patterns emerge around the three sub-categories of class mentioned above. I start the analysis with a brief introduction to each student's family background.

The high cultural capital group: education for ethics of the self

Phil, 18, is from Dalian, a well-known coastal city in North-Eastern China. His mother, with a Master of Law, used to be a lawyer. His father holds a Bachelor of Commerce. Both his parents started their chemical business in the early-1990s. It was listed on the stock market several years ago and has been very successful.

Before coming to Australia, Phil studied in a well-renowned, academically top-ranking senior high school in Dalian. Phil's interpretation of success in education involves not only a good academic performance but also the ethics of self in terms of a hardworking attitude, a determination to be self-asserted and an attempt to distance himself, morally, from stereotypes of 'rich kids'. Sustained by these ethics, Phil coped very well with the pressure of maintaining his top academic standing in his former school in China,

> Because my parents have huge expectations on me, [so] I have to work very hard. I like to study, because I can work really hard at young age and be

> successful in the future…I mean it is not my fault that my parents are wealthy and successful. In my opinion, people from a wealthy family can still do well, be nice. It is like, if a person is from a poor family, it doesn't mean that he is a bad person. I work hard because I don't want to be defined by my family, by others but by myself. I want to prove myself and others say, he is really good, very hardworking.

Phil reads education as a capital accumulation venue so as to actualize his project of self-making. With such ethics of the self, he begins overseas study as a new challenge to prove himself, since his parents view it as an opportunity to learn something different. This purpose of his overseas mission is revealed in his remarks about his school transfer in Melbourne from an international school to Beachton Grammar,

> I wasn't satisfied with my former school because I want to go abroad and talk to foreigners and learn about their opinion[s] and their ways to think. But that school is very similar to the school in China, [with] lots of Chinese students. Students from Asian countries are there. There are no locals there.

Phil draws the international/Asia nexus as a contrast to differentiate between international schools and ordinary, *local* Australian schools, because he finds it absurd to go abroad only to end up accumulating capital similar to that available in China. Non-native cultural capital is Phil's capital imaginary of Australian schooling. That is how he constructs the knowledge difference between domestic schooling in China and overseas education in Australia. The cultural capital Phil wants to accumulate has a lot to do with whom he will learn from and interact with. Given that, Australian capital is a targeted geographical capital which includes not only cultural but also geographically embedded social capital.

Frank, 17, is from Zhejiang Province. Both his parents have university qualifications. His mother, previously a doctor, has been a full-time housewife[12] since he started Year 4, when his father's high-tech company became prosperous.

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[12] It is a common practice in China today for the 'new rich' families that mothers retreat from their professional jobs and take the roles of full-time housewives to look after their family needs, as in such families, fathers are extremely preoccupied with their professional jobs or businesses. Due to their strong financial circumstances, mothers are best choices to manage familial matters, such as tending to children's education needs.

Frank's overseas imperatives revolve around how he experienced schooling in China. He had been a high-achiever in a selective class in an academically outstanding junior high school in Zhejiang Province. It was not unusual for him to stay up to finish his homework up until 1 or 2 in the morning. Besides, he was used to endless tutoring as well, sustained by the belief that the better a student's academic performance is, the more reliant he or she will be upon after-class tutoring. He elaborates on this vicious circle of after school coaching,

> Our teachers say that if good students (students good at academics) do not go to tutoring classes, they will be caught up by others (who do the tutoring) and fall behind. Therefore, for us high-achievers, we have to attend more tutoring classes than others. There are only two or three days in summer or winter holidays that we don't have any tutoring. For the rest of such holidays, we have to do tutoring either in the morning, or in the afternoon.

Frank's case reveals how academic selectivity in China drives students into intense competition to secure a seat in an academically high-ranking, senior high school. He talks about how the built-up pressure forced him into an overseas study decision,

> I have relatives in Melbourne. When I was in Grade (Year) 4, my mum asked my aunt to enrol me into Melbourne High. I was on the waiting list until being notified for interview four years later when I was in Year 8, but I didn't want to go. Thus the vacancy was wasted. In Year 9 when I felt the pressure of examination for upgrading to senior high, I sort of wanted to go abroad. One day my mum suddenly told me that she had found me another school.

Although his parents have long expected him to study overseas, Frank prefers to stay in China. He has reached his limit, for having been pushed and pushing himself too hard, so a decision has to be made. He has finally got the admission to the prestigious high school he has been working so hard for, but he foresees the future three years as a dire thing.

In this case, the decision made for overseas study is a familial choice rather than a parental choice, as Frank has the final say. His determination to study overseas is a response to an ethical problem, which, according to Collier and Lakeoff (2005: 22), involves "practice, the subject of ethical reflection, and questions of norms or values" in a life setting.

Frank's ethical problematization of his school life is triggered by the entrance examination. This makes him question the legitimacy and rationality of the

increasing pressures and psychological cost of schoolwork and tutoring. He begins to ask himself whether all these years of investment and effort, at the price of himself in return for a university degree, are worthwhile. He weighs his psychological cost against the capital in return.

However, ethical problematization is only the beginning of the ongoing process of ethical constitution of subjects. The 'what then' questions need further conceptualizations. Ethical problematization is a process whereby part of the life world is rendered a problem. I use the term *node of ethical problematization* to pinpoint a certain practice being under dispute, in an attempt to capture the specific moral themes and foci at work in their uncertain or problematic living situations. The process of ethical problematization involves *ethical abstraction*, an act translating the life phenomenon into ethical terms, or the extraction of values from a certain problematized practice. Following ethical abstraction, ethical mediation is used to depict the constitutional processes of subjects of ethical reflections, or how values are being subjected to adjudication or re-rationalization. This also involves the end results of such practice of mediation: negation, endorsement, or transgression of values, and the newly incorporated or transformed ethics of a particular individual.

Frank was forced into an ethical abstraction, translating his education problems by putting himself in the centre of mediation in the education/ethics/self nexus. In so doing, his sense of self has been awakened and he has realized how these education-related problems have encroached his project of self-making and his self-assertion. Reluctant as Frank is about the idea of overseas study, he desperately hopes to stop his life being like this and to reassert himself. Overseas schooling is constructed as a way out of his problematic schooling life in China. This construction of the overseas alternative is informed by the hearsay of friends, relatives and family about overseas education's lenient learning environment, focus on individual development and the versatility of overseas education in terms of curricula design, practicality and 'more scientific and advanced' pedagogies.

It can be concluded that Frank's overseas education choice is a joint product of his ethical problematization of his pressured student life in China, a strong desire to reclaim his self and a stark contrast drawn between the dire reality of his schooling

in China and a utopian imagination of an overseas education. Pedagogy and curricula are considered from the vantage point of being beneficial to self-development. Overseas schooling is imagined as *an ethical sanctuary* where he can self-govern or have some space to develop himself at his own will and pace. Frank's case indicates a transnational strategy, not of 'flexible accumulation' (Ong 1999) but of *ethical intervention*.

Tracy, 18, is from Jiangsu Province. Both her parents have a tertiary education background. Her mother is a state cadre in a government financial bureau and her father is a successful entrepreneur managing a leather goods business. Tracy's happy school life turns out to be a nightmare when she upgrades to an academically well-reputed, senior high school. The huge amount of homework, tutoring and the authoritarian teacher-student relationship of the new school trouble her,

> After class I spent almost all my spare time doing homework. Education in Jiangsu (Province) is very strict and highly competitive (compared with other parts of China), and the load of homework is horrible. I know other junior schools where the students have to do their homework even at 11pm. But our (junior) school is very relaxed, we don't have that amount of homework, and are given free time to read our favourite books in the school library or jump online and surf around. And we could still do well in our subjects and get good marks. But in this senior high, those who graduate from our junior school just cannot adjust to it. It was customary for me unable to finish my homework, because I had to sleep at 11pm. And then the teacher was very angry with me.

This description of school life has some resemblance to that of Frank's. Unlike Frank, Tracy has not been in such a situation for long. Her previous strategic school choices favour quality education. These schools shape her study habits as well as her views about what proper education and learning should be like. The changed life brought about by school change results in Tracy's ethical problematization. Her nodes of ethical problematization do not focus on the wretched life of academic oppressions. Rather, she translates this phenomenon in ethical terms, negates it and critiques it in terms of the legitimacy of an educational system, rationality of work ethic, equality in student-teacher relationship and the worthiness of her psychological cost. Foreseeing that these will definitely change her life as much as her old self and deprive her of her self-governing rights, she decides, on her own volition, to study abroad, with her parents' support.

The similarity among the high cultural capital group members is that they are all high-achievers but their educational strategies, trajectories, pressures, work ethics and coping capabilities differ. Therefore, their motivations for overseas schooling vary. Non-native capital rather than ethical needs constitutes the overseas study imperative for Phil, while Tracy and Frank find moral sanctuary in overseas education when they come to understand how schools have shaped their ethics of the self. Their flexibility is geared towards an instrumentalist approach to the ethics of overseas education which they imagine to be lenient and able to rectify their life circumstances relating to the technologies of the self, self-worth and self-wellbeing.

The three cases indicate that the moment overseas education is resorted to by the students, it is approached as varied regimes either of capital or of ethics. However, what this high cultural capital group of students have in common is their attention to, or consciousness of the ethics of their educational selves in moral terms of the work ethic and self-discipline. They all demonstrate a strong desire to self-govern and self-assert and specifically for Phil, self-challenge.

The medium cultural capital group: education for vocation

Natalie, 18, studious, confident, high-achieving, is from Shenzhen, China's first special economic zone. She has a three-year old brother. Her father holds a bachelor degree and her mother holds a three-year university diploma. Her parents have managed their self-owned factory in Shenzhen for over ten years.

Natalie's former school has ties with elite universities around the world, such as Harvard University, Australian National University (ANU), and Toronto University. These universities select a couple of hundred students directly from her school on a yearly basis. According to Natalie, over half of the students in her school are preparing to study abroad, mostly in the United States, Britain and Canada, with very few in Australia. With studying overseas as a pre-set trajectory of self-making, Natalie has no options for her overseas study destination: it is a side effect of her parents' application for migration to Australia.

By this immigration strategy, Natalie's parents wish to offer her a new domain of living in Australia, where the rich-poor gap is mild and, therefore, she doesn't have

to work too hard to achieve social distinction in the status race in China. But, they themselves want to continue their hard-won wealthy and upper class life in Shenzhen. This instrumental approach to migration, parents' sacrifice and reluctance to stay in Australia are captured by Natalie's comment on her dad's "sitting in migration jail"[13]. Her parents' plan is that, with residency status, when Natalie finishes education in Australia, she can at least stay here, take a job and obtain a couple of years of work experience if she chooses to go back to China.

Waters' (2005) research reveals that Hong Kong Chinese use migration as 'spatial strategy' to facilitate their children's acquisition of foreign cultural capital and overseas qualifications. Natalie's case illustrates more than that. It is not overseas qualifications that Natalie's parents are after. Rather, it is a totally new domain of life with alternative geographical ethics embedded that is on offer. Natalie's case is a spatial strategy of ethical intervention in the extremes. Overseas education is simply the beginning of such ethical intervention.

Although she accepts her parents' arrangement without questioning, her attitude towards education manifests in her decision to transfer between schools in Australia. Through the overseas study agency, she was to study in a state school in Melbourne. She visited it once out of caution,

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[13] 'Sitting migration jail' refers to the mandatory requirement of length of stay in Australia to retain a permanent residency status. Only Australian citizens have an automatic right of entry to Australia. All non-citizens need a visa that allows them to enter and remain in Australia.

A holder of permanent residency visas may remain in Australia indefinitely. A 5-year initial visa, which corresponds to the underlying migration scheme, is granted alongside the permanent residency. Until the initial visa expires, the visa holder may leave and re-enter Australia freely. After the initial visa expires, if the holder wishes to continue to travel to and from Australia as a permanent resident, they must obtain a Resident Return Visa (RRV, subclasses 155 and 157)), on the condition that the holder has been in Australia as a permanent resident for at least 2 years out of the 5. The holder must satisfy this requirement to obtain a Subclass 155 Resident Return visa. Those who live for too long outside Australia may lose their permanent resident status. (Accessed Feb 2013, http://myaccessaustralia.com/australian-permanent-residency-subclass-155-resident-return-visas-rrv/).

> It was just a plain house, with metal-like roof. Just plain classrooms. …At the train station, you can easily tell private school students from state school students. They differ a lot in the ways they talk and behave. …I think students from private schools are more polite and girls are more lady-like. State school students smoke and spit in the train station. Girls wear very short skirts, touching and hugging boys.

For Natalie, the first encounter of a transnational educational space starts from her first taste of the local youth culture. She links it with an understanding of different types of schools in Melbourne. She obviously regards schools as places where students learn how to comport themselves. Linking embodied cultural capital to schools and seeing the difference, she immediately set out to transfer to another school, all by herself. She is finally settled in an independent school, a 'right' school located in a middle-class suburb with decent facilities, polite people and friendly environment. Therefore, for Natalie, her cultural capital imaginary of schools and her embodied self-making, in particular, are shaped by her class tastes. This is an opposite example to Ong's (1999: 90) observation that parents send their children to the 'right' overseas school in an attempt to inculcate in them certain "social behaviors". Natalie is not meant to accumulate the 'right' social behaviors, as is emphasized by Ong, in the new school. Instead, she is looking for a school that suits her embodied standards and classed tastes in comportment.

Jane, 18, confident and hardworking, is also from Shenzhen. Both her parents hold three-year university diplomas. They manage a family-owned company. She first met Natalie on the Internet when she was trying to get information on studying in Australia. Like Natalie, she is also dispatched to Australia to continue schooling as part of her family's migration project, with her mother accompanying her in the newly bought house in Melbourne while "sitting the migration jail".

Jane links education to job market prospects. She believes that university qualifications in China are regarded as a badge of her 'quality' (*suzhi*) or human capital, and, thus, comes to a conclusion that educational success hinges on the prestige, or ranking, of a university degree. In this regard, Jane emphasizes a career or market oriented notion of the self which is judged against yardstick of symbolic capital to be obtained from education.

Jane does not attach more weight or symbolic capital to an Australian educational qualification. Neither does she believe that an Australian university credential counts more than a qualification from a Chinese university. Instead, she interprets and evaluates the symbolic capital a university qualification holds according to how hard it is to be obtained. She understands that she will have to face much fiercer competition and much more pressure to gain admission to a 'good' university in China than in Australia, as studying in Australia reduces the number of competitors from tens of thousands in China to a few thousands in Australia vying for the few hundred admission quotas from 'good' universities.

Even in the fiercely competitive Chinese educational system, Jane, a top-achiever, had targeted well-ranked Chinese universities because, as she stresses, in China qualifications from well-ranked universities count in the job market. Since she is now in Melbourne, with much less pressure and competition and with her drive and well-motivated competitive mentality, she has to make the most of it and obtain the university qualification of the most prestigious one here. Therefore, she is after a university degree as *symbolic* capital on her capital list in her overseas mission. Although not sure what course she is going to take, Jane is determined to obtain a degree from the University of Melbourne (first ranked University in Victoria, Australia).

Bob, 18, comes from Shanghai. His university-educated father owns a business and his mother is a full-time housewife. Bob rated himself as an average student who studied hard for only two months in the final year of the junior high for senior secondary school entrance examination. Overall, he quite enjoyed his happy-go-lucky junior school days in Shanghai,

> In the first two years of junior high, I could finish my homework in the day. There was not much homework to do. Sometimes I left it and did it the next morning [before I went to school]. Pressures and mountains of homework are for high-achievers. We average students are only keen on how we spend today. We don't think too far about tomorrow.

In Bob's imagination, life is composed of the tedious capital accumulating routine in schools and at university, and the exciting, benefit reaping part of a career journey. Always understanding that education will be the steppingstone for his career life, he

admits that he is the type of student who cannot be 100% focused on his study, as his interest simply is not in there.

Since his easy life was disturbed in senior secondary school, Bob was forced to re-examine his blueprint for life. His new school life has been under ethical problematization. The nodes of ethical problematization include his personal need for a happy school life with friendships, an average academic ranking and limited effort in schoolwork. He calculates that it is not worth trading his lifestyle for a university degree. Australia, in contrast, is constructed as a place where it is easy to get admission to university if he does his senior schooling and sits entrance examinations there. Concurring with Waters' (2006) research findings, studying in Australia provides Bob with a 'guaranteed' route to university. Thus, studying overseas is imagined as an easy route to university with minimum loss of previous lifestyle and with minimum psychological cost.

For Bob, his capital list includes a university degree, whether from China or Australia, as long as it is 'not too bad', to facilitate his career life. Bob's capital list of this overseas foray also includes a language bonus—spoken English good enough for daily communication. His capital imaginary is endorsed and oriented to a job in financial circles in Shanghai.

Tim's, 17, home city is Fuzhou, the capital city of Fujian Province in Southern China. His father went to Japan for further study after graduation from a university in China. His mother holds a three-year university diploma and has been a full-time housewife for several years. Tim is from a business family which has transnational business dealings with customers in Japan, Europe and the US. Consequently, Tim is required to be conversant in English and Japanese. He succinctly states his purpose of study in Australia as to learn the English language.

Tim does not complain about his schooling experience in China, or dwell on the hardships he has been through. Actually, as a high-achiever, he copes with academic pressures fairly well. Tim, a boss-to-be, does not feel pressured to build up a CV and try his luck on the job market through the venue of education. However, an overseas study choice does change his capital imaginary towards education, when his capital

imaginaries of the overseas journey are narrowly geared towards capital that can be useful in his future business careers. His career-oriented capital list targets non-native cultural capital, namely English and Japanese (his first foreign language in Australia). Unlike the rest of the Chinese international students who plan to take up their tertiary education in Australia, Tim wants to pursue a university degree outside Australia. He sets his next stop of accumulation in Japan, where he is going to do a Bachelor degree and facilitate his Japanese language learning and cultural capital accumulation.

Jack, 17, is from Chengdu, the capital city of Sichuan Province. His mother, with a bachelor degree in Education, used to be a schoolteacher which she gave up to establish her own business. His father owns a mining factory of 400 employees. As his mother's approach to education was quite relaxed, Jack had never attended after-class tutoring. He had enjoyed his primary school years as a versatile student, excelling academically and doing extremely well in car modelling and ship modelling. But his academic interest was smothered in his junior secondary school. In order for him to continue schooling, his family applied for business migration to Australia. This is another case of migration as a 'child-centered, familial' spatial education strategy such as documented by Waters (2005).

Jack reads education as preparation for a career life which, he thinks, China's education system does poorly. He challenges the practice of equating university examination scores with students' abilities. In his eyes, qualifications earned by academic marks are not readily convertible to 'rice bowls', or translated into career successes. He ironically criticizes China's examination-oriented education, observing that 'the purpose of twelve years of schooling is just for three days of university entrance examination'.

He ethically problematizes the Chinese educational system that reduces the self to academic scores. However, his approach to the self is from the vantage point of a career self. He expects to obtain, from education, the knowledge that can be applied practically to a career world. He wants to have his academic interest rekindled in the new school in Melbourne and learn something 'really useful'. Maintaining that students' hands-on abilities count for a successful career, he puts the development of

capabilities, rather than educational qualifications, on top of his capital list. To sum up, Jack's overseas study imperatives are composed of an ethical problematization of China's educational system regarding its lack of practicality in curriculum design, the gap between book knowledge and hands-on knowledge to make it in the world and its inability to cultivate students' capabilities for career success. He looks to the Australian schooling opportunity to fill the gap and fulfil his educating-for-jobs ideal.

Roughly, this medium cultural capital group shares a view of education for jobs. They 'use' education to develop a professional self and their project of self-making is oriented to the job market. In other words, they regard education as an indispensable capital accumulation venue and a steppingstone to boost their career prospects. All members of this group make the most of their educational choices and habitually search the horizon for education-related capital that they identify will benefit them most for a future in the job market or workplace. For the high-achieving students in this middle cultural capital group, namely Jane, Natalie and Tim, there is no ethical problematization of China's examination-oriented education system, load of schoolwork, tutoring and so forth, due to a strong belief in hardworking ethic, a 'can-do' mentality, and the self-confidence to excel through efforts.

The low cultural capital group: education for a university degree

Cindy, 17, comes from Jiangsu Province. Both her parents finished junior high school. Her father manages his own business and her mother is a full-time housewife.

Cindy is a hardworking student but her academic standing is slightly below the average in her former schools in China. Therefore, her parents have persuaded her to settle with a three-year university diploma. But Cindy is quite determined to go to university although she plans to be a housewife. Actually, the casual family talk about whose children go to the best university in China and parental exchange of such information among friends impress upon Cindy that her failure to go to university will bring shame to her family and to herself. Cindy says,

> You will be despised by the society if you don't go to university. You will be labelled as low quality (*suzhi*) and dull… The idea of being a housewife

> should be after my university graduation and a few years of work at a particular job. In so doing I can show others that I have such and such education background and work experience. Getting to university in Australia will repay my dad's couple of millions *yuan*[14] spent on my education.

Cindy works extremely hard to be able to go to university. In order to finish her homework in her former boarding secondary school, she used to do it in her bed using a flashlight under her quilt. Witnessing what Cindy has been through and anticipating her failure in university entrance examination in China, Cindy's parents decide that her 'eating bitterness' is not worthwhile and agree to send her overseas, in the hope that a more relaxed education may improve her academic performance. Overseas education is, thus, constructed as an alternative to the Chinese education system. To achieve their goal, Cindy's family cautiously choose Australia as the destination. With the help of a friend in Melbourne, they settle in Beachton Grammar, believing that it will not make Cindy's life too academically competitive and, in the meanwhile, can help her fulfil her university dream comfortably.

Rose, 17, a studious girl, comes from Henan Province. Her parents graduated with junior high school certificates. They have occupied themselves in their family business for over ten years. Rose was admitted to a well-reputed, senior high school for her academic excellence. But her mother was determined to send her overseas,

> A friend of my mum's has sent all her three daughters to Australia, with two daughters pursuing degrees here. Another very close friend of my mum (Rose's godmother) has sent her son to Australia to study, and she advised my mum to send me there too. The secondary school I attended ranked top three (senior secondary sector) in our Province, in which there were 10,000 students, including the junior secondary sector. Among them, I couldn't be the best. Academically far too many students were better than me and they were very competitive. As I chose sciences, my mum and my godmother thought that boy students had more advantages in sciences than girls, and worried that I would be surpassed and couldn't maintain my academic standing. They knew that sometimes I did get very impatient, angry and distressed when I couldn't get the point in teachers' lecturing.

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[14] The Chinese currency, also named Renminbi (RMB). In October 2010 when I conducted the interviews with the students, the exchange rate between Australian dollar and Chinese Yuan was: 1 *Australian Dollar* = 6.5117 *Chinese Yuan*.

Considering that Rose may not be able to stand up to the competition with several thousand fellow students at her school, let alone the millions in China, Rose's mum constructs studying in Australia as an easier and safer route to university, with the comparatively meagre number of students competing for university entry in Australia, Given that, she expects Rose to get a degree from a university with an academic ranking no lower than the University of Melbourne, which she thinks is worth her 'big money'.

Tom, 17, is from Jiangsu Province. His father's highest educational qualification is the senior high school certificate. Both parents are involved in their family business. The major reason for Tom to study overseas is that his academic ranking fell after he upgraded to senior high school. As a student who used to 'study smart', he was very reluctant to work long hours, swamping himself with a heavy load of homework in his new school. Seeing through the educational system, that he believed rewards those who work 'unreasonably hard', he lost interest in his study. But he had great difficulty coming to terms with the fact that he fell from his highly acclaimed status and was reduced to academic mediocrity. On the one hand, Tom's ethical problematization is against the educational system in his assertion to 'stick to himself'. On the other hand, his self-prescription and self-image as being 'no longer an outstanding student' is the very product his school shapes. To save him from failing school and from his moral struggles, his parents send him overseas.

Erik, 18, is from Shanghai. Both his parents finished senior high. His mother owns a business and his father is a sales manager. Academically excellent in his primary school, Erik gradually had trouble maintaining his academic standing. Feeling dismayed by his son's worsening school performance and pressured by friends who compare their children's academic rankings, his mother sends him overseas, hoping that he will obtain a not-too-bad university degree and will learn to live independently there. She thinks that, without a university degree, Erik will not find a job in Shanghai. Therefore, Erik himself does not have much say in the overseas study decision: he has been pushed academically by his mother throughout his years and has learnt that acceptance is the best policy.

Like it or not, what all members of this group want to get from overseas education is a university degree, either out of familial or their own expectations. Overseas education is constructed to be able to offer an alternative, easier and safer route to reach this goal. In this group, all except Rose are academically average. They see themselves as academic mediocrities, though not failures, in the intense academic competitions in China. They and their families hope that a change of school can improve their academic performance.

All except Tom are victims of the competitive educational system in China, accepting their student life as it is, rather than uttering any form of questioning. They do what they are required to, staying focused on study, doing their best to finish their homework and attending after-class tutoring. Remaining silent and focused on their schoolwork, Cindy and Erik endure and get used to a life of struggle in which they demonstrate little prospects of excelling.

All of them have their situated constellations of fears, struggles, worries, frustrations and endurances. Cindy's fear is being ridiculed, labeled as an academic failure, a failed person and daughter. Rose is pressured to 'repay' her mum's money with a top university degree. Tom is frustrated by the failure to live up to his school-shaped self-prescription. Erik endures everything in silence. Compared with the previous two groups from high and medium cultural capital families who also have emotional constellations of their own, this group differs in the ubiquitous feelings of guilt they are made to have for not excelling academically and for being labeled as school mediocrities. They do not hold the moral ground and legitimacy to challenge the system that makes them that way, like the students from high cultural capital families do. When their parents prioritize university degrees, they do not answer back like some students of medium cultural family backgrounds, who righteously critique the impracticality educational credentials bring. If there are any ethical problematizations by this low cultural capital group, they are tentatively voiced and laced with self-doubt, guilt and helplessness. Ironically enough, this group is made to believe that these fears, worries, struggles, frustrations and endurances will be able to be smoothed away by a magic university degree. The university degree is the ultimate goal of their staged project of self-making, which looms large and

encumbers their whole-hearted self-imaginations, and casts a shadow on their everyday enjoyment of their lives.

4.3 Further theoretical discussion

So far, from a class perspective, I have examined how Chinese international students make sense of their self-making in relation to education. As I point out earlier in this chapter, these economically upper-middle and middle class positioned students come from families of varied cultural capital, which further divides them into three cultural capital groups.

Broadly speaking, the three sets of students grouped along cultural capital lines demonstrate patterned emphases and priorities in their project of self-making. Consequently, they draw on similarly patterned 'uses' of schooling and educational choices to achieve their self-making goals.

The high cultural capital group approach their self-making projects from the perspective of ethics. They have formed solid ethics of the self, such as a hardworking ethic, self-assertion and self-governing. Tracy and Frank link their ethical dimension of self-making to education processes. When their ethical ways of self-making have been interrupted, they seek overseas schooling to suit their ethical needs. Although Phil does not have any ethical concerns, overseas educational choice will consolidate his ethical ways along with the challenge for 'different' knowledge.

The medium cultural capital group embrace education for vocation. They tend to focus on developing a career self as the ultimate goal of their projects of self-making. They interpret education as a venue of capital accumulation for the job market, using university qualifications to boost their job market prospects. Therefore, for high achievers, namely Jane and Natalie, they aim for university with the most symbolic capital while, for Bob, Australia is an easy route to gain admission to university. For Tim, overseas education is a venue for accumulating geographies of cultural capital for the purpose of transnational business that he will take up later in life.

The low cultural capital group members regard university degrees as their ultimate life goal of the moment. Whatever their academic standings are, they *have to* go to university. Australian education offers them an opportunity to fulfil their university dreams.

Unpacking the education/self-making nexus draws a nuanced understanding of the rationalities behind how education is chosen and used in various ways in Chinese international students' self-making projects. For all students, they demonstrate a mixture of market rationalities and ethical rationalities. The difference is that they have varied emphases and priorities on either long-term market rationalities, such as career aspects, or short-term, staged market rationalities revolving around the usefulness of tertiary education qualifications or ethical rationalities. These priorities count, as they constitute the very fabric of their identity work.

Referring to this group of Chinese school students in their late teens, I argue that the taken-for-granted link between self-making and market logic needs to be re-examined, as the ultimate goal of self-making is not necessarily linked to economic imperatives or a neoliberal logic of capital accumulation, as is claimed by Ong (1999) in her study of transnationally mobile Hong Kong business elites. I add that the theorization of the self is intimately associated with the age cohort of the subjects and calls for an examination of their blueprint for life and the forces that hail them in their phased and processual project of self-making. By focusing on the education/self nexus, I find that the students put market rationalities and ethics at the centre of their mediation. These rationalities, I argue, inform and shape their priorities of self-making.

How do the students construct the 'allure' of an Australian education? They offer four broad reasons for their choice of Australia as their destination for overseas study. The first reason is based on their capital need, mostly from high and middle cultural capital background students. Phil, from the high cultural capital group, identifies in his capital list non-native, Australian cultural capital and social capital. Among the medium cultural capital group, Tim and Bob endorse English language as a form of non-native capital that will benefit their career life. Tim, Jack, Frank from high and medium cultural capital group identify and endorse the practicality of

curriculum design as a form of capital, which is not available in China's educational system. In one way or another, Australia provides the non-native cultural capital that suit their needs.

The second reason relates to their ultimate goal of overseas education—going to university in Australia, with Tim as the exception. Students from all cultural capital backgrounds aim for a university education in their overseas foray. Given their varied academic performances, schooling trajectories, expectations and ethical mediation, overseas university credentials are endowed with varied significance and values. Students from high cultural capital families take university education so much for granted that it is not necessarily cited as a reason for overseas schooling. They demonstrate a priority for learning over qualifications per se.

Students of medium cultural capital background hold an instrumentalist approach to university education. Jane, Natalie and Bob believe that a degree can help achieve other goals in the social world. They wish to obtain degrees from universities that are sufficiently prestigious or respected to ensure future conversion into symbolic capital.

Members from low cultural capital families aspire to their university dreams. The degree is not only imagined as a form of cultural capital that can facilitate their future life in the social or career world as in the medium cultural capital group, but is also constructed as a solution to all their present life problems—parental expectations, feelings of inadequacy and helplessness in themselves. A university degree fulfils the role of emotional pacifier and is expected to repay their psychological cost and ease their mental strain.

Regardless of their cultural capital background, high-achieving students aim for well-ranked universities and tend to capitalize on the symbolic capital their overseas qualifications hold. For those who struggle in China's education system, Australia is imagined as an easy route, although not necessarily a 'guaranteed route' (Waters 2006:189) to university education, due to its much lower level competition and comparatively achievable admission preliminaries.

The third reason is that some students choose Australian education out of ethical considerations. Their purposes of ethical intervention do not necessarily contradict their capital imaginaries and non-native capital lists. I will come back to this point later.

The last reason has drawn attention to the differences the Chinese students identify and construct between an Australian education and other Western education. Australia is chosen as their destination for overseas study on account of its climate conditions, living cost and secure social environment, judged according to racial tolerance, friendliness of local people and personal safety.

As Waters (2006:189) persuasively points out, the value, 'the inherent superiority', and 'the relative exchange value' of 'Western' credentials needs to be examined in "very specific place-based social relations". Chapter 5 will explore how these Chinese students relate to the value of an Australian university qualification as a form of a 'Western' university degree in their job market prospects. My analysis in this current chapter centres on their educational choices and planning. Based on the four reasons that I identify in my investigation into students' overseas choices, I argue that an Australian education is mediated through many perspectives. In this regard, I find it necessary to revisit Ong's cultural hegemony thesis regarding the practices of sending children for education abroad, which is set against the backdrop of the global cultural economy. She further elaborates on this cultural rationality,

> When the world is the arena of strategies of accumulation, subjects coming from less privileged sites must be flexible in terms of the cultural symbols they wish to acquire. Euroamerican cultural hegemony determines and judges the signs and forms of metropolitan status and glamour (Ong 1999:89).

According to my study, the choices of an overseas education over a domestic education are multiply motivated. Along with the market rationalities that have been mediated in educational choice making, I also draw attention to ethical rationalities, highlighting ethical problematization and ethical endorsements that constitute overseas education imperatives.

At the moment of educational choice making, students demonstrate a heightened *selectivity* in their capital imaginaries and calculate what to put on their capital lists.

This further deconstructs the cultural hegemony thesis that is based on nation-state cultural hierarchies. It will be examined, in the following chapter, how the force of the global cultural economy traps these Chinese students. For students whose overseas mission is all about a university degree that they cannot get in China, how will they judge the symbolic superiority in a degree they consider to be earned comparatively easy? Engaging with Ong's claim, I argue that overseas education is sought after to fulfil various goals and to achieve varied ends, without necessarily being a form of symbolic capital or a specific form of cultural capital in the global cultural economy. Based on my study of these Chinese international students, I suggest that there is a more nuanced attitude towards 'foreign credentials' which goes beyond Ong's (1999) meta-narrative of Western-dominated sphere of university education. Chinese students demonstrate a 'neoliberal instrumentalism' of an overseas education, making the most of the transnational education gap, either out of capital or ethics considerations. The calculation lies in minimizing input and maximizing output culturally, economically and morally.

By investigating the moral world of the students regarding their educational experiences and choices, students' emotions, ethical problematizations, desires and dreams have been unpacked. I extend Collier and Lakeoff's notion of ethics by drawing attention to the education/self-making nexus, by looking at the Chinese international students' particular projects of self-making in their formative years. I also argue for the need to theorize ethics along the lines of class. Students who ethically problematize China's education system can afford to opt out of such ethical chaos and buy new geographies of ethics through overseas schooling choices.

Speaking back to Ong and Zhang's (2008) theorization of Chinese subjects under the influence of 'socialism from afar', I concur that some Chinese students demonstrate self-assertion, self-governing and self-discipline in their trajectories of self-making, backed up by their families' financial means, to stick to their ethical endorsements in a transnational space of schooling. In this regard, Australian schooling, with its specific geography of ethics, serves as their moral sanctuary.

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This chapter investigated the motivations and reasons behind Chinese students and their families' choice of an overseas education in Australia from a class perspective. These students construct their overseas imperatives relative to schooling experiences in China, ethical problematization based on these experiences, capital imaginaries and their imaginative and sometimes utopian construction of an overseas education.

The chapter examined the link between class and educational choice of Chinese families who send their children to school in Australia. It contributes to the body of literature on social class and schooling choice by bringing attention to ethical rationalities and emotional landscapes of students and families in their educational decision-making. It also engaged with transnational theoretical debates in relation to flexible accumulation strategies and logics, and a cultural hierarchical approach to cultural capital accumulation.

The next chapter will push the lines of argument in two ways: Chinese international students' ethical problematization, capital accumulation, and their losses in the transnational educational space of Australia along class lines. It examines them in both the current and future tense. It will look at how their hands-on transnational experiences shape their future aspirations, class identities and identities of class-to-be.

Chapter 5

Instrumental Transnationalism and Geographies of Chinese International Students' Class-Making

> I like to go to Melbourne Uni, and take the course of science. I know some stuff like chemistry. Then I will do master of commerce. Like I can manage the [family] business as well. Then maybe I will establish a chemical company here. I want to experience how to establish a company here, instead of just inheriting one from my parents. My dad wants me to run his company [in China], but he also respects my opinion and my choice. My mum says that I don't necessarily come back [to China] if I want to stay in Australia. Because I want to see what the circumstances are like in the future, in Melbourne, in business terms, it is a future decision to make whether I stay or go back (Phil, interview transcript).

> I think the local-born Chinese students should master the Chinese language. The language is the marker of their Chinese root. Apart from that, Chinese language is very useful, since China has been developing rapidly. In that case, who can tell for sure one day she/he will remain in Australia? China may well be a better choice (Natalie, interview transcript).

International students' 'wider life-course aspirations', in terms of career aspirations, have been approached as an indicator of their future class orientations (Brooks and Everett 2008; Findlay et al 2012). Existing literature on transnationally mobile students has a focus on what class they are making in the future (Ball 2010; Findlay et al 2012; Waters 2005, 2006; Waters and Brooks 2011; Weenink 2007, 2008). Some studies point to the fact that class-making supersedes nation-states and challenges national settings as its frame of reference (Findlay et al 2012; Weenink 2008). Whether the students will become members of the less geographically encumbered world class, transnational capitalist class or global middle class (Ball 2010; Findlay et al 2012; Sklair 1997, 2000), or geographically emplaced class categories of various kinds (Waters 2006; Weenink 2007), these class-making

practices are increasingly tied to the geographical location. This raises the question of *geographies* of class-making.

In this literature, much attention has been paid to education-related capital accumulation and the interpretation of the 'conversion value' of such non-native capital accumulation, in other words, the practice of weighing the values of overseas education and overseas experience from a market perspective. This chapter endeavours to contribute to this body of literature by further exploring the links between class-making, transnational mobilities and geographies. In particular, how Chinese international students construct the usefulness of overseas education in relation to their future career-oriented and classed self-making will be examined.

But a capital approach to the usefulness of overseas education in terms of market logics tends to neglect other rationalities. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, ethical considerations also play a role in some Chinese students' education-related self-making. This chapter will further this ethical line of inquiry in an attempt to release the investigation of the self from the capital/class nexus by exploring the self/geography/class nexus. It aims to probe the links between geographical mobilities, transnational emplacement, capital accumulation, career oriented self-imagination and geographies. It will offer a specific examination of the ways geographies are mediated by students-in-mobility, with regards to their self-imagination.

This chapter first introduces the theoretical frameworks that guide the analysis of the class-making of the Chinese international students. Along with the conceptual frameworks of capital imaginaries, capital list and ethics previously introduced in Chapter 4, a theoretical discussion of class-making that cuts across national boundaries is highlighted. I use the concept *geographies of class-making* to explore the complicated materiality and morality of self-making. Following that, I will unpack how Chinese students imagine themselves in the post-education stage and explore the rationalities and priorities of their blueprint for a career self. In the theoretical discussion, I revisit the links between self-making, mobilities and geographies, before drawing the chapter together in a brief conclusion.

5.1 The class-making/transnationality nexus

The theoretical frameworks I employ in this chapter overlap with those I use in Chapter 4 (see in that chapter, section 4.1). This chapter is an attempt to develop further my conceptual frameworks, namely, capital imaginaries, capital list, and a set of ethics related concepts. Findlay et al (2012) identify three life-stage choices and plans to pinpoint the self-imagination of international students, namely, the choices of education in school education, higher education choices and career aspirations. Self-making is, thus unpacked as an ongoing, processual, and staged project. While Chapter 4 aims to probe the education/self nexus, and capital imaginaries and capital list, with education as the centre of mediation, this chapter will focus on uncovering the self by linking it to a post-education blueprint, a life world self-imagination and aspiration of mobile Chinese students, with this self being linked to the processes of transnational mobilities, experiences and transnational opportunities. This self is not to be contained by geographically territorial boundaries.

The new theoretical lens I introduce engages with class formation in a way that contradicts methodological nationalism in the area of the globalizing or transnational capitalist market and transnational mobility of capital. Ball points out the necessity to theorize social class, through both global and local lenses, in terms of 'differences and convergences', as social class, constructed in particular 'national settings' with "national histories, cultures, economies and political relations", now faces the "context of globalization and its flows and mobilities" (2010:139). He proceeds to conceptualize class-making beyond national boundaries,

> …if we think about social class in relation to conditions of employment, to forms of work and control of the means of production, then our conceptualizations of class and its constituent components have to take into account of the globalization of capital and in particular the de-nationalisation of some forms of labour (2010: 140).

Ball's approach to the concept of global or transnational class is based on de-nationalized capital and labour. Although he focuses on developing the notion of the global middle class (GMC), he tries to distinguish transnational/global classes from 'domestic classes' (Embong 2000) or 'national classes' (Robinson and Harris 2000). Ball keeps Sklair's (1997) transnational corporations (TNCs) and transnational practices as major defining features of transnational or global classes but dismisses

Sklair's inclusion of supporting institutions and groups that promote and maintain the globalizing capitalist market.

Ball (2010) identifies three class fractions in transnational classes. The lowest end of the de-nationalized labour force is composed of localized 'sweatshop workers' where displaced transnational capital makes their employment possible. The transnational capitalist class comprises the 'owners and controllers' of transnational corporations, the most powerful segment of the transnational classes. Between the highest and lowest fractions, he theorizes the 'global middle class' as managers and professionals employed by transnational corporations who engage in transnational practices. Ball recognizes that his TNC-based notion of global middle class fluidly and fuzzily overlaps with other transnationally mobile subjects such as migrants, international students, and round-the-world travellers.

Contrary to Ball, Robinson and Harris (2000) acknowledge Sklair's (1997) inclusion of globalizing institutions in the transnational capitalist class fraction, as a structure formed after transnational corporations constituted a part of the global economy. They argue that such institutions have promoted a 'supra-national infrastructure of the global economy', and are a 'transnational state apparatus' devised by TNC-based transnational capitalist classes to 'wield power' at the global and transnational levels.

Robinson and Harris argue that the emergent transnational capitalist class is 'a global ruling class', and "in the process of constructing a new global capitalist historic", [becomes] a hegemonic bloc consisting of various economic and political forces" (2000:12). The capitalist class is "comprised of the owners of transnational capital, that is, the groups that own the leading worldwide means of production as embodied principally in the transnational corporations and private financial institutions" (ibid:22). They distinguish their definition of transnational capitalist class from national or local capitalists, maintaining that the transnational capitalist class

> is involved in globalized production and manages globalized circuits of accumulation that give it an objective class existence and identity spatially and politically in the global system above any local territories and polities (ibid 2000:23).

Although scholars try to theorize a certain segment of transnational or global classes, the transnational/national class distinctions are yet to be clarified. A case in point is the nation-state bounded 'global workforce' that Embong (2000) draws attention to. Approaching the transnational/national class fractions distinction from a different angle, Embong dwells on the relationship between transnational corporations and domestic classes. He critically asks: how do we classify those who are directly and indirectly involved in the 'service of the TNCs', and those who work in domestically located services such as banking and tourism that operate transnationally (2000:998)? This is where claims of 'transnational practices' as a defining feature of transnational classes are stretched.

Besides, it is hard to make a comparison between different fractions of national class and transnational or supranational class in terms of power, as they wield power in different markets and fields. Although this kind of comparison has been made in Robinson and Harris's work, which concludes that the owners and controllers of the world's top 500 TNCs exert more political and economic power than national capitalist classes, this is only a comparison between the utmost upper level or the elite of the elite fractions of both national and supranational classes.

Similarly, it is also hard to make a comparison between different segments of national classes and supranational classes with regards to social prestige, as prestige is traditionally tied to a geographical location where culture, power and historical factors combine to define it. Therefore, at this stage at least, based on the contributions of existing theoretical endeavours, there is no clear evidence to demonstrate whether national class or supranational class is more powerful, privileged and accorded more contextualized prestige or which is better positioned in class terms.

Although transnational class definitions are yet to be clarified and class distinctions are in need of more empirical investigations, the existence of transnational classes has been asserted by some scholars. Sklair (1997) is not alone in stressing that the class consciousness of the transnational capitalist class is outwardly and particularly oriented to transnational markets and capital. In many cases, subjects' supranational class consciousness is investigated along with their capital orientations. This is a site

of investigation in my study of Chinese international students. The link between class goals and capital imaginaries of Chinese students will be pursued in this chapter.

However, the current literature does not explore the mechanisms of students' class choices between the new domains of national and transnational classes. This is where my theoretical tool of geographies of class-making becomes useful. Class goals now go beyond national confines and the questions of where (domestic or overseas), which (global, transnational or domestic market), and what (jobs and careers) that contribute to 'global force' become a defining feature of geographies of class-making. I find it necessary to explore the mechanisms behind the class choices of where, which, and what, before moving on to investigate the link between market rationalities and capital imaginaries.

Recent empirical research has also used the destination of future careers as an indicator of 'world class' membership (Findlay et al 2012). Geographical mobilities are theorized to be an agency, a privilege or even prestige, enabling people to achieve their class goals and accumulation (Findlay et al 2012; Ong 1999; Robinson and Harris 2000). This chapter will continue this line of inquiry and examine how Chinese international students understand geographical mobilities and the rationalities behind such mobilities.

5.2 Imagining a worthwhile self: career aspirations, class goals and capital imaginaries

This chapter uncovers how Chinese international students imagine their future in terms of their career aspirations from a class perspective, and probes the logics of their career self-making. This examination focuses on how these students understand geographical mobility between China and Australia and how their hands-on experience of transnationality shapes their class-making, and ultimately, self-imagination and aspirations. The students fall into three categories: neoliberal ambitionists, would-be middle-class 'mediocrities' and would-be entrepreneurs.

5.2.1 Neoliberal ambitionists

Bob, Natalie and Jane share some similarities about their future aspirations. As we have met them in Chapter Four, all of them are from medium cultural capital backgrounds and lived in cities that have benefited most from China's economic reform since the 1980s. In their self-planning and imagination, they have demonstrated a strong desire for social status or upward class mobility. Status rationalities become the major force that shapes how they design their future.

Bob is from Shanghai, a world city with a 20-million-population marching towards its ambitious role of 'new financial center of Asia'. As previously introduced in Chapter 4, Bob is not interested in studying in educational institutions, rather, he finds the idea of taking a professional job more attractive. Being quite class conscious, in his current class positioning as a well-to-do middle-class member, he sets clear upward mobility class goals with strong social status aspirations. He believes that an upper-middle-class life in Shanghai is a worthwhile life to lead and envisages his future self as a member of the upper-middle-class fraction.

Therefore, for Bob, his self is projected and mediated in class rationalities. He calculates how his daily capital accumulation can help him achieve his class goals. He wants to work in financial circles in Shanghai. Consequently, his capital imaginaries are shaped by this future career plan. Bob endorses and identifies the type of capital that can facilitate his chances in securing such jobs.

Although not sure whether to take the courses of commerce or accounting in university, Bob clearly and succinctly summarizes the capital accumulation list of his Australian mission,

> I think, with a decent overseas/Australian university qualification, a couple of years working experience in Australia, and a mastery of English enough for communication with foreigners, it won't be hard to find a job (in Shanghai). Now I am in the stage of cultivating myself…I think with these at hand at least I can lead an above-average life in Shanghai.

This is a capital list deliberately geared to a future job or profession. It is a well-calculated professional capital list. On it, Bob endorses and identifies the importance of certain non-native cultural capital. However, his non-native cultural endorsement

is only limited to English linguistic capital as an international business language and hands-on knowledge of business thoughts and operations to be exposed to and accumulated later in Australian companies. This endorsement is based on his interpretation of the capital list as global cultural capital in need in Shanghai, because Shanghai as a "world city... attracts large foreign businesses and related expatriate communities" (Ball 2010: 145) while Bob happens to have international commerce or financial related career aspirations.

Given that, does Bob demonstrate an interest in what Weenink (2008) calls cosmopolitan capital? According to Weenink (2008), cosmopolitan capital is composed of a neoliberal instrumentalist approach to other cultures, an outward rather than inwardly national orientation and a readiness for geographical mobility and relocation. Bob's flexibility in non-native cultural capital accumulation is very instrumental as he is only open to non-native cultural capital that is interpreted to have the potential to facilitate his future career. However, this non-native cultural capital is accumulated not as a particularly targeted other culture but, rather, is taken as a global form of culture, as business-related professional capital. This type of capital is highlighted by Weenink (2007), who attributes the popularity of English as a global business language to the proliferation of supranational structures such as the European Union, global capitalist markets and the standardization of business and financial courses in US-led universities.

In addition, Bob distinguishes his 'world city' cultural capital list from other types of non-native, in this case, Australian embedded socio-cultural knowledge, to which he demonstrates a strong cultural inertia. Although being exposed to such knowledge in Australia and being a well-travelled person, Bob refuses to be open to other non-native cultural ways and sees no reason for a cultural change, claiming that he is the type of person who finds it "hard to accept different cultures". Therefore, Bob's capital accumulation is oriented to *global business related professional capital*, rather than oriented to a specifically, geographically embedded sort of Australian culture.

Now, let us see whether Bob has an outward perspective regarding transnational capital and market, as is theorized by Sklair (1997, 2000), Robinson and Harris

(2000) and Weenink (2008). Obviously, when it comes to deciding a future destination for his professional life, Bob thinks of Shanghai as a market which he compares with that of Australia and with that of the rest of the world. He asserts that China, in particular Shanghai, is a market where "there is gold everywhere". What is more, Shanghai as a market is mediated in terms of the possibility for him to achieve maximum upward mobility. He does not need to look elsewhere for job opportunities to achieve his class goals, as Shanghai offers him the best class opportunities,

> I am becoming less and less interested in the idea of living in Australia… With the lack of social connections [in Australia], the chances for me to get a good job here are too low. I see China, in particular Shanghai, a place where there is gold everywhere. Especially when you've got a good opportunity, some powerful person to rely on, and your parents' money and social connections, it won't be a problem to live in an upper-middle life there.

In his words, there is a lack of interest in geographical mobility and relocation. He believes that he is advantageously positioned in Shanghai. Geographical mobility and relocation as a means to achieve flexible accumulation of capital and prestige has been argued to be a form of agency, prestige and privilege (Robinson and Harris 2000). But, for Bob, geographical relocation in his career life stage means the loss of his parents' social resources embedded in Shanghai: geographical mobility causes the loss and impotency of the long-established and accumulated geographically embedded resources such as familial social connections and prestige. In Bob's project of class-making, he counts on such resources, rather than relying on his own human capital alone.

Also, his global business professional capital can be advantageously received in highly globalized business circles in Shanghai. The geographical receptivity of non-native cultural capital is termed by Waters (2006) as 'geographies of cultural capital'. But, unlike Hong Kong immigrant university graduates who choose to go back to Hong Kong from Canada as an outcome of 'geographies of cultural capital' where their human capital can achieve the maximum job market outcome (Waters 2005, 2006), Bob prioritizes his family's geographically contextualized resources and secondly, his choice of Shanghai is class oriented. Rather than simply reproducing his class position, he wants to mobilize all resources and capital to maximize his upward class mobility. Therefore, in envisaging a future in Australia or elsewhere

other than China, he believes that his geographical relocation will reduce his job prospects, given the loss of social resources that he can mobilize in China. He calculates that he is most advantageously positioned on his way to upward mobility in Shanghai.

There are also ethical rationalities involved in his mediation of geographical mobility and relocation. Bob is concerned about the question of what life he wants to live and relates it to the question of where. His overseas experiences as a student in Melbourne and as a traveller to other countries make him more determined that only in Shanghai he can lead what he thinks to be an interesting and exciting life. He concludes that Melbourne is a banal place for 'retirement' while Shanghai is the 'best place' in the world in terms of convenience of life, food, entertainment and metropolitan scale. Besides, the cultural estrangement he suffers in Melbourne makes him realize that geographical relocation brings about the loss of a familiar cultural landscape. The worthiness of a life, therefore, is directly linked to excitement brought about by entertainment as well as market opportunities and achievable class goals. It is worth noting that his ethical problematization of China's educational system, on account of depriving him of a happy-go-lucky student life, is gone. In Bob's post-education self-imagination, China is reinterpreted ethically as a future destination of residence as well as the battlefield for the social status race.

Bob's intended class goal is to make an upper-middle-class life in Shanghai: his class making is oriented to national class rather than a supra-national class. However, considering the nature of his future career as involving in international business or commerce and transnational practice and capital in particular, and his globally oriented cultural capital accumulation list, as defined by Sklair (1997, 2000), he can 'pass' as supra-national class.

But does Bob have a clear consciousness to make a member of the supra-national class? As a native of the 'world city' Shanghai (Ball 2010:145), Bob does not necessarily sacrifice his geographical attachment and resources at the expense of spatial mobilities as a means to achieve his class ends. Bob's geographical choice of staying in China is a calculated and transnationally informed class strategy. His capital imaginaries are instrumentalist, geographically targeted to Shanghai and

professionally refined. His calculations of his future geographical job destination are informed by his understanding of Shanghai as a job market rather than an outwardly inculcated notion of transnational economic capital orientation. Therefore, unwittingly for Bob, by returning back to Shanghai he achieves, literally, supra-national class membership whereas choosing to stay in Australia via migration makes him a national class member there.

Natalie and **Jane**, as indicated in Chapter 4, are high-achievers and hold Australian permanent residency. Sharing a similar family background, both girls come from the city of Shenzhen, a city characterized by drastic economic reforms which has witnessed transformative economic development as the first trial field of China's economic reform in the 1980s. They were interviewed together and there is a high degree of similarity in their views. Actually, they complement each other in some of my interview questions.

The self-imaginations of Natalie and Jane are fused with class aspirations framed as an exciting life. The question of where they can lead such a life has been mediated frequently since they came to Australia. One aspect of an exciting life has to do with the standard of a city life. As newly migrated young people, they routinely compare the exciting elements in everyday life between Melbourne and Shenzhen. Melbourne is 'super boring' on account of its restricted entertainment facilities and urban development,

> Jane: …The first night I came here, I saw patches of low houses, sporadic convenient shops… Melbourne is like the countryside.
> Natalie: And because we came here via Hong Kong. Hong Kong airport looks prosperous and bustling with all sorts of tax-free stores, big brand boutiques, restaurants. When I arrived at Melbourne airport, I really wanted to go straight back home [in Shenzhen].
> …
> Jane: …We have nowhere to go at night.
> Natalie: We don't know where to go even in the day.
> Jane: We have no choices but go to only a few places.
> Natalie: Just Chadstone and the city.
> Jane: The palm-size city.
> Natalie: But in China we have so many eating places, entertaining places and shopping places. Or we can go to exhibitions. We have a dazzling array of places to go. It feels like we go to a different place every day.
> …

> Natalie: Shenzhen is a most open city, so I didn't feel anything that is more open or progressive in here [Melbourne].

The moment the airplane was about to land in the Melbourne airport, they were quite dismayed as what met their eyes were 'patches of low houses' and isolated convenient shops rather than skyscrapers or spectacular architecture. Ong (2011:205) points out "the proliferation of metropolitan spectacles in Asia as new cultural regime, as major cities race to attain even more striking skylines". Particularly in China, urban transformation has created a notion of the city as characterized not only by high-rise buildings but also by large, intensive and busy business and shopping centres and countless places for entertainment. This has been made possible by the fact that business activities in China are hyperactive and operate long hours. Shenzhen is particularly so, as a window of China's economic reform. In addition, exhibitions of all sorts are very dynamic there. People, especially young people, are increasingly used to entertainment facilities opening over extended hours and tend to use this to judge the comfort index of a city.

The other aspect of an exciting life is linked with their strong upward mobility aspirations. Jane demonstrates a transnational perspective when talking about a class-laden worthwhile life:

> People here live a simple and comfort life. There are no ups and downs, just simple life. I don't want my life to be banal. I don't see big opportunity for me here because Australia is already a well-established, well-formed society. There is no opportunity for people to get super rich overnight, or to rocket to power in a short period of time.

Jane's get-rich-overnight mentality and strong upward mobility desires are not uncommon among the Chinese international students. Both Jane and Natalie have witnessed how their parents have established their respective businesses and accumulated wealth and prestige from nothing in less than two decades, when Shenzhen has been transformed from a fishing village to one of China's most successful economic reform exemplars. Drastic economic reforms and corresponding policies are interpreted as class opportunities only available in China. But Jane equates Chinese opportunities to loopholes, which she is going to take unfair advantage of to achieve her goal in life. To make fortunes overnight and to 'rocket to power' are the aspired worthwhile life goals for her. Sarcastically enough, such an

ideal life is impossible in the 'too well developed Australian society'. Therefore, for Jane, a worthwhile life means leading a life in Shenzhen, China, not anywhere else. Her classed perspectives of a 'good life' her class-consciousness, and her classed goals have been geographically shaped.

Natalie also plans to go back to work in China, although her parents want her to stay in Australia out of ethical considerations. They hope that Natalie can start an easier life here, and that overseas experience can reduce Natalie's sense of class superiority brought about by living in affluence in Shenzhen. Natalie quite understands her parents' intentions but she chooses to stick to her own class dreams,

> Maybe because my parents are too tired doing businesses, they don't want me to lead a life like that. Here [in Australia], it doesn't make a big difference whether you earn big or small…They [my parents] want me to experience it. They hope that we [including Jane] can adjust to the life here and come to like it. Then we don't necessarily lead a busy life…I feel that if I stay here, I can only lead a simple life. It seems that there is no opportunity here…My parents suggest that I can be a civil servant, or a nine-to-five white collar professional. But I think such a life is really boring. Instead, I want to do some job that I have the final say.

For Natalie, a worthwhile life is one that is far from being boring and simple. Rather, 'having the final say' in career life and upward mobility opportunities constitute the very content of her notion of a worthwhile life. Despite the fact that Natalie and Jane's parents use migration to intervene in their daughters' class goals, they meet with failures. Natalie and Jane have witnessed how opportunities have brought prosperity to their families. Instead of seeing the hardships their parents have gone through, they are intrigued by the class games and have developed an upward mobility ambition.

Their capital imaginaries are geographically geared to China. As I have mentioned in Chapter 4, Jane is determined to get a top university qualification in Melbourne. Natalie seeks after the same thing, especially when she also plans to go back to Shenzhen to work. Besides the 'general trend', human 'quality', tolerance attached to the university degree in China, they understand that prestigious university qualifications take the form of symbolic capital in its job market.

Neither of the girls has clear ideas about what courses they are going to take in university, but they are both determined that they 'must' go to the best university in Melbourne, out of many considerations,

> Jane: …I decide by myself that I must go to university.
> Natalie: Going to university is the general trend.
> Jane: I think as a person, if you are conditionally OK, going to university is elementary. It demonstrates your quality (suzhi).
> Natalie: [It is] the law of the jungle that the fittest survive…Going to university comes naturally to me. How can this society tolerate people who don't even go to university?
> Jane: You have to have very good educational qualifications if you want to go back to China. But if you stay in Australia, you don't have to aim for prestigious universities.

In addition, instead of stressing the importance of Australian cultural capital on their capital lists, Natalie and Jane clearly identify Chinese language as a cultural capital that is very valuable especially for their Australian-born counterparts in their school. Talking of their local born counterparts, Natalie and Jane think that being born into immigrant families, they are advantageously positioned culturally. It is beneficial to these local born to keep their 'cultural root', as a potential form of transnational cultural capital, considering China as a potential job market.

Natalie and Jane orient their projects of class-making in China. They view China as the potentially 'intended final labour market destination' (Findlay et al 2012) and Chinese language as a transnational cultural capital for Australian-born Chinese. Their capital imaginaries and endorsement are targeted to China. For this reason, they regard the Chinese language as a form of what Andrea Louie (2004) calls 'China-centred non-Western cultural capital'. There is definitely some rethinking involved, of 'China as a player into the competition of global capitalism' (Andrea Louie 2004: 135). To Natalie, China's rapid development means it is an attractive job destination full of business and upward mobility opportunities. On their capital lists, they do not show particular zest in accumulating Australian cultural capital as either transnational or a global form of business capital from an instrumental intention. Unlike Bob, who deliberately accumulates future job related non-native cultural capital, Natalie and Jane rely on their educational qualifications and the broad job market opportunities to achieve their status ambitions.

For these two girls, class-making is mediated in discourses of migration and transnationalism. Seeing their future in China, they have weighed up Australia as a job market, and calculated their gains and losses, strengths and weaknesses. The best they imagine for themselves in Australia, in class terms, is a middle-class career prospect, which is far from making transnational or supranational classes. However, they have demonstrated a transnational consciousness, comparing China and Australia from the perspective of market opportunities and would-be class positioning.

Neoliberal ambitionists are those who have a get-rich-overnight mentality, strong class awareness and a desire for an upper-class membership. They are geographically located in metropolitan cities and economic zones where China's economic reform and policies have been carried out with great force and scale. Their families are definitely beneficiaries of the reform.

Bob, Jane and Natalie's worthwhile life means an exciting life fuelled by their class ambitions. Their selves are, first and foremost, a classed self, striving to surpass their middle-class positioning for maximum upward mobility. In addition, an aspiration for a city life full of fun, entertainment and a familiar cultural landscape also constitutes a worthwhile life. These rationalities are mediated within the frames of transnational choices of geographical destination where their future life unfolds. Their capital imaginaries are geographically targeted.

These ambitionists want to take advantage of the impulses of the times and societal changes. They are highly opportunistic and scrutinize market opportunities on the transnational horizon. Australia and China are less constructed as a commonsense notion of nation-state in relation to welfare, democracy or its political regime. Rather, they are calculated more as markets, their future arena of upward mobility as the core of their self-actualization. In particular, they regard China's economic development as the biggest upward mobility tide to ride on. On ethical levels, China, as their destination of future employment, meets with their strong lifestyle expectation, as the worthiness of a personal life is increasingly mediated in comfort and in the entertaining indexes of a city life.

5.2.2 Would-be middle-class 'mediocrities'

Rose, Erik, Cindy and Tracy belong to this category. Although coming from families of different cultural backgrounds, they all aspire to a placid, middle-class career and a leisurely lifestyle, which they regard as quite 'ordinary' and much less ambitious.

As was introduced in Chapter 4, **Rose** was born into a small business family. She wants to be one of the 'ordinary people', living on an average salary, in an average apartment, leading an average life. This future Rose anticipates has nothing to do with great wealth or power. A worthwhile self is an average self. She talks about her future with an emphasis on her past experiences,

> I lived in a boarding childcare when I was three. I don't mean to exaggerate, but the fact is I didn't know that our apartment was just opposite it. My parents sent me there because they just started their business. Later, in order for me to get enrolled into a better school, I had to live in boarding schools from primary school to junior high. I desperately wanted to live with my parents in my junior high, but my mum refused. She is too busy, and doesn't know how to cook…She always forgets to eat her meals when busy. My dad is always on business trips, therefore having no time to look after me. ...From Year 6 in holidays I cooked for my mum…I don't understand why my mum is forever busy in making money. She always feels she hasn't earned enough money. I am quite OK if I have a stable job, as a member of the salaried group, and have an apartment to live in. I won't work dead hard like my parents.

Rose's account reveals the tough side of the life that self-employed small business owners live. With no strong educational background, they made some money by working long hours and living an irregular life. However, without proper care from parents, Rose is a victim and the biggest cost her parents have paid for their business. She spent most of her time in boarding institutions from 3 years old until 16, and had to live apart from her parents when she started her overseas study in Melbourne. If we see Rose's mother as an extreme example of a neoliberal subject who uses all her wits and energy to earn a living, as theorized by Ong and Zhang (2008), then Rose becomes the opposite. Witnessing her parents' hardships and growing up with a lack of parental care all through her formative years, she is forced into an ethical problematization of her parents' way of life. Rose questions her mother's making-money mentality and the unnecessary sacrifice of family life. She sets her life goals against her parents' lifestyles.

It never occurs to Rose that one day she will stay in Australia and start a life here. She will go back to China and find a stable job, which is also what her parents expect her to do. They have no intention for her to carry on with the family business that they are emotionally attached to. They anticipate that Rose will obtain a decent job that saves her from the hardships they have been through. Pinning all their hopes on her schooling, they endorse educational qualifications as their capital imaginaries. On Rose's capital list, as is required by her mother, a bachelor degree from a university which has a ranking no lower than the University of Melbourne is a must.

Academic performance and qualifications as cultural capital are treated as badges of social prestige in Rose's case. Therefore, Rose's class goal set by her parents is a sort of upward mobility from the lower-middle-class positioning to a central position of middle class. This status mobility involves the trading of money power for education related cultural capital that is equated with social prestige.

Cindy, the girl we met in Chapter 4, comes to Australia to fulfill her university dream, which, it seems, is hard to achieve in China's intensely competitive educational system. She never thinks of her future in geographical destinations other than her hometown, where her parents are expecting her to return. The spatial strategy to obtain a university degree in Australia is only a one-off mobility in her life planning.

The worthiness of Cindy's imagined self lies in a family role that manages the family well. Her life goal of being a housewife is modeled on her mother, who "keeps the house tidy and cooks delicious meals". However, as her mother has only secondary schooling, Cindy is determined to add new content to the notion of a traditional housewife. She wants to be a well-educated housewife, with a reasonable university qualification and a few years of work experience to justify that her choice of being a housewife has nothing to do with her incapacity in the professional world. Therefore, a housewife with enough cultural capital to qualify for professional roles epitomizes Cindy's ideal self.

Erik, as was introduced in Chapter 4, has very little say when being sent to study in Australia by his parents. Neither does he really care where his future job destination

is. China and Australia will both do. Actually, he does not think that far ahead. All he wants is to follow his heart and be a designer of any kind, such as jewellery designing. For Erik, a worthwhile self is embodied in his aspired professional self as a designer. The worthiness of his self is manifested in being himself and doing what he really loves to do. For him, projecting his future is a spiritual sanctuary that frees his reality self from the shackles of competitive schooling life, from his nagging mother who has long pushed him to excel academically to enhance his future job prospects. This is a portrait of a future oriented self that is mediated out of ethical considerations more than anything else.

Only **Tracy**, as we learnt previously, was a girl with a vision for future. She makes a decision to study abroad on her own and she unambiguously sees her future at abroad. Australia is envisioned as a place where she can lead a simple life. Tracy is from an upper middle-class family with corresponding cultural, social and economic capital[15]. However, Tracy does not like the way her parents live because "there are a lot of power struggles, intrigues and treachery involved". As she explains,

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[15] The Chinese international students roughly fall into the middle-class category, which is based on their 'naked money power' (See Chapter 4, section 4.2). Lu (2002) highlights the importance of the 'administrative power' in China's class designation and classification. Administrative power refers to the political and economic power the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its government exercise to control the most important and the majority of resources in Chinese society (ibid:9). In this regard, Goodman (2008) finds it hard to identify Chinese entrepreneurs' possession of administrative power because their 'affiliation with the CCP' is not transparent or practically measurable.

I cannot deny that administrative power is an indispensable factor when I allocate the Chinese international students in upper-class, upper-middle class, or middle-class positioning. The difference between 'upper-middle-class' and 'middle-class', in this chapter, lies mainly in the possession of administrative power by these Chinese families. The affiliation between entrepreneurs and CCP state cadre (or social capital in most Western contexts) is a key factor to decide how much administrative power entrepreneurs have or can make use of. Due to ethical considerations, it is very hard for me to get information regarding the affiliation between entrepreneurs and CCP state officials of the Chinese international students' families. Tracy's case (p. 129) is that her mother (p. 95), an official in the government financial bureau, holds strong administrative power. That's why I use upper-middle-class to refer to her class positioning.

> Living like my parents is far too exhausting. Sometimes you obviously don't like this person, but you have to have dinner with her, and please her. I think such a life wears people out and make them lose themselves…Establishing a business and make it large needs most of your energy…It is mentally exhausting playing politics and handling businesses. They are not suitable for girls. Above all, girls will be taken advantage in some circumstances.

Tracy, a barely 18-year-old girl, offers a poignant perspective of the tough conditions of some members of the upper middle-class Chinese in transitional China. Unlike Natalie, Jane and Bob who see China as full of opportunities and aspire to make a big splash there, Tracy understands that mental exhaustion coming out of 'intrigues' and 'treachery' and doing things against one's will is the cost that one must pay in the scramble for power and wealth in China. And the cost is too dear.

Her parents' experiences affect her so much that she finds a moral retreat in Australia. Australia is constructed as a place where 'life might be easier and simpler', in the sense that people can lead a peaceful life with their specific expertise without having to handle 'too complicated interpersonal relationships' in China. She wants to fit in and lead a normal middle-class, 'nine-to-five' life in Australia, which is actually a downward mobility from the upper-middle-class in China so as to gain moral or ethical benefits and a balance between her professional and personal life.

With Tracy's self-imagination being fed by ethical rationalities, she has to tailor her capital rationalities and capital imaginaries to Australia as a professional world. Since Tracy sees Australia as her future employment destination and relies on earning from a professional job, she deliberately accumulates capital to suit this need. She actively obtains information from her school's career advisers and consults an international students' agency on professional jobs with regards to their future prospect, salary and specialty knowledge requirements.

Her capital imaginaries are no doubt oriented to the Australian job market. Well-informed with her future career choices, she makes her capital list accordingly. It includes English linguistic knowledge required for gaining entry in 'good' universities and facilitating her professional job, a university course that ensures her professional knowledge, self-learning skills and the capacity to produce knowledge. These are what Weenink (2008) calls cosmopolitan capital, or non-native capital

oriented to another geographical market. Speaking from Tracy's case, geographical choice of Australia is first and foremost an ethical choice and, consequently, an emplaced marketplace.

With the exception of Cindy, would-be middle-class 'mediocrities' on the whole aspire to a nine-to-five professional job and a leisurely lifestyle, readily giving up ideas of making big money or becoming powerful. They identify with a life in the middle, a not necessarily wealthy life where one does not have to work too hard, be too busy, or deal with too complicated interpersonal relations. They have a rely-on-themselves mentality, believing in moderate efforts and diligence. They want to make a living out of their specialty knowledge. The top of their capital accumulation list is university credentials.

But, in these students, there is an ethical assertion of the self. They calculate their endeavours, efforts and investment from the perspective of psychological cost, dignity and personal freedom. Varied as their ethical problematizations are, they demonstrate a reflexivity of the self, an awakened sense of self which is oriented to the meanings of their life and existence. Students from all cultural backgrounds choose this route to what they narrate as a 'mediocre' middle-class.

5.2.3 Would-be entrepreneurs

Frank, Phil, Jack, Tim and Tom, coming from families of different cultural background, all face a future of entrepreneurs. Like it or not, they are expected by their parents to take over their family businesses of varied scales and sizes.

We know from Chapter 4 that **Frank** comes to study in Australia out of academic pressures but with strong aspirations for self-development. His self-imagination is mediated from his future career point of view. Although he has mixed feelings about living an entrepreneurial life and oscillates between his admiration of successful business people and an aspiration for a placid nine-to-five job and an average life, business visions have been instilled into his mind. He is quite familiar with legendary stories of entrepreneurs, some business jargon and practices. He has been encouraged by his father to "start his own business from scratch" rather than working in his father's high-tech. company after graduation from university. As a

remarkably articulate boy of 17 years old, Frank talks about his well-calculated moves to be an entrepreneur, using picked-up jargon,

> But to start a business, I have to find a stable job first. Just in case my business fails, I have a profession that I can fall back on…I have to accumulate my capital first. I want to finish my primitive capital accumulation by taking my first job. For example, dentists earn good money. With this money, I can look at business opportunities and make investments.

Having been in Melbourne for almost a year, he is still adjusting himself to the new environment—food, culture, education and so forth. The business talk and moves are unambiguously targeted to China. His first priority in his overseas mission is to accumulate formal knowledge from education, which can secure him a 'stable job' and make an alternative 'to fall back on' in the worst case scenario.

He believes in learning and sees education as a means to access this formal knowledge. From this knowledge perspective, he thinks that the big difference between education in China and that in Australia is the language they use to deliver formal knowledge. In this way, English is reduced to the medium of education in Australia. When asked to look, in retrospect, at his gains and losses of studying overseas, he cites the learning of English language as one of his losses,

> English is forced upon us. I think gains are what you have in return after you put in efforts of your own accord. You desire it and then you endeavour to obtain it. English is not what I want to gain in my overseas study. It's like, you are walking on the road and someone forcefully put $100 in your pocket. But you don't want this money even though it is spendable. So, for this $100, is it your gain or loss? English itself is not what I personally want to learn, but I have to passively accept it because of the environment. It is a form of passive learning. Therefore, I don't count my passive acquisition of English competence as a credit. Rather, I see it as a discredit, a form of loss and deprivation.

Frank is not only unmotivated to accumulate English linguistic capital to facilitate his education in Australia, but also shows little interest in accumulating Australia's culturally and socially constructed knowledge. His goal is to obtain knowledge from formal education and training without necessarily culturally integrating into Australian society. Therefore, overseas education and training are independent of any socio-cultural embeddedness. The research on overseas British students by Findlay et al (2012) and Waters and Brooks (2011) has shown some students have demonstrated similar indifference to the culture and language of their overseas study

destination. In their respective studies, they have identified that some British international students interpret the usefulness of overseas education with an emphasis on the instrumental function of overseas credentials, which is featured by a separation of linguistic knowledge from the socio-cultural knowledge or legitimate culture of the overseas destination (Findlay et al 2012; Waters and Brooks 2011). In Frank's case, study in Australia has been reduced to an instrumentalist tool for him to achieve his formal knowledge accumulation, not even educational qualifications per se. This instrumentalist view of overseas education involves intentionally separating the cultural elements from an overseas education and picking up the 'knowledge' and 'training' an overseas education can offer. It is an act of culturally de-contextualizing the overseas education.

Unlike Bob, Frank has never regarded the English language as a form of global, business-related cultural capital that he is going to use in his later entrepreneurial life. On the contrary, he thinks Chinese cultural capital and the ties with China kept by Chinese migrants in Australia count more. This, again, is an assertion of 'non-Western China-centred capital' (Andrea Louie 2004) on Australian soil. China's strong market makes this China-centred capital all the more valuable.

Frank talks about the Chinese entrepreneur migrants whom he meets at the private parties of his relatives in Australia, who do not rely on their local connections or English linguistic capacity to operate their businesses and make a fortune in Australia. Rather, these people, through forging their ethnic ties in Melbourne, have business dealings among themselves and with China. Ong (1999), in her work on ethnic Chinese businessmen in Southeast Asian countries, has documented such ethnic ties in transnational Chinese. Frank firmly believes in this ethnic tie, stressing out of his own experience in Australia that "only Chinese can lend you a helping hand when you are in need".

Besides, overseas study represents a severance with his old friends and a reduction of the prospect of making more friends at home. He clearly regards friends as meeting his emotional needs and as potential social capital. He poignantly laments with a tint of cultural estrangement,

> I think my biggest loss is the opportunity to study in our native tongue along with my peers in my own country, to experience our growing-up process. We are each other's witness of growing-up. And just because of that, friendships established in our teenage years are more genuine, pure, strong and reliable. They are my future resources and connections when I enter into the society.

The loss of golden opportunities for forging 'genuine' friendship and 'strong' social capital in China is a huge regret and void on Frank's capital list in his overseas accumulation journey. In particular, this sort of geographically contextualized capital is nowhere to be found in Australia.

Unlike Frank, who dismisses the accumulation of Australian cultural capital as purely involuntary, **Phil**, the hardworking, top achiever we met in Chapter 4, demonstrates a quite opposite attitude to Australian cultural capital. He calculates each and every step of accumulation in Australia, as he desperately wants to be 'successful' in every stage of his life. Australia is, first and foremost, a destination for receiving education. As his dad's business deals with chemistry and chemical materials, he is attuned to that purpose when planning his education trajectories.

> I like chemistry. First of all, I have to go to university. This is my first plan for my future. I like to go to Melbourne Uni, and take the course of science. I know some stuff like chemistry. Then I will do master of commerce, like I can manage the [family] business as well.

Phil's capital imaginary is targeted to his future role as the owner of his parents' company. However, his business acumen does not stop there. He looks at Australia as a possible business opportunity, too,

> Maybe I will establish a chemical company here. I want to experience how to establish a company here [in Australia], instead of just inheriting one from my parents. My dad wants me to run his company, but he also respects my opinion and my choice. My mum says that I don't necessarily come back if I want to stay in Australia. Because I want to see what the circumstances are like in the future, in Melbourne, in business terms, it is a future decision to make whether I stay or go back.

Even though starting a business in Australia is just a possibility that depends on future 'circumstances', Phil is not going to let it go. His transnational business vision is substantiated by his long capital list targeted to the Australian market. It includes English linguistic competence, intercultural competence and social capital in the form of friendships. He has an open mind and is eager to learn about 'Australians'

ways of thinking'. These constitute what Weenink (2008) calls 'cosmopolitanism'. He has the vision, capital potential and prospects to make his way into the category of the transnational class.

Tim, another high-achieving student introduced in Chapter 4, who chooses to study in Australia to prepare himself as a boss-to-be of his 'family businesses' which have transnational business dealings with Japan, Europe and the US. Linguistic and intercultural competence in English and Japanese is the major capital on his capital list. His Australian mission is to obtain English cultural knowledge and he is going to do his bachelor degree in Japan out of cultural capital considerations.

His capital imaginary has a transnational scope and is targeted to specific markets. His capital accumulation of 'cosmopolitan capital' is not targetless or oriented to an elusive notion of a 'global' market. Geographical locations for him are markets, with Australia being regarded as a 'too small market' to establish business dealings with.

Is Tim on the way to making himself a member of a transnational class or a national class? According to Robinson and Harris' definition (2000), he does not own 'transnational means of production', as his family businesses are geographically based in China. No one in his family wields power in transnational and global market and financial decision-making (Sklair 1997). But, his family business engages with and facilitates transnational market and global capitalist market and involves transnational money flows. Tim's is a case of the overlapping, blurred boundaries where national class and transnational class are defined. As Embong (2000) points out, there are some nationally based professions and entities unclearly defined in transnational class categories, such as tourism, hotels, international business entities, and banks, which all involve transnational capital or market operations. These nationally rooted and established entities have an outward-looking orientation and vision, and a transactional engagement with transnational markets. Therefore, Tim is involved in national capitalist class-making but with a transnational vision and orientation.

Jack, a sporty boy we met in Chapter 4, comes to Australia in order to continue schooling which he has lost interested in back in China. He is expected and pushed

to take over a 400-employee enterprise, which is composed of mining, product manufacturing and sales around China. This is a career role far from what he aspires to. The working conditions of the mining factory are 'too bad' as it is very dusty and unbearably hot in summer. The mining factory is located in the distant countryside, there is no Internet available there.

In addition, managing this enterprise needs massive investment of his time and effort. He comes to realize that 'the greater one's ability is, the more responsibility one carries'. The enterprise will deprive him of his pride, as he knows that his parents have to deal with 'powerful' people frequently to make their family business robust. He ethically problematizes such dealings as a restraint on his personality and an offence to his dignity. He is not willing to trade his efforts and to make personality sacrifices for fortune making. Such a career future is not a worthwhile one, but he has no option.

With such a depressing future ahead, Jack's self, therefore, is more oriented to the present tense. He is making his sporting self. The overseas journey offers him an opportunity to develop his strong interest in basketball. He enrols in the school basketball team, training heavily along with his teammates. Basketball becomes the catchword of his life. He has basketball training sessions in the early morning at school and spends hours playing basketball after school. His Sunday basketball playing, in a basketball court in the city, becomes a meeting place of people from a range of cultural backgrounds to share their love of basketball.

Overseas education also offers him a chance to experience part-time jobs and understand the society. Through taking part-time jobs, he hopes to improve his hands-on ability, which he endorses as a form of professional capital. University education, rather than university qualifications, is an important addition on his capital list too, as he is keen to acquire useful knowledge to apply in his future life.

Jack's present self-making is not geographically targeted. It is a self seeking after beyond basketball interest, reaching out to society and enriching his life experiences in part-time jobs. There is no geographically targeted capital imaginary regarding his

future career but only an identification and endorsement of learning in educational institutions.

Tom, as indicated in Chapter 4, comes from a small business family of low cultural capital background. He is expected to take over his family business, but it does not stop his many career ambitions—philosopher, historian, world-traveller, successful businessman and high-status official. He, jokingly, hopes that if he becomes a successful entrepreneur in future, he can afford to pursue his philosopher and historian dreams while traveling around the world.

But, in reality, his target is more specific. The top priority is to go to university. On his capital list is an interest to understand others and their cultural elements. But this open attitude to non-native culture and people is for the purpose of 'widening' his visions, knowing about the world, rather than to serve an economic or professional end. Out of patriotism, Tom unambiguously sees his future in China. He claims that he plans to 'contribute his sweat and blood' to his native land.

This group of would-be entrepreneurs, willingly or not, unlike neoliberal ambitionists and middle-class 'mediocrities', does not design their futures in class terms within the framework of inheritance. Like it or not, they face the future of a boss-to-be. They never think of building up a CV, adjusting their capital lists to a geographical job market. Therefore, for this group, capital imaginaries are either targeted to their future business role, or simply attuned to education per se from which to obtain knowledge for later life. They tend to focus on accumulating specialty knowledge, emphasizing its applicability rather than educational credentials. Students not keen on taking over family businesses tend to accumulate a broader, less calculated spectrum of cultural capital, which is not linked to their career planning or transnational market. Without job market pressures, they can afford more freedom in the accumulation game. Those who are keen on businesses demonstrate a transnational orientation for business opportunities.

5.3 Further theoretical discussion

The Chinese international students roughly have three broad self-imaginations of a worthwhile life: neoliberal ambitionists, middle-class 'mediocrities' and would-be

entrepreneurs. Two forms of rationalities have been identified, namely, class rationalities and ethical rationalities that configure a worthwhile life.

For neoliberal ambitionists, their career self-making is oriented to class-making and status rationalities represent their self-assertion. For middle-class 'mediocrities', their ethical assertion to be the *right* self comes before their status rationalities, and their middle-class status endorsement is the very consequence of their stronger sense of self. For would-be entrepreneurs, they do not have to build their CV and try their luck in the job market, as they are expected to take up their family businesses. Just because of this pre-set professional trajectory, they do not show much social class ambition. Instead, they take their class reproduction for granted.

This chapter also suggests that these middle-class students from families of different cultural backgrounds have varied class goals. It reveals a different result compared to works supporting the argument that middle-class students tend to reproduce their class position (Ball 2003). Neoliberal ambitionists aim for an upward mobility. Would-be entrepreneurs, at first glance, reproduce their class category by choosing to be future entrepreneurs. But there are some students who are likely to become the members of transnational class and leave the national class fraction. The most complicated is the class trajectories of the middle-class 'mediocrities'. There are some nuanced capital conversions in this fraction. Eric, Cindy and Rose, from low cultural capital families, reproduce their middle class category by trading money capital for cultural capital. Tracy actually has a downward mobility from upper middle-class in China to middle-class in Australia.

As Chapter 4 shows, Chinese international students all come from middle-class families, but their familial cultural capital varies. These variations of cultural capital background have found their way into the three broad patterns of class-laden aspirations among these students. From low cultural capital backgrounds, Rose, Cindy, Erik and Tom all intend to go back to China to start their career life. China is the only geography that their projects of self-making are oriented to. For them, overseas education is a one-off spatial strategy.

Students from medium cultural capital backgrounds, namely, Jack, Bob, Jane, Tim and Natalie all see their future in China. Jack and Tim, expected by their families to go back home and take over the family businesses, are allowed little geographical relocation freedom. The rest of the group—Bob, Natalie and Jane, the neoliberal ambitionists—mediate the possibilities of instrumental transnationalism, calculating their job prospects in Australia. It is in the career planning stage that these neoliberal ambitionists seriously take into consideration real issues they face in their geographical class emplacement: whether the Australian market is strong enough for them to achieve their class goals, their job market possibilities, the effect of geographical relocation brought about by geographical mobility, and particularly in Bob's case, the loss of contextualized 'social' resources in geographical displacement. These issues prevent them from capitalizing on transnationality, for the reason that transnational emplacement means the loss of geographically embedded forms of capital.

For Phil, Tracy, and Frank, the high cultural capital group, their post-education self-making projects are geographically targeted, despite that their geographical intentions vary. Tracy prefers Australia as an ethical sanctuary. Frank must go back to China out of his nationalism which has been buttressed by his transnational experience in Australia. For Phil, whether to stay or leave depends on the 'conditions' of the Australian market.

This chapter, together with Chapter 4, addresses the links between transnationalism and class-making. I have identified two distinct but intertwined life stages of self-making in the Chinese international students. The first stage of their spatial strategy is targeted to education when they imagine and endorse their capital imaginaries and capital lists from the vantage point of a student. In their second life stage planning, their rationalities are oriented to their career aspirations. For all these students, the spatial strategy of accumulation in the education life stage is unavoidable. But for career related self-making, they demonstrate varied motivations for transnational mobility. Ten out of twelve students target their projects of self-making to China.

Adding "human agency and its production and negotiation of cultural meanings" (1999:3) to Harvey's conceptualization of flexibility 'as the modus operandi of late

capitalism' in relation to 'the regime of flexible accumulation', Ong highlights the instrumental purposes of flexibility and links flexible practices to transnational mobilities. I identify in the Chinese international students certain flexible practices for the purposes of capital and privilege accumulation. However, by drawing to the two interrelated stages of self-making of Chinese international students, I reveal the nuances in students' uses of transnationalism. These students in my study demonstrate 'flexibility' which not only involves 'going out' but also 'returning home'.

Ong conceptualizes her notion of transnational flexibility as involving calculations on "repositioning in relation to market, governments, and cultural regimes" (ibid: 6). Such repositioning calculations happen to a small number of Chinese international students who either see their future in Australia or actively prepare for a life that will benefit from two geographies—China and Australia. However, for a majority of the Chinese international students, their job market and cultural calculations are oriented to China; their transnational emplacement does not give rise to the need to reposition in another job market or culture. Given their long-term self-making projects that are anchored in China, their uses of transnational mobilities are temporary, and for a majority of them, one-off. Therefore, *instrumental transnationalism* can be used to refer to geographically transnational mobility as a temporary, spatial strategy of accumulation.

This instrumental transnationalism adds nuance to Ong's (1999) notion of flexibility that relates to subjects' transnational capital accumulation by recognizing that the act of transnational accumulation can be mobilized by different groups of people, immigrants, transnational business people, and students, for different purposes. It is particularly linked to the situated construction of the usefulness of overseas/transnational education. The motivation for international student mobility, Findlay and colleagues argue, "must at least in part be related to subsequent mobility intentions relating to the rest of the life-course" (2012: 122). By highlighting the instrumental, the notion of instrumental transnationalism helps to deconstruct the links between transnational mobilities, capital accumulation and the making of transnational classes. I argue that spatial strategies are deployed by a majority of the

Chinese international students to achieve their self-making goals in China, not necessarily to make themselves a member of 'global class' or 'world class'.

Also, this instrumental transnationalism draws attention to the theoretical linkage between classed self-making and geography. Geographies exist materially as the job market that determines the 'conversion values' of the capital to be accumulated and being accumulated. Geographies also exist as specific constellations of embedded sets of ethics, standing up to the test of ethical problematization and ethical mediations. Thus, geographies behold the embedded forms of capital, and a change of geographies means loss of capital. Via geographies of self-making, I can further delineate the theoretical linkage between transnational geographical mobilities and class-making.

By highlighting the materiality of geographies, I argue that geographies of class-making concern contextualized class-making and geographical class emplacement that goes beyond national borders. Geographical mobilities not only offer new capital accumulation opportunities and market opportunities, they may also bring the loss of such opportunities and geographically embedded capitals as well. Based on my examination of the link between geographical destinations, class-making and capital imaginaries, I argue that the students' capital imaginaries are all geographically oriented rather than targeted to the directionless global.

In Chapter 4, the question of weighing up non-native cultural capital and overseas qualifications is introduced. As to the 'inherent superiority of overseas credentials and cultural capital', the Chinese international students in my study adopt a very instrumental reading of them, which does not support Ong's argument for a cultural hegemony interpretation of non-native cultural capital accumulation. Concurring with Waters (2006) who argues that the 'conversion value' of overseas credentials and non-native cultural capital needs to be examined in a specific geography in terms of how they are received and perceived in certain occupations, I push this line of inquiry further. I argue that the usefulness and exchange value of such non-native capital depends on the where (geographical market), what (lines of business), when (self-making stage) and the purposes of such capital accumulation. The Chinese

international students' capital imaginaries and, in particular, non-native capital endorsement and negation are related to their targeted geographies.

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This chapter looked at what factors shaped Chinese international students' self-imaginations from a class perspective. In particular, it examined how these students related to career life aspirations and imaginations. It offered a class analysis of the middle-class Chinese international students' class orientations and trajectories by paying special attention to the link between transnationalism and class-making.

In their anticipated post-education stage of self-making, a specific geography is targeted out of either capital or ethical considerations and calculations, or both. Within this targeted geography, the students reorient their capital imaginaries and capital lists. For some students who have harboured an ambition to reap the benefits of geographical mobilities, they come to understand that geographical mobilities not only incur the loss of certain geographically embedded capital, but also plunge them into cultural estrangement that amounts to a level of ethical problematization. This is what I will explore in the next chapter. When reading Australia as a potential job market and as a place of residence, Chinese international students tend to paint a rather gloomy picture, in terms of both class rationalities and ethical considerations, compared to their perspectives when they decided to opt out of China's educational system. How Australia is read and experienced culturally will be probed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Global Assemblages, Transnationality and Chinese International Students' Cultural Identities

> It is often said that you have to culturally integrate into the society to survive. But I want to walk my own way. I mean I don't find it a must to take up Australian culture to achieve this end. As long as I obtain knowledge from my education in Australia, whether I stay here or go back to China, I can earn a living and support myself. That is my way (Frank, interview transcript).

> Before I came here, a lot of people told me that Australians are lazy. I found that they are not really lazy, it's sort of stereotyping, maybe their pace of life is not that fast. But I still see people who go to work at 5, [or] 6am, so it's no difference to China. Yes, there is a local boy student in our school who did 68 past papers for math methods. Some of them are really hardworking, putting in a lot of efforts in their studies (Phil, interview transcript).

A recent body of literature on international education, focusing on how students 'use' international/overseas education to grapple with their positioning in and ambitions for the globalized job market, examines how students' cultural practices are shaped and guided by market rationalities as well as by the 'formative possibilities' of such educational institutions as a transnational or global cultural setting (Findlay et al 2012; Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Rizvi 2005; Waters 2006, 2008; Waters and Brooks 2011; Weenink 2008). While some work looks to education-related and embedded non-native culture as a source to mobilize cultural cosmopolitan theses in an instrumentalist way (Findlay et al 2012; Rizvi 2005; Weenink 2008), other work looks instead at students' everyday cultural experiences in transnationality to understand their cultural ways (Findlay et al 2012; Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Waters 2006, 2008; Waters and Brooks 2011). As to what has become of students' cultural identities in their choices and experiences of international/overseas education, there is a lack of an analytical linkage between the

two different empirical foci of their cultural investigation. Besides, there are also some building blocks missing in this literature that link students' cultural rationalities, practices and experiences to the theorization of their cultural identities.

To initiate an epistemological and ontological discussion about theorizations of students' cultural identities in transnational mobilities, or the question of geographies of cultural identity, this chapter draws on Mazzarella's (2004) cultural identity thesis and Ong's (1999) cultural logics/power duality. The cosmopolitan line of cultural identity theorization (Hannerz 1990) is engaged and developed as an approach to cultural identity theorization[16]. These theoretical discussions also engage with the global and cosmopolitan theses of cultural identities employed in some works (Findlay et al 2012; Mathews and Sidhu 2005; Rizvi 2005; Waters and Brooks 2011; Weenink 2008).

Compared to Chapters 4 and 5, in which overseas education is approached as a spatial strategy to complete the pre-set trajectory of the project of self, Chapter 6 seeks to examine Chinese students' cultural identities by looking at the connections between their cultural practices, individual constructs of the cultural logics by both strategically using overseas education and by experiencing overseas culture, and the mechanisms or cultural frames of reference they draw on when relating to and making sense of their cultural practices and rationalities.

My conceptual tools—mediation and cultural logics—will be introduced first, with a discussion of the usefulness of cultural cosmopolitanism theses in cultural identities theorization. Then I offer an account of students' everyday cultural practices, cultural logics and cultural mediation processes in relation to their cultural identity in transnationality.

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[16] Hannerz (1990) is the key referent for most subsequent thinking of cultural cosmopolitanism. He draws attention to the elements of cultural contrasts that exist between nation-state cultures, rather than dichotomizing and contradicting cultures in the unit of the nation-state. He uses cultural cosmopolitanism to refer to the incorporation of cultural contrasts along the nation-state line. But in my view, subsequent thinking has lost this essential insight such as in the works of Szerszynski and Urry (2002), and Weenink (2008).

6.1 Geographies of cultural identity

Mazzarella's (2004) mediation approach to cultural identity and Ong's (1999) cultural logics/power duality are elaborated here as major ideas to establish the notion of individual cultural identity as a process, and also to highlight the different modes of mediation in such a process. This is followed by my introduction of the cultural cosmopolitanism thesis by Hannerz (1990) as an inescapable line of contemporary cultural identity theorization, both within and beyond the confines of the nation state. The discussions revolve around how to engage and work with it, in the hope of developing the notion of cultural cosmopolitanism when theorizing individual cultural identities at the intersection of globalization and transnationality.

6.1.1 Understanding cultural moorings

As indicated, I draw on Mazzarella's approach to cultural identity and Ong's cultural logics/power duality to conceptualize cultural identity on an individual level. At certain points, their ideas complement each other, and at other points, they contradict and are epistemologically incompatible. Therefore, they are negotiated within this chapter to provide some theoretical purchase for my investigation of the Chinese international students' cultural identity in transnationality.

To begin with, I elaborate on Mazzarella's (2004) mediation approach to individual cultural identity. He conceptualizes individual cultural identity as a process and subject to mediation. Mediation is 'a social act' and 'a constitutive process in social life' (2004:345): an individual's cultural identity is the outcome of processes of mediation.

In order to clarify the processual nature of an individual's cultural identity, I find it necessary to delineate Mazzarella's notion of mediation into three modes in an individual's cultural identity processes of formation. First and foremost, according to Mazzarella, the starting point for mediation is 'cultural difference'. Cultural difference is identified by individuals by means of their "reified schemes of cultural identity and cultural difference" (Mazzarella 2004:360). Cultural difference is important in the process of mediation, as it is understood as "a potentiality, a space of indeterminacy inherent to all processes of mediation, and therefore inherent to the social process per se" (ibid: 360). It offers the node of mediation for individuals. In

the first mode of mediation, as Mazzarella argues, values and meanings are 'produced' through 'nodes of mediation' (ibid: 346).

The second mode of mediation involves individuals' contestations about values and meanings that are newly deciphered "more or less self-consciously, in the name of culture" (ibid). That is, new meanings and values extracted from cultural difference are conceived, received and made sense in terms of culture. This mode of mediation manifests the individual cultural choice making in the form of cultural practices of either rejection or incorporation. Individuals' cultural practices are demonstrative of the outcome of their personal cultural choice.

In Mazzarella's thesis, an individual's cultural identity process needs the third mode of mediation for him/her to make sense of his/her cultural choice in terms of his/her formerly formed or shaped identity, or sense of a cultured self. This mediation involves the act of reflexively realigning an individual's cultural choice in terms of a cultured sense of self, as

> Mediation is the process by which the self recognizes itself by returning to itself, renewed and once removed (ibid: 357).

Mazzarella's notion of mediation is a useful tool for me to use to analyse Chinese international students' cultural identity as processes in transnationality, especially through my demarcating the three modes of cultural mediation. However, it seems that Mazzarella regards cultural mediation, meanings and values as neutral and power free. That is where Ong's (1999) cultural logics/power duality intervenes.

This duality manifests her epistemological departure from that of Mazzarella's in understanding culture, cultural practices, cultural logics, and individual cultural identity. Culture, she argues, cannot be teased out of rationality regimes, as it is inseparable from 'rational' institutions or power regimes, such as "the economy, the legal system, and the state" (Ong 1999: 23). Cultural practices in the form of 'little routines and scenarios of everyday life' embody, enact and are reciprocal and reflexive of rationalities calculated out of specific geographical configuration of power. Cultural logics are cultural rationalities. Therefore, for Ong, cultural values, meanings and norms are far from being neutral. Instead, they are manifestations of

rationalities shaped within "relations of domination" and "relations of reciprocity and solidarity" (ibid: 5).

Mazarella's understanding of mediation as a neutral social act, with neutral values and meanings, now contradicts with Ong's power-laden conceptualization of culture. I meld Mazzarella's neutral notion of mediation with Ong's power approach to rationalities as mediation/power duality. That is, here I strike off neutrality in Mazzarella's mediation/values duality, bring in Ong's rationalities/power duality, and blend them in a new mediation/rationalities duality. In so doing, mediation is no longer neutral. Rather, it is subject to power regimes and it produces rationalities towards values, meanings and norms. This mediation/power duality is the conceptual tool I employ in this chapter.

The other theoretical tool I find particularly useful for my study is Ong's notion of the cultural logics of transnationality. She uses the cultural logics of transnationality to refer to rationalities that "inform and structure border crossings" (ibid: 5) and that "inform behavior, identities and relationships" (ibid: 22) on the level of both individuals and nation-states. She employs the cultural logics of transnationality to explore the individual's multiple uses and conceptualization of culture.

Although she also mentions the cultural logics of relocation and displacement as part of an individual's cultural logics of transnationality, her focus is still on the purposeful accumulation approach or 'the uses of culture' approach to other cultures as capital. The less agentic experiences of other culture(s), especially from the perspective of the individual's situated experience of structural emplacement, and the individual's experience of the power regimes and the corresponding forces they exert, are somewhat neglected. In this regard, I enhance Ong's notion of cultural logics by making an analytical linkage between two strands of cultural logics which I delineate and call *'the uses of culture'* and '*the experiences of culture*', to explore the forces at play behind them.

Experiential transnationality can be used to highlight the cultural logics from the perspective of the experiences of culture. It refers to individually situated experiences of transnationality via transnational emplacement in a specific

geographical place. In particular, the emplacement experience will be analyzed as factors that inform cultural rationalities. To capture the experiential transnationality of Chinese international students, I am not taking the overseas for granted as providing non-native culture or 'cosmopolitan conditions'. Actually, the individual's cultural engagement in transnationality, rather than the whole culture of the specific overseas place or the non-native nation-state where the individual is plunged, needs to be explored. The questions of how, where, and what should be asked regarding the students' cultural exposure and access to, and experience of a place. These are the students' situated cultural engagement points or nodes.

Ong examines Hong Kong business elites' cultural logics in relation to the forces of global capitalism, political-economy and nation-states' intervention into these global forces. I am using Ong's cultural logics of transnationality to explore the forces that shape students' rationalities and practices. I term these forces as *the geographies of forces*. By using geographies I delineate not so much the geographical origin of forces to distinguish between global forces, transnational forces, and national forces, rather, I want to know how students interpret these forces and link them with a specific geography. I also want to know which forces are most salient in shaping these students' cultural moorings and identifications. This is an attempt to theorize students' cultural logics from the perspectives of geographies. Hence the rationalites/power duality becomes *rationalites/geographies of forces*.

Compared to Mazzarella's approach to individual cultural identity, Ong's theorization of individual cultural identity is based on "the cultural logics of subject making" (ibid: 6). But there is a missing point about cultural identity and identification. In other words, Ong's approach to theorizing individual cultural ways stops at the cultural practices of non-native culture selection—a process including both rejection and incorporation, along with rationalities behind them. Therefore, the question of how the choice of cultural incorporation or rejection is woven into individuals' reflexivity of their cultural identities is not touched. I want to push Ong's theorization further by attending to the change or transformative part of students' cultural ways in transnationality or the change of logics of culture. I pose the question: how do we theorize this change of cultural practices and cultural logics in the theorization of youthful cultural identities?

Mazzarella's third mode of mediation I mentioned earlier can be used here as the missing building block. This third mode of mediation sits between what I term *geographies of cultural identity* and an individual's self-reflexivity of his/her cultural choice of incorporation/rejection. In other words, the geography of a subject's cultural identity anchorage is the reference frame of his/her cultural identification. Consequently, I can enhance Ong's rationalites/power duality with rationalities/ 'geographies of forces' which has the potential to theorize subjects' cultural identities in transnational mobilities.

6.1.2 Engaging with the cultural cosmopolitanism theses

With my theoretical tools of mediation/power and cultural logics of transnationality, I am concerned about how to work with, and in an attempt to develop further, theories of cosmopolitan cultural identities that have been widely used to theorize identities in today's life world of mobilities and flows. Hannerz's (1990, 2006) theory of cultural cosmopolitanism, delving into cultural and political rationalities of cultural incorporation, offers some theoretical purchase in transnational contexts. Hannerz (1990:239) observes that cosmopolitanism "must entail relationships to a plurality of cultures understood as distinctive entities", although cultures, territorially defined in terms of nations, regions, or localities, "tend to overlap and mingle" and are not "easily separated from one another as the hard-edged pieces in a mosaic".

According to Hannerz (1990, 2006), cultural cosmopolitanism refers to an open attitude to and an active practice taken towards cultural diversity, in particular, nation-state demarcated cultural contrasts, rather than towards cultural uniformity. At the same time, this notion of cultural cosmopolitanism also points to the knowledge, competence and skills needed when managing cultural diversity. Cultural cosmopolitanism, therefore, is used simply to refer to the state of individual's cultural identity as cultural 'co-existence', or it is used to represent a state of individual cultural identity as the native/non-native culture nexus, due to the practice of cultural incorporation.

Although cultural cosmopolitanism theses contribute to the line of argument that challenges conventional understandings of a nation-state bounded notion of identities, the nation-state remains a defining feature of the ideas of

cosmopolitanism. Thus, the nation-state is further reinforced as a bounded and legitimate cultural marker. This introduces a line of confusion into these cosmopolitan theories. In contrast, it is argued, from the vantage point of cultural globalization studies, that the nation-state as the bounded unit of culture is de-territorialized, and consequently, culture begins to lose its distinctiveness as a national marker as a result of flows of cultural goods, media, technology, and information (Featherstone 1990; Appadurai 1996). These flows and mobilities, to varying degrees, homogenize national cultures along the nation-state lines. Concurring with this argument, I further read these flows as a component of new geographies of forces that compete with the forces exerted by national cultural regimes. Therefore, I argue that the homogenization dimension of national cultures cannot be ignored in the cultural cosmopolitanism thesis by an overemphasis on transnational cultural contrasts.

In addition, the use of cultural cosmopolitanism to refer to the state of individuals' cultural identity can only capture part of the complex pictures of cultural identification processes in transnationality. Hannerz (2006) cautions that whereas there are those who can be labelled 'cosmopolitan', there are also those who are 'un-cosmopolitan'. Whether being cosmopolitan or un-cosmopolitan draws us to the cultural processes of cosmopolitanization: what happens in the processes of cultural incorporation or rejection? What are the mechanisms of cultural selection? I find that current theories of cultural cosmopolitanism cannot answer why some people tend to cosmopolitanize while others do not. Neither can it explain why subjects cosmopolitanize to varied degrees or explain the fact that their cosmopolitanism may be situational, temporal or lack serious cultural commitment to their new cultural repertoire. What is also missing in this cosmopolitan thesis is: what comes after the cultural mixing or co-existence?

These inadequacies about this notion of cultural cosmopolitanism lead me to develop cosmopolitanism along the axis of rationalities within a more complicated configuration of power, or the geographies of forces. The theoretical tools—mediation/power duality and cultural logics—are thus employed to explore the specific configuration of individual geographies of forces, to locate and identify the cultural logics/rationalities of Chinese international students.

The last theoretical tool I use in this chapter is *transnational cultural newness*, to highlight the comparative nature of transnational cultural experiences in the form of mediation nodes that students identify and construct in the emplaced transnational space. To develop the concept of newness, I draw on and extend Hannerz's (1990) notion of native and non-native cultural contrasts and Mazzarella's (2004) 'cultural difference' as potential 'nodes of mediation'. The *newness* refers to transnationally identified cultural difference in terms of cultural contradictions, cultural dissimilarity (dissimilar but not oppositional), or cultural add-ons (having no equivalent counterpart in the culture of origin) from their individual past cultural repertoire, which does not necessarily represent their geographical cultural anchorage in terms of the nation-state, region or city. With the conceptualization of *transnational cultural newness*, this chapter theoretically goes beyond the deconstruction of a territorialized notion of culture and engages with the de-territorializing of geographies of meanings, values and ethics under the geographies of power regimes and forces. In so doing it enhances the cultural cosmopolitanism thesis, whilst most importantly, develops theorizations of cultural identities in frames of geographies of cultural identities.

With the notion of newness in highlighting the cultural logics of transnationality, this chapter centrally focuses on the cultural newness mobilized and experienced by the Chinese international students in transnationality, the cultural logics the students come up with, and the way they mediate their respective cultural newness in relation to their cultural logics of transnationality and their processual cultural identity.

6.2 Carving cultural identities in transnationality

This chapter offers a situated construct of the transnational cultural newness of Chinese international students and provides a fuller picture of their geographies of cultural identity making by attending to their cultural mediation processes.

The Chinese international students divide, consciously and unconsciously, Australian culture into two spheres: the instrumental and the private. They identify and locate different power registers and apply various cultural logics to these spheres.

The instrumental sphere of Australian cultural newness points to the students' overseas study imperatives. The Australian cultural knowledge that supports and facilitates their successful attainment of their educational goals, including linguistic competence, learning styles, pedagogical adaptation, inter-cultural relationships with the teachers and the school, and academic subjects, are accepted and incorporated as cultural 'musts', and as survival skills of their transnational education. In contrast, the private sphere of Australian cultural newness represents their situated construct of experiential transnationality. All, except the above-mentioned cultural musts that Chinese international students identify and endorse for their education purposes, is allocated to the private cultural sphere. This includes their everyday engagement and encounters with Australian culture, such as socializing with locals, engaging with the Australian school and its student subculture, and participating in school activities.

The Chinese students' instrumentalist cultural logic is in line with Ong's theorization cultural logics based on subjects' strategic and agentic uses of non-native culture. In her study, Hong Kong business elites selectively use other culture as capital—whether symbolic or not—for social class purposes in transnationality. For some Chinese students, markets and capitalism are the forces that shape their cultural rationalities for instrumentally using overseas education, as is revealed in Chapters 4 and 5. But, for other students, their uses of overseas education diverge from the power of markets. Instead, they make overseas study choice led by power registers of ethics and ethical living. These are new geographies of forces that I identify in Chinese international students. I will come back to this point in later analyses.

What I want to emphasize here is the way these educational 'musts' enter into the students' cultural identity reflexivity. They are not mediated within Chinese students' geographies of cultural identification frames. Interpreted as decontextualized knowledge rather than in cultural terms, these cultural pre-requisites of overseas education are *de-culturalized* rather than treated as part of Australian culture. English language is no longer a distinctive cultural marker of Australian society. It is rated more as a world language with which they can have access to education worldwide. If we say that national cultures are losing their distinctiveness to consumerizing and technologizing forces and are increasingly going global (Featherstone 1990; Appadurai 1996), the force of the

internationalization of education around the globe represents another trend, which globalizes certain cultural prerequisites and reduces them instrumentally to skills, competence, capital and knowledge to specifically facilitate access to the globalized education sectors. To this part of culture, the Chinese students employ an instrumentalist imperative to legitimate its existence.

The rest of this chapter attempts to depict the Chinese international students' situated construct of cultural logics in experiential transnationality. It also examines how two strands of cultural logics—the uses of culture and the experiences of culture—work to shape these students' geographies of cultural identity.

The private sphere of transnational cultural newness is linked to students' individually constructed experiential transnationality. The experiences of other culture, for example, international students' inter-cultural interactions with locals and engagement with educational institutions, are ignored in existent literature as an indispensible medium of transnational cultural encounters and a weighty source of cultural immersion in analyzing their cultural identity. In particular, educational sites as the major cultural site for inter-cultural engagement and interactions, in particular school culture, with gender as a school culture 'vortex' (Connell 2008) and local student subcultures are largely overlooked (with the exception of the research by Mathews and Sidhu 2005). These are sites and new avenues for alternative cultural logics to come into existence and be at play.

Empirically, I am concerned with these questions: what are the venues through which these students engage with transnational cultural interactions? What are the circumstances under which cultural newness is most strongly felt, constructed and mediated? And what constitutes the most salient newness of their transnational cultural encounters?

Different venues of Chinese international students' transnational cultural engagement are identified in this chapter. The first venue is how students engage with Australia's media culture as a means of transnational cultural incorporation. The students show little or no interest in Australian media culture. However, they are not necessarily shut out of their habit of consuming Hollywood movies or variously

sourced TV series (say, their favorite Chinese media culture) in Australia. For some Chinese international students, Australia, though an English speaking country, cannot compete with the US, the emblem of the global culture. In this sense, Australian media culture is regarded as standing in the lower rank of the global cultural hierarchy.

The second transnational cultural venue is students' cultural engagement and interactions with Australian 'locals'. In the processes of social life, "a given social dispensation produces and reproduces itself in and through a particular set of media" (Mazzarella 2004:346). Mazzarella argues that media are materials for mediation. I extend this notion of medium to include transnational cultural interactions as a form of face-to-face medium of transnationality. Intercultural practices can thus be read as a special node of mediation of international students' transnational cultural engagement. Inter-cultural communication is regarded as a specific type of face-to-face medium in transnationality.

In so doing, I reiterate my empirical foci by laying special emphasis on hands-on, dynamic cross-cultural interactions rather than the rhetoric of the broad reference of Australian cultural codes and values, through which to explore experiential transnationality and empirically focus on how the variously constructed notion of 'Australian culture' is played out in students' situated conditions of everyday life.

Homestay families provide a possibility for Chinese students' transcultural engagement. Homestay is a way of sharing a house for an international student to live with a local family for which students need to pay a certain amount of money. Homestay is required by the school—Beachton Grammar—and is believed that overseas students who come to Australia for secondary schooling are not mature enough to live alone and living with a local family is beneficial to their wellbeing. Homestay is also believed to be able to facilitate overseas students' cultural adjustment to local conditions. Most of the homestay families are non-Chinese background but these students have very limited, perfunctory, and sporadic interactions with the families. It is not unusual for these students to live with up to three homestay families during their schooling in Melbourne. Tracy's case is quite representative when talking about her Italian background homestay family,

> I don't quite like my homestay family…But we can get along. Above all I live in their house and I don't mind taking some steps back. Most of the time when they say something is good, I would say yes. Mostly we speak at meals time then I retreat to my own room. I seldom watch TV with them in the lounge…The way I understand this homestay relation is that both sides use each other for their own ends. They provide me with shelter and treat me nicely, and I happily give them money for it.

In my study of the Chinese students, school is identified as the major site where transnational cultural interactions with local teachers and peers occur. There are often some parts of students' school life where newness is most salient and strongly felt and marked and other parts where this newness is muted. Experiences of cultural newness are most strongly felt in school sports and casual socializing arenas. There are numerous works that approach schools and alternative education as a space of power/force that shape youthful identities (e.g. Brooks, Fuller and Warers 2012; Kraftl 2013). Following that cue but in an attempt to lead my investigation of the space of school in a trans-cultural context, my analyses will then focus on school as a trans-cultural space. I scrutinize school-based inter-cultural communications of Chinese students in the rest of the chapter.

The students fall into three broad cultural identity categories based on the tensions, mediations and cultural imaginaries they produce when relating to their inter-cultural experiences in Australia. Some students maintain a coherent cultural identity without identifying with much of the values of the non-native culture. Geographies of forces remain largely national, or, in other words, China is still the primary power regime and exerts cultural forces on them. Some students achieve an add-on identity informed by their new cultural experiences. Both China and Australia exert cultural forces that hail these students. One student has formed identities in the forms of cultural co-existence, contestation and blending. It is worth noting that the initial cultural logics of some students undergo changes, and consequently, their cultural logics are reconstructed.

6.2.1 A coherent geographically embedded cultural identity consolidated

In Chapters 4 and 5, we learnt that **Rose** and **Cindy** come to Australia to fulfill their respective university dreams. For these two girls, the cultural imperatives of overseas

study never present as something cultural. The instrumentalist rationalities of using overseas education do not meddle with their cultural identifications with China.

Their newness of experiential transnationality is peer exclusion along overseas/local lines in classrooms, Physical Education (PE) classes and Saturday sport. Their most salient transnational experience is their cultural emplacement in PE class. In particular, their node of mediation revolves around the experience of exclusion in PE class. This culture newness is experienced and interpreted in structural terms. Cindy says of their basketball class,

> Like we play basketball in PE class, local students exclude overseas students. Even when they see you, they treat you as if you were not in their team, and pass the ball to their other teammates. Feels like they think we are no good players, actually we aren't. If they happen to pass me the ball unexpectedly, I immediately pass it to someone else.

Cindy and Rose construct a notion of local sport culture to understand and explain their experience of basketball court exclusion. The newness embedded in local sport culture is mediated in terms of values and meanings, such as that local girls are serious in sport, doing their best and are motivated to win. Thinking in their shoes, Cindy and Rose see their failure to contribute to the team as a shame on themselves. But it has a cost for them to take up these values. The sheer bodily gap in stamina and strength built on different sport trajectories overwhelm Cindy and Rose. What is more, the local girls' sport culture makes them worry about their safety on the sport field.

> Rose: Like we played soccer in class, they asked me to defend the goal. One girl shot the ball and it hit my legs several times and sprang back. My legs hurt like crazy!
> Cindy: Sometimes when these girls run, they have difficulty stopping and end up bumping into you. They just run with all their might.

Out of safety concerns, embarrassment for not being able to contribute and awkwardness felt from being excluded, Cindy and Rose retreat from joining local peers in combative sports. They choose sport that they are comfortable with and they feel good at playing.

Rose and Cindy experience PE class participation structurally once more when local students take the initiative in determining what sport to play in PE class, while

international students are at the bottom of this bargaining power hierarchy. They also find out that, in the school, a sport hierarchy around lines of nationality is not uncommon: sports are nationalized as 'mainstream Australian sports', such as Australian football, netball and swimming, and as 'Chinese sports' like badminton and table-tennis. Cindy says,

> Sometimes in PE class, the teacher suggests that we play badminton. But the local girls react like, why badminton? We want to play footy…China takes the lead in these sports and Australia is not keen on them.

This is a case where sport preferences take the form of a national culture force. The transnational cultural force Cindy and Rose identify is the dominance of *Australian sports* in PE class. The differentiation of sport in terms of nationality and the prioritization of local sports is an act of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1984a) that is based on a sport hierarchy on the national level, which favours 'local' over 'overseas'. This is where the national espoused sport and sport culture is rendered structural. Such PE class interactions prevent Cindy and Rose's cultural participation, obstruct their cultural mediation and endorsement, and contribute to sport field exclusion along national lines. The girls are forced to fall back on their favorite Chinese sport. A process of cultural membership labeling happens in a two-way fashion and reinforces the Chinese-Australia dichotomy.

In summary, in the first instance of Cindy and Rose's PE class experiences, they are excluded by local students seemingly out of different sets of ideas about sport culture. This inequality is racial but wrapped in cultural terms. The second instance of 'structural' experience in Cindy and Rose's case refers to the cultural hierarchy within the context of PE class, which is experienced as a national cultural dominance in relation to local students' priority of sport choice and the priority laid on national sports. This is the case of the cultural as the 'structural'.

Cindy and Rose's mediation of cultural newness and construct of a sport-crazy and tough-bodied sort of Australian youthful femininity as a new set of values bring about knowledge, but not necessarily endorsement. Even identifying with these values will not change the fact that they are virtually excluded from cultural participation at school. When the sheer cultural difference takes the form of cultural hierarchies and is structurally felt, cultural rationalities revolving around the fairness

of the cultural system flare. Emotions erupt. Transcultural communications fail. No inter-personal relations with locals have been built. Neither are sentimental bonds forged with the transcultural newness at school. In their situated experiential transnationality, a Chinese/local dichotomy is constructed and a sense of nationality has been awakened. Their Chineseness has been reinforced. Deprived of cosmopolitan conditions, Cindy and Rose have nothing to add to their cultural identities but the reified sense of cultural difference carved out of national dichotomy.

As previously mentioned, **Frank** devalues English linguistic competence and dismisses it as a credit 'unwantedly' earned. He is particularly aware of the cultural dimension of overseas study imperatives, in particular the English language.

As to his school life, he is expecting, even before his transnational journey begins, a culturally involved and sentimental participation in it. He is not against the idea of getting himself immersed in school culture and its student subcultures. The cultural newness is in his inter-cultural engagement revolving around school sport and other extracurricular activities. However, his mediation does not stop at meaning and value deciphering. He relates the new extracted values to an ethics of culture and problematizes his transnational cultural encounters in three main domains, namely, the youthful masculinity of his local peers, cultural hierarchies embedded in basketball rules and the school's manipulation of student hobbies via cultural governmentality. His cultural logics are shaped by specific geography of forces—Australia's dominance as a cultural regime and Australia's modalities of governmentality. These lead to the construction of a China/Australia dichotomy, while China as a cultural and political regime exerts a counter geographic force.

Frank endorses the 'fit' body as part and parcel of Australian youthful masculinity. Physical education is considered as a gender-shaping curriculum and is part of 'the regulation and disciplining of bodies' (Connell 2008:140). Frank's endorsement entails his critique of Chinese educational system,

> I think the locals, generally speaking, are all good at sport. Above all, they grow up playing sport. …They are extremely fit, and having more stamina

> running and tackling, while we play much less sport in China…I think it has something to do with our education system.

But sports field encounters turn his appreciation of the strong bodies into negation of the local masculinity. He problematizes the way local boys use their strong bodies as an advantage and how the Australian basketball rules unfairly prioritize bodily toughness. He complains,

> the local boys are sturdy and tough. …however good our basketball techniques, we are no match because they go charging around the court. I had six pairs of glasses broken…The way local boys play basketball is similar to the way they play footy. The referee takes it for granted. So when charging happens, the referee seldom gets his whistle out. When the referee does blow the whistle, the penalty is too light. Basketball is an imported sport in Australia, so the rules of basketball match are not strictly carried out. But in China we don't take them lightly... The local boys are wild and they seem to have an untamed and uncivilized strength in their bodies. Sometimes it turns out to be a physical bully on the sports field. It's just like when an intellectual confronts with a soldier, and there is no room for reasoning. In the end they have to fight each other physically.

Frank makes some points here in his mediation. First, his value translation of Australian masculinities originates from his experiences of playing with Australian peers, rather than just a glimpse of their bodies. According to Connell (2008:137), boys' sports, especially competitive team sports at school "are important in the wider culture as symbols of masculinity". Therefore, it can be considered as one among various 'masculinity vortexes'. The dyad *wen-wu* (cultural attainment-martial valour) advanced by Kam Louie (2002) can be used to understand Frank's dichotomized constructs of masculinities between the Chinese males and his Australian counterparts. By tracing the core meanings of the two archetypes—*wen* and *wu*, Kam Louie argues that "in practice *wen* can refer to a whole range of attributes such as literary excellence, civilized behavior, and general education while *wu* can refer to just as many different sets of descriptors, including powerful physique, fearlessness and fighting skills" (2002:4). Kam Louie argues that different manifestations and implications of *wen-wu* dyad as 'a defining feature of Chinese masculinity' subject to socio-historical change (ibid). Frank positions himself as a brainy-type of masculinity or a form of *wen* masculinity while welcoming the fact that he has grown stronger since coming to Australia. What he is against is the way

bodies are used in the local boys' deliberate physical confrontations, which is beyond 'reasoning'.

The second point made by Frank is that the Australian version of basketball rules favour power-based pattern of playing, thus putting less sturdy Chinese boys in a disadvantaged position and so they end up losing games. This is an example of how different basketball culture and nationed masculinities have entered the cultural hierarchy scheme and become a structure-laden issue. Frank's cultural logics turn ethical when challenging the Australian basketball culture as a form of structural inequality. The value clashes regarding different versions of masculinities and sports culture become a dead-end structural issue he rejects without hesitation.

Besides, Frank's vehement problematization is on the cultural governmentality the Australian school deploys through school sport and extracurricular activities. This form of governmentality entails the logic of self-selling in obligatory and committed competitions organized and promoted by the school. Unlike his endorsement of ethical living and the techniques of the self, this ethics of self promoted by the school is mediated and deciphered as 'particular' rather than 'universal'. He communicates his disagreement to this ethics of self embedded in school's manipulation of youth culture,

> I want to learn to play a musical instrument, but I have no clue where I can do it. This school offers us some programs like this, but there are too many conditions attached. …Once you agree to participate, you must do this or do that, as if you just sign a series of treaties with this school. Like you have to practice in your spare time at least twice or three times a week. You have to perform to compete with other students. That's far from what I really want. I enjoy the process of learning to play a certain musical instrument, but I have no interest in performing in front other people or in winning an award… Once you are bundled by these 'treaties', your hobbies turn out to be a commitment, a responsibility, and a must. This makes you feel that you are forced rather than you volunteer to do it. …Everything follows the same pattern in this school. Like you join a certain party or organization, then you have to be committed to it.

Frank ethically problematizes the way his new school uses its sport and extra-curricular activities to reinforce the school ethos of well-roundedness. Here, he identifies a link between personal 'hobbies' and school-related activities. The school uses 'hobbies' to lure students into commitment traps, while the notion of hobbies he

constructs in a Chinese context constitutes the worthiness of his student life along with loads of schoolwork. He highlights the inner satisfaction and the non-competitiveness of hobbies for fun, for friendship, as a pastime and for adding a talent to his profile. In particular, as a component of his private sphere of life, hobbies stand for personality, free choice, self-motivation and taking initiatives. But in the new school, what he terms private 'hobbies' in the forms of sport and extracurricular activities are monitored and made public. Via supervising 'hobbies' the school deprives them of their former agency and replaces them with something repressive. He says,

> Sometimes I play basketball just because it is a fine day, or because I am bored and want to have some fun with my classmates…Before when I played basketball with my classmates, we decided when and where to play it. But our school is like, you must do this and you cannot do that. When you have your freedom constrained, your hobbies are the prices you pay.

Frank's is a case that the former nation-state still exerts its ethical and cultural power in experiential transnationality. He has demonstrated the capacity to translate and decipher his new school ethos which is geographically embedded ethical rationalities. That points to an ethical interpretation of school cultures. It is worth mentioning that Frank's overseas educational mission is an ethical intervention. In his imagination, he carves out of Australian education an ethical space for self-development and an ethical way of living. For Frank, ethical living and the technologies of the self he aspires to exert a force that cuts across nation-state boundaries and breaks out of nation-state regimes. According to Ong and Collier (2005), ethics have the potential to become 'global', de-territorialized and decontextualized. But, obviously, the ethics of self and technologies of the self under the school's modality of governmentality are not ones Frank endorses. Therefore, he sticks to his former school-based ethical rationalities and reject the Australian school's ethics.

Why does ethical de-contextualization not happen? Firstly, Frank prefers his former ethics of hobbies and selfhood because the latter ethics are entangled with 'constraining' power, when governmentality finds its way in dominating such ethics. Secondly, the ethics of hobbies cannot be teased out by its cultural underpinning. The new school's espoused competitiveness and exhibitionism is against Frank's

ethics of hobby to enrich his mind and life in a quiet and private way. This has to do with Frank's individual cultural reading of hobbies. However, participating in competitions in a public sphere is charged with different cultural readings. These geographically contextualized cultural readings are hard to transgress in transnationality. Frank talks about the reluctance of cultural participation,

> Some students just know a little bit about how to play, they are also forced onto the sports field only to lose face. After a couple of times, no one wants to do it again. … Taking part in such activities is like you board on the wrong ship, if you jump off in the middle you will be drowned to death. If you stick to it, you will end up losing your interest in this hobby. Like a burnt child dreads the fire.

Frank's words reveal a compete-to-win logic. This requires competitors to be good at certain sports, which is the prerequisite for getting into competition. Besides, losing in a competition is culturally interpreted as 'losing face' and is taken as a personal failure or defeat. For Frank, his fear of losing face outweighs the pleasure of participation and the exercise of will power, persistence and commitment to school.

There is no doubt that Frank is an articulate translator in the transnational educational space. Through the translation, he problematizes the intricacies of ethics, masculinities and cultural prioritization which overturn his cultural ethic reading of hobbies and self-understanding of his masculinity. Frank's ethical decipher and problematization result in ethical negation rather than endorsement or appreciation.

Furthermore, his transnational cultural reading renders in him a strong sense of 'transnational nationalism' (Ang 2001). Hannerz also pay heed to this ethnic/primordial nationalism when theorizing the cosmopolitanism/nation-state nexus, which, he argues, has "a monopoly on central formative experiences, with enduring consequences for personal orientations" (2006:14). For Frank, China as a nation-state exerts its force obviously in the form of a primordial form of nationalism. His transnational nationalism is obviously manifested in the social life in the new school,

> My friendship circle is similar to that of my former schools in China. Whichever school you are in, there is always someone you want to talk to, and someone you have nothing to share with… Here you can see people of different nationalities, such as the locals and students from the UK, France, China and other Asian countries. Sometimes we have different views on

> certain topics. Generally speaking, if it is a topic about China, it is a talkable topic with anyone from China. But some local students are really hard to communicate with. It's like that you don't want to listen to me, and I don't want to listen to you. Arguments sometimes result in unnecessary troubles…I'd rather bore myself to death than talk to the locals sitting next to me.

Frank identifies the juxtaposing and contradictory nationalisms as an insurmountable barrier in his social life at school. As Hannerz (2006) points out, nationalism can sometimes meddle with non-native cultural incorporation. Frank's nationalistic feelings are invoked by an ethical and political reading of cultural logics. Topics that involve national perspectives are very sensitive in inter-cultural communications. Frank's 'transnational nationalism' has been awakened and consolidated in the schooling site.

Is Frank cosmopolitanized? He demonstrates the ability and competence to decipher other culture, which is the capacity to learn about other cultures highlighted by Hannerz (2006). But, he lacks what Hannerz calls 'the core of cultural cosmopolitanism', namely, "the ability to make one's way into other cultures, and the appreciative openness toward divergent cultural experiences" (Hannerz 2006:13). Frank falters in his willingness and openness to transnational cultural endorsement and engagement due to his situated cultural deciphering and values extracting. Frank's case contradicts Hannerz's definitive approach to the notion of cosmopolitanism and his very cosmopolitanization process of mediation negates cosmopolitanism as the state of cultural endorsement and incorporation. No doubt transnationality offers Frank an opportunity, a situated, processual experience in which his Chinese identity has been strengthened in terms of the ethics of self, masculinity and nationalism against his construction of Australian culture. In his experiential transnationality, China is mobilized as transnationally legitimated cultural and ethical moorings of his sense of self. The salient geography of forces for Frank remains China. Contrary to Rizivi's (2005) argument that transnationality cosmopolitanizes, in Frank's case, transnationality is a re-territorializing process. When transnationality is experienced ethically and structurally as a site of problematization, it can lead to informed cultural rejection.

A process of reflexive re-territorialization of Chinese culture occurs, and a process of legitimizing the rooted identity happens by challenging the cultural newness in terms of values, ethics, and masculinity in Frank's construction of the China/Australia dichotomy. This case highlights the limitations or bottom lines of cosmopolitanization, namely, geographies of cultural ethics and emotions embedded in and carried by cultural practices, along with nationalism awakened in terms of cultural membership and belongingness. These important factors are involved in the processes of cultural incorporation, rejection and selection.

Tracy, as we know from Chapters 4 and 5, is the only Chinese student determined to seek a middle-class future in Australia. She differs from the rest of Chinese international students in her geographical mobility trajectory: she is to stay in Melbourne while they will go back to China. Therefore, for her, overseas education is not all of the cultural imperatives of transnationality. Striking an independent life in Melbourne is the goal. Her cultural logics are both ethical and instrumentalist. She uses Melbourne and her education here to achieve two ends: a working competence in local culture and an ethical sense of self. Her instrumentalist cultural investment includes linguistic competence, a general knowledge about Melbourne in terms of job prospects and entertainment purposes, inter-cultural competence and professional knowledge that will ensure her smooth career life. Besides these cultural imperatives, as is revealed in Chapter 5, Tracy's transnational journey is a deliberate strategy to accumulate the pre-set and endorsed skills of self-development.

What she is after is skills, abilities and technologies of the self. These personal capabilities, rarely considered by Tracy in cultural terms, are strategically selected and incorporated into her self-making. This part of Australian culture is technologized as empowering personal skills and stripped of the geographically embedded cultural content. This is an act of cultural instrumentalism, orchestrated by instrumentalist and ethical rationalities that use culture as a means to achieve a non-cultural purpose. Such an instrumental approach to education is not a new phenomenon, as theorized by Ong (1999). Neither is her act of disembedding the cultural from education and focusing on the technology, skills and capabilities. Overseas students from the UK also tend to decontextualize higher education (Findlay et al 2012). However, Tracy's practice of cultural instrumentalism involves

dividing the other culture into the culture and non-culture mosaic and applies differed mechanisms to grapple with them.

She selects the non-culture part to incorporate due to self-making and survival imperatives, letting loose the cultural part. This cultural part is conceived as the private sphere of her cultural life, which she has full autonomy and control over. She stays culturally encapsulated in the way that transnational cultural emplacement changes little of her cultural practices and habits. She carries on with her already 'cosmopolitan' taste or what Rofel (2007:111) calls "cosmopolitanism with Chinese characteristics", which refers to "a self-conscious transcendence of locality, posited as a universal transcendence, accomplished through the formation of consumer identity". She has continually targeted a smorgasbord of cultures offered by Melbourne's consumer market, such as trying different national cuisines, searching for brands of clothing suitable for 'Asians' build', and consuming a range of non-native pop and media cultures.

When it comes to inter-cultural encounters, Tracy has shown little interest to her local counterparts. She is happy to keep a working relationship with them as 'merely classmates'. Inter-cultural communications are limited to classroom teamwork. Other than that, she demonstrates an unaffected attitude to local students.

Given this, Tracy doesn't cosmopolitanize or incorporate other culture in her own cultural container. Rather, she is accumulating tools from other culture to facilitate and sustain her old cultural ways and identifications. Cultural instrumentalism is her way of life.

We have learned in Chapter 5 that **Bob** treats his transnational educational journey as a mission of capital accumulation. His cultural logics hinge on the uses of culture. He differentiates marketable assets, namely, English language, Australian working experiences and an Australian educational degree, from Australian culture on the whole. He demonstrates a neoliberal cosmopolitanism that I have mentioned in previous chapters. With this instrumental cultural logic he flexibly tailors and incorporate his cultural repertoire.

But this cultural flexibility is not at the price of his cultural citizenship. Like Tracy, he shows a strong cultural inertia and sticks to his Chinese cultural ways, but he justifies his cultural stance as a consumer of overseas education. This consumer discourse of meeting cultural requirements of student consumers feeds another dimension of Bob's cultural logic of transntionality. Bob thinks that the school should be capable to translate other cultures first when offering programs for international students. Bob does not like school activities at all, pointing out such programs miss the target of international student inclusion,

> We are forced by the school to take part in school activities. If the school is really keen on our participation, it needs to understand our culture and traditions.

Therefore, for Bob, the transnational emplacement of his consumer role has been heightened and the consumer logic further prevents his cosmopolitanization process.

We know from earlier chapters that **Tim** comes to study in Australia for the purposes of accumulating English linguistic capital. But as a future successor to his family's transnational business, his overseas study imperatives also include achieving inter-cultural competences. His cultural logics of transnationality are informed by both the uses of culture for his career and the aspiration for the experiences of culture.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of his transnational journey, he shows an interest in learning other cultures. The newness he identifies is his fellow local counterparts' subculture and inter-personal relationships. However, after reading the Australian youth culture from his interactions with the local peers at the school, he challenges the ethics of the local youth's practices of 'making merry out of playing practical jokes on people' especially that some pranks are of a malicious nature. Anchoring his ethics, which are underpinned by what he believes to originate from the Chinese culture, Tim translates these behaviours as a lack of a basic sense of respect and politeness. He comments that "we Chinese students do not have fun by mocking other people". He cites some local students 'laughing at' Chinese international students' performance on the sports field as an example,

> We want local students to treat us Chinese international students like the way they treat their local friends. For example, when they play sport, they won't

> comment. But when we Chinese play sport and have committed some faults, they'll laugh at us.

His enthusiasm for making local friends was dampened on the school excursion to Japan. During that two-week trip, he found that local students simply do not respect Asian cultures. He ethically problematizes their cultural attitude as unfair and intolerable. This attitude finally makes him give up the idea of friend-making and he sticks to the Chinese group,

> In this school anyone as long as he/she is Chinese, she/he is a friend...When we come to Australia, we respect its culture. But when the locals went to Asia, they didn't respect its culture…They made a mess in the hotel we lived in Japan…putting chopsticks over the ears… but we don't scrape our knife and fork on the plate here. I reminded one local student of the inappropriateness, but he replied 'I still got friends'. He would rather not have me as a friend than to respect Japanese culture. This is his attitude. He just looks down upon Asian cultures.

He mixes only with Chinese students in the school, as he says, "in our school as long as the person is Chinese, he/she is a friend". This position has definitely shaped his socializing practices and contributed to students clubbing or grouping themselves around lines of nationalities. Tim's attitude to local youth culture is negative, finding it repulsive and ethically unacceptable. Unlike Mathews and Sidhu's 'ethnic clubbing' thesis from a racial hierarchical perspective (2005), the confrontational nationality-based international students' clubbing pattern in this school is formed on the ethical problematization of local youth culture.

Initially, Tim demonstrates the traits of cosmopolitans defined by Hannerz (1990)—a willingness to be open to other cultures. In his geographies of forces, China and Australia as two cultural and ethical regimes are mediated and compared, with the result that China firmly remains the cultural and ethical frame of identification. Through cultural mediation, Tim reaches a level of problematizing the ethics of his local peers' subculture in terms of mutual cultural respect and the ethics of human relations. The inability to identify with these constructed ethical difference stops him from cultural immersing and inter-cultural engagement. This works to shut the door for him to culturally cosmopolitanize and reflexively endears him to his Chinese cultural identity.

In sum, with varied cultural logics, Cindy, Rose, Frank, Tim and Bob confront their transnational goals and everyday inter-cultural experiences. They all designate certain cultural incorporation as cultural imperatives and for some students, ethical imperatives of overseas education. There are no contestations or mediations on the students' part about these cultural imperatives.

It is in the experiential transnationality, however, students begin to assert themselves on the question of whether to embrace and incorporate or reject and negate other culture. They are subject to various geographical forces on transnational and global levels, and go through a complex process of rationalities mediation, which are shaped by structural factors negotiated in cultural hierarchies, nationalist discourses, consumerist education rhetoric, ethical problematization and memories of geographies of cultural ethics. However, their geographical frame of cultural identifications remains China-based. In this cultural identification process, transnational cultural newness is constructed as cultural contradictions, which students mediate in dichotomized Chinese/Australian frames. China and Australia are constructed as cultural units of irreconcilable opposites. The students are forced to make an either-or choice in cultural terms. Transnationally informed they choose not to cosmopolitanize in transnationality, retaining a coherent Chinese cultural identity.

6.2.2 A simultaneous cultural identity

Besides the cultural imperatives of international schooling, **Erik** does not strategically deploy any cultural logics in experiential transnationality. All he wants is to enjoy school life.

Erik's view of school sport in Beachton Grammar differs from his Chinese counterparts. He quite enjoys sport in this school. This has a lot to do with his previous sport experiences in China. All through his school years in Shanghai, Erik was selected as a promising athlete to compete for his school and was involved in heavy training. As a strong contrast, in the Melbourne school he attends, he finds sport is fun and accessible to every student. Erik's relationship with sport is a shift from being a school-representative player to a student player. He is more at ease

with sport; his repressed negative response to years of hard training changes to a voluntary participation and enjoyment of sport.

The newness of Erik's cultural experience is the sport ethics of the Melbourne school. His mediation node is his change of attitude to sports. The Melbourne school allows room for what Ong and Zhang (2008) call 'liberal individualism'. Playing sport is charged with pleasant emotions, a sense of self-release, satisfaction and exhibitionism. He ethically endorses the new school's sport approach.

As the only Chinese and Asian background student who plays in Beachton Grammar's football (Australian football) team, he is exposed to more opportunities for inter-cultural immersion. However, cultural participation does not necessarily lead to cultural mixing. On the sports field, he seldom communicates with the locals. And he is not able to always bring about the right decipher of cultural values. In football games, for example, he purposefully avoids physical confrontations with 'the foreigners' as a faster runner with stamina, physicality and flexibility. This avoidance of bodily confrontations when playing football with the locals is in stark contrast to the hegemonic Australian manhood mentioned by Connell (2008:140) who points out that "sports that involve a certain level of physical confrontations and (legal) violence are seen as tests of manhood". Erik's masculinity is composed of a tough body but not a confrontational mindset on the sports field.

Erik is easily lured into East/West, Chinese/foreigners dichotomies in explaining his unsuccessful communications with locals, even when they are playing the same sport in the same team,

> It feels like we cannot find a common topic with the foreigners. Anyway we play differently. We are the East and they are the West. We play different games from our childhood on. We have different educations.

Erik's cultural identification is featured by the co-existence of Chinese frame of reference and some degrees of transformation. Cultural mediation tends to be blocked by his expedient use of nationed dichotomies.

Like Erik, **Jack** does not think much about how to handle inter-cultural interactions. His attitude and response to cultural encounters are mostly intuitive. Local youth

subculture and sport culture are the major cultural areas he grapples with. His mediation of the different ways of being a youth among the local boys and the ethical problematization of roughness of masculinity do not prevent him from cultural participation.

Many Chinese boys in the school love playing basketball and play fairly well but have their interests dampened by deliberate exclusion and bodily confrontations of local students, among the other reasons. The fact that Jack makes it onto the school basketball team as the only Chinese international student and, indeed, only student from an Asian background, and as a second-tier player, means a lot. He has to venture out of his cultural comfort zone and into a particular social arena of the micro basketball team life congested with language barriers, different basketball cultures and some taunts and jibes once in a while.

Basketball becomes the catchword when Jack talks about his emplaced life in Melbourne both inside and outside the school. His mediation node is on the local youth's basketball culture from the perspectives of masculinities,

> The difference is that in China we play basketball with our brains, while in Australia, the locals play basketball with their muscles. They don't value basketball techniques…They hop when catching or shooting the ball, like they are playing footy. That's why they often commit technical fouls on the court.

Unlike those students who stop at mental work of value extracting and contrasting, Jack speaks for himself in action. To narrow the bodily gap and compete with the bodily confrontations on the basketball court, Jack resorts to a heavier bodybuilding project than in China. He spends an average of two hours playing basketball and extra hours on exercises such as push-ups, sit-ups and squats to build up his muscles. In due course, he hopes he will embody the Australian style of confrontational masculinity on the basketball court.

Therefore, Jack's processual cultural identity project involves intuitive embodied endorsement, mediation and problematization. Incorporation or rejection, Jack's cultural cosmopolitanization takes place unwittingly or not, in his act of fearless, consistent, cultural participation.

Natalie and **Jane**, as we met them in Chapters 4 and 5, are confident high-achievers. They demonstrate a willingness and eagerness to engage culturally with their local peers. This attitude is not supported by a cultural logic of cosmopolitanism (culture openness) but a sound expectation to live a normal school life with good inter-personal relationships established at school. Feeling very strongly against Chinese international students clubbing and being concerned that some Chinese girls just neglect the locals, they fare well in the school setting, communicating effectively and comfortably with their local peers in the classroom, actively getting involved in school activities, and appreciating school ethos and the new student-teacher relationships. A lot of mediation has been done and values endorsed. The local cultural regime exerts a cultural force on them. Welcoming this force, they undergo the processes of cosmopolitanization.

Their motivation for cosmopolitanization is their aspiration for a harmonious social life. They want to fit in the new cultural landscape and invest emotions through effective communication. However, their sense of geographical cultural difference and cultural identification can surface once in a while. This poignant sense of inadequacy and inability in their transcultural communications is revealed in their talk about their partying experiences with local friends, which resonates so much with their socializing experiences with local peers at school.

> Natalie: I attended one of my female friend's birthday party. She was born here and has many local friends. I went to such local parties a couple of times. It is really boring and frustrating, just cannot find the topic. I am a very extrovert, easy-going girl, always ready to talk among the Chinese girls. But when plunged into the Aussie girls, I suddenly become the most introvert and silent one.
>
> Jane: It is really because of the cultural difference. Their topics simple cannot match ours. Boys crack strange jokes that we just don't get them. They will talk about footy. Girls love talking about their friends, just gossips. We don't have a clue who they are talking about. Just cannot communicate.

Their statements demonstrate the difficulty of in-depth cosmopolitanism. The intimate cultural knowledge about jokes, social mores and joint friendship circle constitutes a big barrier to their cultural cosmopolitanization in intercultural socializing arenas. China as a cultural regime still exerts its power. Jane and Natalie's case prompts us to ask, how far can cultural cosmopolitanism go? The two

girls feel culturally alienated, totally out of place, and their Chinese cultural identities are awakened and reinforced on the route to cosmopolitanization. I argue that cultural cosmopolitanization and the assertion of cultural membership co-exist in this case, the more they try to cosmopolitanize, the more aware they are of their cultural roots and moorings.

Phil, smart, confident, hardworking, as we know about him in previous chapters, regards overseas schooling as an opportunity to learn something different. He sticks to one cultural logic in transnationality that treats culture as knowledge which he needs to learn. With this tenet, he immerses himself in local culture by heavily participating in school activities and sports. He regards cultural differences as a form of knowledge, even when they are framed in China/Australia duality,

> I never play footy; it's too dangerous. I do soccer, basketball no, maybe because of the height (laugh). I love going to gym both here and in China. I love swimming because I used to be part of a local swimming team [in our city]…I specialize in butterfly stroke. I am just showing off [to my Aussie classmates]. Freestyle is the fastest. Aussies are good at swimming. They are good at breaststroke with [their] long arms and legs. But they are not good at techniques. We (Chinese students) are good at these like pingpong, badminton. We know how to use small techniques to be faster, to be better. So I teach my Aussie friends how to use the techniques.

Despite that Phil constructs a masculine dichotomy between Chinese and 'Aussies' on the basis of the bodily differences between him and his Aussie friends, he obviously believes in cultural learning and is eager to de-construct such a dichotomy. In his process of cultural learning, similarities can be shared, and differences can be exchanged. His intercultural communication is a two-way process that involves both cultural learning and cultural teaching between him and his local peers in the school.

Whereas some works recognize the fact that transnationality goes hand in hand with globalization (Rizvi 2005; M. Singh et al 2007; P. Singh et al 2007), they fail to examine how the cultural logics of transnationality intersect with that of cultural globalization in shaping international students' cultural identities. Phil's case sheds light on this transnationality/globalization intersection. The global youth culture also facilitates Phil's two-way inter-cultural communication. The mastery of musical instruments such as piano, cello, saxophone and 'scaped' pop culture cosmopolitanize young people globally. Phil's musical talents in piano and singing

amaze his Aussie peers and he always 'gives them a show' on request at school. The inter-cultural barriers are no longer salient in Phil's case. He feels that local boys, rather than his Chinese counterparts at the Melbourne school, are more like-minded persons.

Phil's transnational cultural emplacement is a process of intercultural cosmpolitanization. Cosmopolitanization is extended in this sense beyond Szerszynski and Urry's (2002) notion of cosmopolitanism as a way of learning through cultural take-up and cultural absorption or incorporation. Cosmopolitanization is a two-way process involving cultural dissemination as well. In addition, Phil's view of culture as a form of knowledge makes his cultural emplacement a neutral one, free of conflicts and problematization. Therefore, Phil's cultural identity becomes 'simultaneity', a harmonious combination and incorporation of two nationed cultures. Phil's three dimensions of cultural identities combine to constitute a hybrid source but a coherent sense of a disembedded cultural self in geographical embeddedness.

To sum up, Erik, Jane, Natalie, Jack and Phil embrace the idea of being open to other cultures. However, their attitude originates from different but not necessarily self-conscious rationalities. Their geographies of forces include transnational cultural forces of Australia exerted within their schooling site. For some students, their practices of cultural incorporation are unconscious, without values deciphered or rationalities calculated in identification of specific power registers. For Phil, cultural cosmopolitanism is free from power registers, as non-native culture is approached as knowledge. For Jane and Natalie, their in-depth cultural cosmopolitanism involves the processes of value deciphering, negotiation, and mediation in making sense of their former cultured self. Their case supports the argument that transnational cultural newness, when deciphered in terms of values, poses questions for the intimate or committed cosmopolitanism because value incorporation is not always frictionless.

Erik, Jane, Natalie, Jack and Phil are therefore in varied processes of cultural cosmopolitanization, which is featured by cultural identity transformation and reification by both detachment from and attachment to their Chinese cultural

anchoring. Their cultural incorporation does not necessarily come with their giving-up or negation of their Chinese cultural anchorage.

6.2.3 A reflexive, ethical transformation of the self

Tom has demonstrated himself to be a thinking boy in previous chapters. It is no wonder he has expressed a peculiar interpretation of culture when he mentions that one of the motivations for going overseas is to enrich his life perspective. His cultural logic manifests itself in his critical mediation. This mediation points to the ethics of a youthful self. Transnationality offers him a chance to understand ethically and construct reflexively his self in cultural contrasts.

He touches on several topics about Australian young people from his observation of cultural newness in transnationality. These mediation nodes include sports and extracurricular activities as a means of youth cultivation at school; sports culture and personality carving; local youth's participation in charity; the links among nation state, social responsibility and personal ambitions. In discussing this, I shall focus on two topics.

One is the notion that young people should be well-rounded. He thinks Beachton Grammar, the Australian school he attends, is willing to spend money developing its students' 'skills' in through sports and extracurricular activities. The skills and youthful personality he once aspired to was deprived of in China. In particular, what to play and the ability to play, dreams and enjoyment are important markers of a youthful self,

> At this age when I finally go abroad, I am like an adult. I've already lost my childhood dreams and ambitions. What is horrible is that I don't know how to play. …Like I said, we [international students] are too old to pick it up. We cannot even enjoy playing skateboard…And now I have no choice but to play computer games. …I feel like an old man.

Besides, Tom's node of ethical mediation lies in the relationship between society and selfhood, which is triggered by his volunteering in the charity service in a church organized by his school when he gives away soup and bread to people in need. He says,

> We are told that each person can only have one spoon of soup. But some people want more soup, and I am not allowed to do it. I was very sad at that time because all they wanted was just an extra spoon of soup, which I couldn't give them.

Transnationality offers Tom an opportunity to deal with the disadvantaged face to face. It is here that the neoliberal rhetoric of a rely-on-yourself mentality (Ong and Zhang 2008), at a historical high, is in conflict with the proclaimed Australian, middle-class value of compassion, social care and concern. It involves mediation of two societies rather than two cultures in terms of an ethical living regarding social concern and care to the disadvantaged. Tom's didactic thoughts of an ethical living are quite mixed. On the one hand, he supports self-reliance and self-making. On the other hand, he is influenced by his face-to-face encounter with the disadvantaged and finds compassion and voluntary help very necessary. Therefore, the result of the transnational mediation about selfhood and self-making is not either-or, but both-and. He elaborates on how nation-states shape their citizens' selves,

> I think their country [Australia] is rich, so local people have no worries about old age. Therefore they don't have big ambitions. The locals here, because of their educational system and environment, they don't care what's going on in the world or even in their own country. Countries are directly involved in what their people's ambitions are. Like people in North Korea are very tough, that's because their country instils in them the toughness and keeps their spirits high. But here in Australia the national anthem is soft and is not able to boost people's morale…I think the Chinese national mentality is on the whole determined and ambitious.

These examples capture the changes, contestations and conflicts in Tom's ethics mediation. This supports Ong and Collier's (2005) argument that ethics in global assemblages will be further stripped of its geographical embeddedness and take the form of 'the global'. But, Tom can afford this geographically disembedded youth ethics by engaging in a spatial strategy to opt out of contradicting ethics without jeopardizing his future. Hence, I argue, after Ong and Collier (2005), ethics still has to find a material base for it to be disembedded from certain geographies. Also, Tom's case is an addition to the cultural cosmopolitanism thesis in that cultural incorporation takes the deeper form of ethical mediation and identification.

6.3 Further theoretical discussion

I have extended Ong's notion of cultural logics by delineating the uses of culture and the experiences of culture and made an analytical linkage between the two. By employing the notion of geographies of forces, I am able to differentiate between the forces that exert their effect within and beyond nation-state boundaries. In so doing, I have led the theorization of cultural identities to the frames of geographies of cultural identity so as to understand fully the cultural logics of subject making.

By using geographies of cultural identity I have mainly delineated the geographies of forces exerting influences at national and global levels, and checked whether Chinese students could break loose from the power wielded by their nation-state of origin and the nation-state of displacement. A variety of registers of power or geographies of forces that have the potential to 'change the logics of culture' have been identified in my research on the Chinese international students. Along with capitalism or the market, more forces that cut across nation-state geographies have been revealed as applying effects, but as the 'universal' rather than the transnational 'particular'.

The force of the internationalization of education tends to de-contextualize and strip off the cultural embeddedness of geographically located education. In so doing, it also reduces the cultural imperatives of overseas education to purely instrumental and thus 'universal' knowledge. Ethics in the forms of the technologies of the self and rationalities embodied in ethical living are also de-contextualized, de-territorialized as 'universal', a phenomenon Ong and Collier (2005) document as the 'global'. These are new global forces originating from specific geographical locations or power regimes but students do not differentiate their geographies of origins. As a result, these global forces and rationalities are not involved in students' cultural sense-making of the self, or in their realignment of cultural membership, since they are not considered as part of non-native culture incorporation. For some students, these forces are not necessarily transnational cultural newness but something localized. These localized forms of forces have hailed them before their transnational journeys. Therefore, the theorization of students' geographies of cultural identities from a global perspective is blocked, at least within the students' self-identification frames.

I also developed the theorization of cultural cosmopolitanism along the cosmopolitanism/power duality. I explored individual cultural logics and located the power registers of culture called forth and mediated by the students. By examining geographies of forces at play in the intersection of globalization and transnationality, I extended the instrumentalist cultural cosmopolitanism (Weenink 2008) based on global market/capitalism as a dominant cultural force. I also put forward the notion of in-depth cosmopolitanism against Hannerz's (1990) theorization of cultural cosmopolitanism, by revealing the mediation processes of cultural cosmopolitanization.

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This chapter explored Chinese international students' cultural logics of transnationality and cultural practices. It linked them to their geographies of cultural identity and identified two strands of cultural logics, based respectively on the uses of culture and the experiences of culture. The two strands of cultural rationalities were shaped by different geographies of forces. However, only one strand of cultural logics shaped these students' sense of cultured self. The Chinese students instrumentally used overseas education and endorsed the cultural imperatives of overseas education by market forces, either at a national or transnational level. These were rationalities that did not enter students' cultural reflexive mediations as practices of non-native cultural incorporation. It was mainly in their situated construction of experiential transnationality that their rationalities were mediated in different geographies of power regimes and forces and fed their sense of cultured self.

It revealed that the students mobilized varied cultural logics in their mediation of varied geographies of power registers. This chapter identified three types of cultural identities in transnationality, namely, the coherent Chinese cultural identity with an anchorage definitely in China; simultaneous identity including all incomplete states of cultural cosmopolitanization; and a transformed ethical identity.

Chapter 7

Children of the Chinese diaspora: Schooling choice, Life Aspirations and Class-making in Australia

> First of all, my mum doesn't like the idea of sending my brother and me to state schools. She went to Strathcorna which is a private girl's school. So she thought that private education is a lot better. The reason why I come here is that I am on a scholarship, but otherwise I'd gone to my brother's school—Caulfield Grammar. By coming here I save my parents twenty thousand dollars… I found that in state schools it is quite bored because I was a bit smarter than the other people my age. I just found my class quite boring, especially for state schools. They cannot cater for people of different learning (Walter, interview transcript).

> Maybe something to do with IT, [but] my parents want me to become doctors or something…Like, having money to support me in the future and my family. That's good life, pretty normal, rich (Nick, interview transcript).

Chapters 4 and 5 have investigated the links between Chinese international students' overseas schooling choice, self-imagination and their class making. This chapter is going to focus on the same links but looking at Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry.

The literature located and reviewed in this chapter is organized around the key words of immigrant/diasporic/ethnic Chinese students, education and class-making, with a focus on research based in Anglophone countries. Actually, this group of students has attracted researchers' attention due to their academic achievement. A range of studies focus on ethnicity and examine the ethnic thesis of Chinese/Asian background students' academic 'success' (Archer and Francis 2006, 2007, 2008; Kaufman 2004; Mathews 2002; Vivian Louie 2004), Chinese students' and parents' construction of education values (Francis and Archer 2005a; Li 2001; Li 2008) and Chinese background students' ethnicized schooling experiences (Archer and Francis

2007, 2008; Mathews 2002; Vivian Louie 2004). The works of Kaufman (2004) and Vivian Louie (2004) strongly argue for the need to examine other valences beyond ethnicity, as it is only one factor that affects academic outcomes and potential class trajectories of children of the Chinese diaspora.

Archer and Francis (2006, 2007) examine education-related class goals, aspirations and schooling experiences of children of the Hong Kong Chinese diaspora in the UK from an intersection of ethnicity and gender, and Vivian Louie (2004) bases her study of students of Chinese ancestry in the US from an intersection of class and ethnicity. However, in their attempts to theorize class-making intersected with ethnicity/race, they tend to focus on an ethnicized dimension or a 'cultural mode' of class rationalities of the diasporic Chinese families. As indicated in Chapter 3, these works also have a tendency to read class in the lens of familial socio-economic background, thus failing to view class in a bigger picture that is linked to political and social life such as neoliberalism, the restructured market and new socio-cultural configurations (Ball 2003; McLeod and Yates 2008).

The failure to see class in this way results in the inability to grasp immigrant families' class perspectives and rationalities reworked and reshaped in their experiences of class emplacement in the job market of the nation of their destination and their understanding of the market and the new 'social'. This gives rise to the question: in the ethnicity/class intersection, which is the most salient valence in shaping students' education-related aspirations? And, against this backdrop, what has become of their ethnic rationalities and how do we theorize ethnicity intersected with class?

Despite pointing out that classifying Chinese immigrant families' is replete with ambiguities because of "distinctive racialized and classed structures" in the UK, Archer and Francis (2006, 2007) still rely on parents' occupations as the major reference for class categorization of these families. This has ignored the fact that immigrant families experience class emplacement in the country of destination. Equating occupation as class status cannot explain this class discrepancy, or different class positioning in the country of departure and in the country of arrival that some immigrant families experience after migration. Neither does it explain the capital

difference between immigrant families and local families categorized in the same class fraction. Therefore, the question of how we should designate immigrant families and children in class terms is yet to be answered.

In addition, in this literature, the reasons behind ethnic Chinese students' academic 'success', rather than their education-related class rationalities are the focus of investigation. There is no research on this group's practice of school choice and its links to their class goals, in particular, how parents and children make choices between high-status independent or private schools and state schools. Therefore in this chapter, I will explore the links between the students' capital imaginaries, ethical considerations linked to high-fee independent school choices, self-imagination and class-making.

To grasp the changing analytic of the notion of social class and culture, this chapter draws on Ong's cultural logics thesis of self-making and Ong and Collier's development of 'ethical living' introduced in Chapters 4 and 5. However, instead of the cultural logic of transnationality, I put forward a cultural logic of localization or rooting as a theoretical framework to analyse the children of Chinese diaspora's geographically targeted capital imaginaries and orientations. To complement Ong, I also introduce a capital approach to *transnational/immigrant/ethnicized class emplacement*, to understand discrepancy or difference of class positioning between immigrants' pre-migration and post-migration class grouping caused by transnational migration and, to highlight what I term as *capital discrepancy* or difference in capital held between Chinese immigrant families and local families designated the same class positioning in the country of destination. By focusing on families as a 'decision making unit' in their children's capital accumulation, I am seeking to contribute to a body of work on the 'lived realities, the situated realizations of class and class reproduction' (Ball 2003:6) in Chinese immigrant groups.

Within this chapter, I initially introduce the major conceptual frameworks mentioned above before I investigate the Chinese background families' class strategies demonstrated in their schooling choices, examine their capital imaginaries behind them explore their ethnicized, classed strategies and practices of accumulation to

achieve their educational ends. The discussion then links these families' and students' school choices to their broader life choice, namely, career related self-aspiration and explores their class rationalities in their practices of self-imagination.

7.1 The cultural logics of localization and transnational/immigrant class emplacement

I continue to use the capital and ethical approaches to education, school choice and self-imagination in this chapter as is introduced in Chapters 4 and 5. Ong's (1999) cultural logic of self-making is also used to explore the class rationalities and practices of children and diasporic Chinese families. I also employ a capital approach to transnational/immigrant/ethnicized class emplacement to offer a cultural and capital understanding of immigrant families' class positioning in Australia.

I draw on what I term as the cultural logics of localization or rooting as an analytical framework to investigate Chinese immigrant families' class strategies towards accumulating capital that is geographically oriented, contextualized and endorsed in the country of destination. I use it to denote a responsive class strategy to transnational rooting in the country of destination. It is an enhancement of Ong's cultural logics thesis with a link to the question of geography. It is a cultural logic of rooting, based on a capital calculation of the localized class games, not necessarily a calculation of the localized market rules, in terms of cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital accumulation and conversion.

Besides, Ong does not link the cultural logic of displacement to immigrant/transnational class emplacement in the job market of the country of destination. Here, I strike a theoretical linkage between Ong's cultural logic of displacement and Bourdieu's capital approach to class theory and explain how we understand in capital terms immigrant/ethnicized/transnational class emplacement. In particular, this capital approach is useful when attending to how ethnicity is mediated in relation to cultural capital and how ethnicity informs classed perspectives in the country of destination. I use this notion also to understand the starting point of capital accumulation for students from Chinese immigrant families. Bourdieu's capital approach to class theories is re-introduced to understand Chinese

immigrant families' transnational class emplacement and capital related class position. According to Bourdieu,

> Thus agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension according to the global volume of capital they possess, in the second dimension according to the composition of their capital, that is, according to the relative weight in their overall capital of the various forms of capital, especially economic and cultural, and in the third dimension according to the evolution in time of the volume and composition of their capital, that is, according to their trajectory in social space (1987:4).

Transnational emplacement in class terms involves the question of capital re-positioning since Bourdieu's notion of capital is built within 'societal' or nation-state confines. Capital is geographically contextualized and recognized. Transnational class emplacement, therefore, causes a class re-positioning in capital terms. As students' class fraction is linked to their parents' volume and structure of the forms of capital, students from immigrant/ethnic background families are seen as low in localized (ethnicized but constructed as mainstream) cultural capital.

In the context of Australia, Ang and Stratton theorize nationally legitimatized cultural capital in a West/Asia dichotomy. They argue that Australia is "institutionally and discursively positioned in 'the West'" (1996: 21), which provides it with "a rich source of (cultural) power" and "continues to produce a sense of superiority *vis-à-vis* 'Asia'", amidst the fear of the Asianization of Australia (ibid: 27-28). Ang points out that, in the past two decades the Australian government has endeavoured to engage with Asia out of geopolitical and economic and security considerations, but Australia's cultural engagement with Asia remains insignificant, despite the official call for 'Asian literacy' and Australia's de facto multicultural landscape that "weaves Australia ever more intricately into the social fabric of Asia" (2008: 18-19).

Stratton (2009b) further argues that the nationalized cultural capital has been classed. He points out that skilled, professional immigrants of Asian background are "given a conditional acceptance" into the Australian middle class if they accept "Australian values" and the Australian way of life in neoliberal capitalist Australia. For these immigrants, assimilating into "middle-class, white, Anglo-Celtic Australian culture"

is a way to make it to middle-class status, rather than culturally celebrating ethnic differences which has been a way of 'establishing distance' from it (ibid:16).

Stratton pushes this line of cultural exclusion further by arguing that, in the Australian context, a middle-class status is not merely cultural, but maps onto the "established racialized class structure" (ibid:17). He observes that neoliberal capitalism works on the structural organization of Australian society, making migration a critical component of Australia's neoliberal state building in the market order. The race-based class system, established historically since the post WWII, absorbing low-skill Eastern European immigrants into the working-class sectors up to the 1970s, now has yet to adjust its absorption of post-1990s skilled, qualified Asian background migrants into middle-class jobs.

It can be concluded, using Bourdieu's capital approach, that those skilled migrants, who are forced into the ethnicized working-class sectors and locked in ethnicized working-class jobs, are deprived of the critical environment for cultural and social capital accumulation in the host society. Ethnicity in the transnational displacement is not only reduced to a form of negative cultural capital, when contrasted to 'mainstream' cultural capital and is experienced structurally in the job market, but also works to exclude and lock immigrant families and their children out of the 'right' cultural accumulation competition at the starting point.

The cultural logics of rooting/localization also heed how families strategically use the schools as the major venue for localized cultural capital accumulation in the country of destination in Bourdieusian sense. Bourdieu links cultural capital inculcation with family and schools. In particular, schools not only offer legitimate academic cultural capital in terms of educational qualifications, they also offer classed cultural capital that are non-academic in nature. Bourdieu (1986a) argues that educational institutions are positioned in class terms. Through "the manipulation of aspiration and demands" and "value-inculcating and value-imposing operations", educational institutions inscribe students with "a certain type of cultural accumulation and a certain image of cultural accomplishment" based on classed perspectives (ibid: 24-25). By legitimating the classed culture and inculcating it in

their students, educational institutions become class-laden and reinforce class differentiations.

With these conceptual tools, I will explore class rationalities of children of the Chinese diaspora and their families by looking at their practices of school choices and self-imagination. In particular, parenting in relation to the children's classed future will be examined as a site for ethnicity theorization. I will also examine how ethnicity intersects with transnational class emplacement and how it is rendered culturally and/or structurally when informing and shaping their capital imaginaries and capital list.

7.2 Choosing schools in Melbourne: VCE versus 'well-roundedness'

By offering a capital approach to the class strategies of Chinese background families in relation to their children's school choice, I aim to find out what they want to get out of schooling. Unlike in my study of Chinese international students who deploy the class strategy of transnationality, the immigrant families deploy a cultural logic of localization or rooting. This section identifies these families' capital imaginaries and capital accumulation priorities based on their class perspectives with one group prioritizing children's VCE results and the other group favouring children's 'well-roundedness'.

7.2.1 Classifying children of the Chinese diaspora

Altogether, six Chinese background students—Dory, Nick, Nina, Nathan, Mary and Walter, studying in Year 9 to Year 11 at the time of interviews, participate in my study[17]. All are Australian-born except Nick who was born in New Zealand. All live in Melbourne, with only some going back to China for a couple of weeks sightseeing.

Judging from their families' length of stay in Australia, they roughly fall into two groups—second-generation and multi-generation. Dory, Nick and Nina are second

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[17] Please see section 3.7.2, in Chapter 3, for brief profiles of these students.

generation, coming from families of first general Chinese immigrant parents. Nathan also belongs to second generation. Mary and Walter are multi-generation. How, then, do we categorize them in class terms?

According to McLeod and Yates (2008:348), "to name what we attend to as 'class', or to talk about what we 'find' as 'class', or to designate someone as 'working class' or 'middle class', is to inscribe it in a particular way". I am using Bourdieu's capital approach to understand the Chinese background students' familial class positioning or transnational class emplacement, in particular, familial cultural capital in terms of parents' length of stay in Australia, ethnic background and educational level. The occupations their parents hold are related to familial economic capital and are accessible to Australian cultural, social and symbolic capital.

All families can be categorized as 'middle-class', considering parental educational background, occupations and family income. However, defining occupations such as businessman, shop and restaurant owners as middle class jobs is problematic. Stratton (2009b) argues that, in Australia's 'race-based class system', shopkeepers and small restaurant operators are ethnicized as typical immigrant jobs, in contrast to 'mainstream' jobs. Archer and Francis (2006: 33) point out similar 'distinctive racialized and classed structures' in the UK context, maintaining that they have to "retain a degree of ambiguity in their readings" of certain occupations that some Hong Kong Chinese background families take.

Dory, Nina and Nick tend to relegate their parents' jobs as small business owners to low-skill immigrant jobs for the reason that such jobs do not require much 'local'/Australian cultural capital—English language proficiency, or Australian educational qualifications, despite the fact that Nina and Nick's families are economically 'middle-class'. Dory simply regards her parents' owning and operating a fish-and-chips outlet as 'manual labor'. In terms of the jobs their parents hold as small business owners and operators, all these families experience a downward transnational class positioning, when compared to their pre-migration professional jobs in China. Drawing on Wright (1997, 2003), Li (2008: 151) emphasizes that subjective class perspective is 'contextually dependent upon how individuals understand class distinctions and position themselves in relation to these distinctions

within a social institution'. Among this group, there is a strong sense of class discrepancy between 'objective class' and 'subjective class'. The class discrepancy alerts us to the situation wherein this group of children and families, placed in working-class immigrant jobs in Australia still hold on to their middle-class perspectives contextually formed from their experiences in China. That's why I use working class in quotation throughout the thesis to refer to their class positioning.

The other group, Mary, Walter, and Nathan have both parents employed in 'mainstream' professional jobs such as teachers and engineers. These parents work in areas that require Australian cultural capital in the form of the proficiency of English, and Australian educational qualifications. These families fall into middle-class categories. The students in this group are aware of their middle-class status and identify with it.

The two different self-identified groups have similar amounts of economic capital, but vary in the volume of Australian mainstream cultural capital, considering their occupations, length of stay in Australia and in which country they earned their educational qualifications. It is worth noting that the immigrant jobs 'working-class' families hold, in particular as operators of either the Chinese restaurant or the fish-and-chip shop, are unlikely to give them access to localized or locally endorsed cultural capital and symbolic capital, from lack of opportunities to network with the mainstream and accumulate social capital.

7.2.2 Neoliberal parenting and strategically securing a scholarship

Chapter 4 reveals that Chinese international students and their families' schooling choice is made mainly between overseas and native schools. And in most of the cases, the children have the final say in the overseas schooling decision-making. In the case of children of the Chinese diaspora, the decision is made between high-fee non-government schools and elite, academically selective government schools.

To attract outstanding students, Beachton Grammar offers 100% or 50% scholarships to qualified applicants from Year 4. It holds annual Academic and General Excellence Scholarship Examinations and Music Scholarship Auditions, usually in February, before an incoming new school year begins. Winning a

scholarship means a lot of money is saved and so the competition between students for scholarships is intense.

Five out of the six student participants hold scholarships. Of the three children from the self-identified 'working-class' group, Nick holds a 100% scholarship for academic excellence, and Dory and Nina hold 50% scholarships for excellence in music. Mary and Walter from the 'middle-class' group hold 100% scholarship for excellence in sport and music, respectively. Nathan has been in the school for 12 years since pre-Prep and is preparing to apply for a scholarship for his last two years of schooling.

An interesting pattern among the families is that their children don't accidently end up holding scholarships at Beachton Grammar. That is, to get a 50% scholarship, for instance, Dory's family has invested at least five years in her piano coaching. Dory has to be committed to piano practice to qualify for the school's Music Scholarship Auditions and, more importantly, before choosing piano as a scholarship investment, Dory's parents already had accumulated some information about the stringent music scholarship requirements. A hint of ethnic strategy is revealed in Dory's comment that "all Chinese people I know send their children learning piano".

Connell (2009:10) argues that as neoliberalism seeps into 'every arena of social life', parents are pressured to "operate as investors and consumers in a market, competitively maximizing family gains from education". 'Neoliberal parenting' is a classed practice as "parenting practices orient to a market world" (ibid:11). Among the five scholarship holders, they have each demonstrated excellence in sport, music, or academics. Irrespective of their class background, such a pattern is intriguing as securing a scholarship for their children involves parents' planning many years ahead, as well as long-term investment in money, time and children's commitment. The vying for scholarships is strategically tailored to their knowledge about and choice of high-status schools. It is an act of what Connell (2009) calls 'neoliberal parenting'.

Connell suggests that neoliberal parenting strategies geared at the market "make obsolete certain features of the older culture of bourgeois families" (2009:9). What I

emphasize is that neoliberal parenting is also a site for (classed) ethnicity theorization. Obtaining an understanding of the scholarship criteria and setting strategies to compete for scholarships render it a cultural imperative for parents to move out of their ethnicized approach to education, or even to school choice rationalities. Besides, by identifying and inculcating in their children certain locally endorsed cultural capital, the Chinese parents look beyond their 'diasporic habitus' and re-align their capital orientation to Australian educational systems, making strategic school choices on their children's behalf. It is argued in this thesis that neoliberal parenting reworks and reshapes certain features of not simply these Chinese parents' ethnicized cultural ways, but more importantly, their children's cultural identifications with their ethnic 'roots' and practices.

7.2.3 Choosing a high-fee, high SEA school in Melbourne

Having secured scholarships, what do they want to gain from such a school? How do they understand their educational choice? These questions are approached from a class perspective.

The self-rated 'working-class' group

Nick knows about Beachton Grammar and its scholarships from his tutoring school, a Sunday school in a well-known ethnic Chinese suburb—Box Hill. He chooses Beachton Grammar because of its 'higher education quality', 'good teachers' and 'good courses', rather than the co-curricular programs. What he wants most from the school is VCE success.

Dory start schooling in Beachton Grammar from Year 4 on a 50% scholarship. This is a school where everybody is 'very nice'. The school treats parents in a friendly and patient way. Dory strongly appreciates the school's value to "accept everyone". She talks about her former Catholic primary school,

> I know it is hard being Chinese, you know, like cause' you look different…I remember that sometimes in my old school I used to get bullied because of being Chinese…Like it's kind of joking, not that serious and you can laugh about it…It always happens. It wasn't bad, but it is kind of you learn to accept that. But here it is not a problem. People here just take you where you are and they just accept you.

For Dory and her family, choosing Beachton is not only for a better VCE result, but an ethical intervention as well. Actually, they put their ethical considerations on top of their list when making a school choice around what a good school should be, in terms of what constitutes a good school life. For Dory's family, school should be a place where Dory feels good about herself, stays away from bullies and communicates and socializes nicely with her peers. They finally settle on Beachton Grammar that "cares about" its student as well as parents.

According to her father, **Nina** must go to a high-fee non-government school after finishing her primary schooling at a government school, as primary schools, whether government schools or private schools, take quite a 'relaxed' approach to academic education. It is only from secondary schooling that the differences between non-selective state schools and fee-paying high-status schools begin to loom. First and foremost, a high-status private school is more academically focused. Nina identifies a major difference between her primary school and Beachton Grammar is that "there is a good amount of homework" at the new school. Also, teachers are attentive to students' academic needs.

For her father, Lin, choosing Beachton Grammar is a classed decision to distance Nina from what he believes to be the 'working class' positioning that his immigrant job market emplacement brings him. For Lin's family, choosing a high-fee independent school embodies an assertion of and claim for middle-class membership in Australia. The school choice suits their 'subjective' middle-class status.

Besides, Lin also believes in the middle-class moral culture in this school, which instills a sense of right and wrong, and knowledge about courteousness and impoliteness in its students. He regards this moral nurturing as a form of 'mainstream' Australian middle-class cultural capital. Bourdieu (1984a) argues that schools have the capacity to legitimate and reinforce classed cultures and values. Lin seems to resonate with this argument by explicitly linking the school's class status with its 'cultural tastes' of 'higher-class locals'. Lin hopes that the choice of this high-fee school can make up for the mainstream cultural 'lack' caused by his low-class job as a businessman. And, in this high-fee independent school, Nina can shun the "bad influence" of lower class peers with their lower classed culture. This

coincides with the work of Campbell et al (2009), that the classed cultures of a school and in particular, the influence of peers from similar class backgrounds, becomes a central point guiding parental school choice.

McLeod and Yates' (2006), in their longitudinal studies of four different types of schools in Victoria, Australia, point out that high-fee independent schools are sought after by some parents for the networking purposes. Lin capitalizes on the networking possibility of Beachton Grammar, too. He sees networking with like-minded middle-class peers as a potential social capital for Nina in the future.

The commonality amongst these three 'working-class' Chinese families is that they prioritize a narrow notion of cultural capital, in the form of VCE-oriented formal educational capital. Given the educational quality and VCE standing of Beachton Grammar, their choice of this school will secure their VCE success. For Nick, VCE is all. Dory and Nina's capital lists include scholarship-oriented musical instrument skills as school-acknowledged high-culture capital. Only Nina's family capitalizes on Beachton Grammar's middle-class status, cultural tastes and morals.

The middle-class group

For **Mary** and her family, the matter of school choices is closely linked to exploring her sports potentials. Mary spends a lot of time engaging in a variety of sports where she excels: swimming, basketball, lifesaving and running. However, her parents believe that Year 10 is the high time for Mary to be more attuned to academic cultural capital and knuckled down to prepare for entry into university. But, at the same time, they do not want to give up Mary's sport potential. Beachton Grammar meets their need for a balance between sport and academics.

Mary is the only one among my Chinese background girl participants who enthusiastically loves and prioritizes sport. The connections between physical capital, middle-class and girls' engagement in sport are discussed in a number of studies (Horne et al 2011; O'Flynn and Lee 2010). However, my focus is on middle-class parents' and daughters' identifications with sport related capitals other than 'physical capital'. Or, put simply, what do they do sport for, in capital terms? Firstly, Mary's sport excellence earns her a 100% general excellence scholarship from

Beachton Grammar. Is the scholarship sheer 'luck', to use Mary's word, or is it cultivated? Mary's sport talents are developed and oriented towards a profession in sport. Her parents spare no effort in driving her to training places, enrolling her in many inter-state competitions, travelling with her and paying for her accommodations. However, after years of investment and hard training, they recognize that being a professional player is much harder than anticipated and this professional route, Mary says, "didn't happen". Mary needs a new imperative in life, or what she calls 'a fresh start'— university.

Secondly, the practice of 'capitalizing on sport' is constructed as a particular localized/Australian or Anglophone cultural capital in Mary's family. As well as the purposes of physical activities for fun, fitness, healthiness, as explored in the work of O'Flynn and Lee (2010), the choices of *which* sport matter more, in Mary's case. She categorizes swimming and lifesaving as part of the Australian 'beach culture' and uses it to claim and legitimate her family's 'Australian-based' culture. Engagement in sport is, therefore, a localized, Australian/mainstream cultural capital, in contrast to ethnic cultural capital. Rather than capitalizing on sport for a class conscious notion of elitism that relates to "physical capital in the forms of management of the body, dress, manners and speech" as valuable attributes in elite jobs (Horne et al 2011: 865), Mary demonstrates an air of casualness, dressed in her sport gear at training, with a basketball in her hands, looking as if she just finished an intense basketball game. I argue that Mary's take on sport is a deliberate 'national capital' (Hage 1998) accumulation, with her image representing what she believes to be the cultural characteristics of mainstream Australians to distance herself from her part-Chinese ethnic background.

Mary takes up sport as an epitome of 'well-roundedness'. Doing well at school in all aspects—high achiever, good at sport—is theorized to be the Australian "middle-class imperative" by O'Flynn and Lee (2010:72), Mary is no exception. Since Year 10, Mary has been expected to focus more on her academics. This middle-class imperative takes the form of 'well-roundedness' espoused by the school that Mary obviously endorses in her appreciation of the "good variety of education" her new school provides. She compares it to her former 'very religious based', all-girl Catholic secondary school next door,

> This school is…more focused on work here…This school is much more organized and there's directions that you can go into sports and academic and music. Yeah, it's got a good variety of education here.

In addition, Mary accumulates a form of cultural capital in leadership in sport activities as the captain of the school's girls' swimming team. In particular, this leadership role offers her more opportunities to make the most of the school, such as when Mary asked the school for, and was granted, a free, one-on-one tutor (a past student of Beachton Grammar, now studying at a university) to help with her studies. It is a special favor from the school, with a lot of resources being mobilized, which she described,

> I think I am only one of the few that have the one on one (tutor). Because I ask for it and my parents asked. My housemaster and deputy principal asked (the school for it). But he (the tutor) also comes in on Wednesdays and Thursdays, that is for anyone in the whole school to come in for help.

In terms of cultural capital accumulation, Mary is encouraged and supported by her parents to communicate effectively with the school for what she thinks she deserves from the school. The capacity to stand up for oneself and make the best of what school can offer is a subtle form of cultural capital targeted by Mary and her family. This episode fits with Laureau's (2008:118) findings about black, middle-class parents of children in USA primary schools, that "middle-class parents…routinely scanned the horizon for opportunities to activate their cultural capital and social capital on behalf of their children". Mary's parents have the social and cultural capital to know what to expect from the school and how to get the best service they think they deserve from it.

But this is only part of the picture. Seeking this requirement from the school also taught Mary many things—how to negotiate with the school to get more opportunities, how to get help from her housemaster and the deputy principal. This involves the exercise of social skills, self-worth as the school's girls' swim team captain, in terms of her contribution to her school, and the capacity and capability to push hard for something she and her family think that they deserve from the school. A complicated form of capital that facilitates Mary's future life chances has been accumulated in this event. This is part of inter-generational capital transmission in her family, elusive at first glance, but which, literally, adds up to her cultural capital

to bargain with the market world. It is a life skill that ultimately ensures her life chances.

Walter started schooling at Beachton Grammar from Year 7 on a 100% music scholarship. Walter's mother, a graduate from a high-status girls' school in Melbourne, firmly believes that private schools are of a higher quality for their better facilities and more choices of teachers in particular in secondary education sectors. Walter is quite class conscious of the school's middle-class mentality,

> In a private school most people are expecting to going on higher education because you go to a private school, you have to pay A$20000 a year and your parents must care or have a lot of money…The mentality here is that you do go to the uni…Most children here their parents have professional jobs: accounting, doctors, lawyers, engineers.

For him, choosing Beachton Grammar means staying with the right people with like-minded classed values. Above all, the right people refer to mainstream Australians rather than 'Asians'. To shun the 'Asian' influence, he refuses an offer from Melbourne High, a high-status, academically selective, state school in Melbourne,

> I had an offer in Melbourne High and one of the reasons why I didn't go there is it'd be very study-focused. I like diversity (well-roundedness)…I want cultural diversity as well. Melbourne High has like 90% Chinese and Indian, so it is very Asian. I just don't want to be in that environment.

Campbell et al (2009) found that some families take into account the ethnic composition of schools as a decisive factor when making schooling choices on their children's behalf. Walter's case pushes this further by adding that school cultures are linked to the school's ethnic composition. The Asian versus Australian dichotomy is a racial awareness Walter raises. This racial awareness is wrapped up in the middle-class culture of Beachton Grammar, which Walter interprets as a notion of well-roundedness in its balance between study and play, an emphasis on social skills and a house system facilitating students' networking with all year levels.

Davidson's (2007) research captures similar racial anxieties incurred in intense neoliberal competitions of contemporary schooling systems in Silicon Valley. She points out the parental practices of resorting to "strategies of racialization as a means of defending class position" (ibid: 2827). The 'new White flight' from schools with a high proportion of Asian-American students is interpreted, in narratives of well-

roundedness, as a positive, White cultural construct in opposition to an academically-focused, Asian cultural deficit (Huang 2005). Similarly, Walter's refusal to go to Melbourne High is an example of *ethnic flight* from Asian cultural deficit. It is worth noting here that both Mary and Walter regard well-roundedness as a nationalized or localized, mainstream Australian cultural capital with a touch of self-conscious middle-classness.

In Beachton Grammar, Walter accumulates the cultural capital through his involvement in the school's orchestra and debating teams. He reads social skills as a form of Australian cultural capital. Self-identifying as a 'people person', Walter has a big friendship circle and spends a considerable amount of his leisure time hanging out with these friends. "Having other people around and doing things with them" is interpreted as a form of "Australian lifestyle culture". In this regard, choosing Beachton Grammar is strategic accumulation of mainstream cultural capital and a negation of Walter's ethnic cultural baggage.

For **Nathan**, Beachton Grammar is the school he has spent "all his years" as he's been there since kindergarten. He constructs the school as good in facilities and never thinks of school choices beyond his middle-class habitus. This school's well-roundedness tenet, such as middle-class morals, behaviors, manners, along with its rich variety of curricula and co-curricula, suit his parents' child-rearing imperatives. Nathan identifies this middle-class cultural capital with his future prospects, saying that good manners and commitment will pay.

What the middle-class group shares, in their schooling choice, is the equal priority they put on the co-curricular programs Beachton Grammar offers, which are in conjunction with their academic priority. By engaging actively in these programs, the middle-class children develop their leadership capacity. Mary is the captain of the swimming team; Walter the main debater of the school debating team; Nathan is the capital of the school's table-tennis team. Leadership is a form of cultural capital the 'working-class' group obviously lacks or has not set their mind to.

Middle-class families and 'working-class' families differ in their priorities of their capital imaginaries and capital list. When making school choice, middle-class

families are more attentive to whether the school matches their children's personal interests and needs. They seem to be in concert with the school, which promotes a notion of 'well-roundedness' that includes moral and values inculcation, along with co-curricular programs, in the form of a wider range of cultural capital beyond academic capital. English (2009) argues that elite schools use co-curricula offering to establish its middle-classness and eliteness. The middle-class families in this study identify with and endorse similar notion of middle-classness as 'well-roundedness', a feature characterizing their capital imaginaries and cultural capital lists. In 'working-class' families, on the contrary, their capital imaginaries obviously exclude their children's extra-curricular activities as a site of capital calculation and accumulation. They tend to prioritize their children's academics more. They use musical and academic excellence to secure scholarships and ultimately, to secure their children's VCE success, which is the only cultural capital on their capital lists.

This is the fundamental difference that sets capital imaginaries on the two different tracks of capital accumulation for the two groups of families and students. There is inequality between the two groups from the starting point of their accumulation. 'Working class' families, locked in 'immigrant jobs', have no mainstream cultural capital to rely on. They lack what Ball (2003:20) calls the familial cultural capital, especially the information capital of parents towards the changes in the labour market, which plays a critical role in their children's class-making through education. This lack of 'mainstream' cultural capital is reflected in their children's much shorter capital lists, compared to those of their middle-class counterparts'. I argue, after Stratton (2009b), that 'working-class' families forced into 'immigrant jobs' are blocked from the major venue of mainstream cultural capital identification and endorsement. Therefore, they show barely any changes in their classed, ethnicized understanding of education, which they read via a Chinese lens. That explains why they stick to a narrow capital spectrum—VCE-oriented educational cultural capital.

Connell (2009:9) argues that 'neoliberal parenting' strategies orienting to the market change familial classed culture when parents manage their children's schooling choice as a family investment. He also argues that middle-class families have a more 'advanced' cultural pool to draw upon to navigate their children's schooling. This

chapter shares with this argument and reveals that, in an age where 'neoliberal parenting' rules, the middle-class families' cultural capital imaginaries and capital lists are more 'advanced' than the 'working-class' group who are occupationally ethnicized in immigrant emplacement. The advancement lies in the middle-class group's interpretation of the school's middle-class well-roundedness elitism and its priorities on co-curricula and cultural capital in the form of leadership, communication skills, to name a few.

Given that, I argue, after Connell, that middle-class Chinese background parents, in their practices of actively involving themselves in their children's schooling, undergo the process of cultural selection and endorsement according to the localized, market rationalities contextualized in Australia. This is a site of ethnicized cultural change, as new features of classed culture are established and legitimized as cultural capital and ethnicized cultural baggage has been laid off. The inequality of class emplacement and repositioning once again has an embodied effect on the two groups of students' cultural logics of capital imaginaries.

7.3 Self-imaginations, class goals and a 'good' life

So far, I have examined the school choices of children of the Chinese diaspora as only part of their broader life goals. Following the empirical linkage between educational choices and life aspirations attended to by Brooks and Everett (2011), I will examine these students' life goals through the lens of class, and explore their cultural mediation of self-imaginations, class goals and a 'good' life in Australia.

7.3.1 Children of 'working class' families: a future doctor or lawyer

I am focusing on class rationalities demonstrated in how Nick, Nina and Dory from the 'working-class' group read 'good jobs' and also exploring their parental influence.

As briefly introduced in the student profiles in an earlier section of the chapter, **Nick's** parents own and run a Chinese restaurant. They live in a well-established, middle class suburb (Malvern). Nick is "kind of struggling" between his interest in Information Technology and his parents' expectations for him to become a doctor. His dismissive attitudes towards jobs that are too 'physical' communicate his

family's negation of the 'working-class' position accorded to Chinese restaurant operators and a desire for upward mobility through 'smart', 'intelligent' jobs like doctors.

Unlike Nick who struggles between his parents' aspirations and those of his own, for **Nina**, being a dentist is the one and only profession on her career planning list. It is not just the decency of earning a living in Australia. Rather, it is a strategic move 'back' to the 'upper-class' of Australian society, which is a status not granted to her father, Lin. He talks about the familial expectations on his only child,

> It is nature for us generation of immigrants to expect our children to enter upper-level or mainstream of the society, which is quite hard. Moving up to the mainstream society not only demands that we are economically well-off and match their living standards, but also means the involvement in the knowledge field of the upper level occupations. It is a pity that very few of us generation immigrants, maybe 5-10%, managed to find a job that suits their educational credentials and their interest. Qualification recognition, money, language, culture and age are all factors that prevent us from doing the job we loved and used to do before migration. What we couldn't achieve, we hope to see in my child. She understands that.'

Therefore, Nina's job choice to Lin is the one and only avenue for Lin's family to upward mobility. This strong class resort can be partly explained by Lin's job placement in Australia, which he describes as a 'tragedy' after migration to Australia in 1988. Holding a Master's degree, Lin had a promising career as a doctor back in Shanghai and he now does business here. Lin reads his job emplacement as a downward mobility, from being 'upper-class' Chinese to 'lower-class' Australian-Chinese. The discrepancy between the objective class reality and subjective class-consciousness works to spur the Lin family to get back to the "upper-class" society where Lin believes they belong.

However, why does Lin's family so desperately want to have a 'come back'? Why don't they just settle with what they have? Firstly, this has to do with how Lin interprets downward mobility. He sees his pre-migration job as 'upper-class' job for the reason that only those with high-level educational credentials can have access to such jobs. Because of such stringent selection requirements, being a doctor is prestigious. Lin believes that running a business, in comparison, needs no educational credentials at all and, therefore, is a "low-level" job, as indicated earlier,

and even a "person with only primary school certificate" can do it. Unlike Nick who establishes a hierarchical order between mental and manual labor, Lin clearly reads jobs in a more complicated hierarchical order through a Chinese lens. This demonstrates how Lin's class perspectives direct his family's class practices.

In contrast to Nina and Nick, **Dory**'s family is far from being rich, as her parents own and run their fish-and-chips take-away food shop to save for the other half of her tuition fee. Dory talks about 'very heated debates' about her future job, in her family,

> I said I like this, oh, (my parents say) you don't make enough money for that career…we discuss like, when I told them I didn't want to be a doctor, they go, can you be a lawyer? Maybe. Then I ask them can I be a designer? No, they are like, you make ten thousand a year. No. But if you think about it, we don't want you to grow up to be always depending on us, because we cannot be here for you to depend on. You make a future for yourself. And that's when you feel comfortable and happy.

A good job is the source of happiness and comfort in the eyes of Dory's mother. Before migration, Dory's mother was a nurse and her father was an engineer in Shanghai. It is not only middle-class prestige they lost in migration. It is also the 'manual' labour their small family business requires that her parents find really hard to cope with. In their fifties, Dory's parents work six days a week, eight hours a day, from about 11am into the night, which relies on their physicality. Walkerdine (2003: 243), arguing for the "need to understand upward mobility as having a deeply defensive aspect", reveals the psychosocial aspects of class struggles endured by working-class women. In Dory's case, immigrant emplacement into jobs that need 'manual labour' brings physical pain and psychological desperation. It is the insecurity of earning a living by relying on physicality that frightens Dory's mother especially when Dory is physically 'weak'. Encouraged to pursue new alternatives and avoid the pain her parents suffer, Dory weighs up between a job as a lawyer and a designer,

> For law, the older you get, the more money you earn. While in designer it is the opposite…the thing is to realize what happens after I retire, …what's going to happen afterwards? For law I will be able to work for a lot longer, make a bit more income than I would have.

For Dory, her choice of law is not entirely due to parental pressure or parental motivation for upward mobility. She chooses to study law because she wants to. She rejects her mother's suggestion for her to undertake a career in medicine, asserting that doing medicine makes her "clumsy". She states the reason for her choice,

> I read a book on law, a fiction novel on law, it is so exciting, like shocking, twisted, tragic. I did a little bit of law studies in my social class, just find it interesting. Ok I am doing law now. …Everything I learnt about it people say it was boring, but I just find it interesting. … I am interested in the subject and (if I learn it) I actually got all the beneficial properties in it so why not go for it? ...This is the most important thing in my life right now.

The first-generation immigrant families demonstrate strong ambitions for upward mobility. The route to upward mobility for the 'working-class' group is getting into a private school, actively investing in academic capital and strategically planning for prestigious jobs such as doctors and lawyers in the future. The families actively involve themselves in shaping and planning their children's future career, emphasizing formal education as their only route to upward mobility and ultimately prioritize such qualifications as the top-list capital. Their desire to 'come back' partly demonstrates their contextually Chinese class perspectives shaped by their social ranking in China and their dissatisfaction with their job placement in the Australian market. They attribute their 'working-class' position to the lack of the English proficiency and an Australian educational qualification, especially when immigrants' qualifications and professional profiles were not officially recognized at the time of their migration in the 1980s.

However, they also show a transnational mediation in their class perspectives when they read doctors and lawyers as the jobs that entail social prestige in the Australian context. They identify the link between academic excellence and social prestige that can be achieved through entry into prestigious professions. But, it is worth pointing out that academic qualifications, as one form of cultural capital, are only one of the many types of social prestige. In addition, doctors and lawyers as markers of social prestige in the Australian context also fits with the Chinese cultural dichotomy between the superiority of intelligent and smart jobs and the inferiority of working-class jobs. Therefore, I argue that for Chinese immigrants who are engaged in 'working-class' jobs, their market emplacement outside the Australian 'mainstream'

ultimately shapes and constrains their class perspectives and vision and reinforces an ethnic reading in their children's accumulation.

These families culturally construct doctors and lawyers as occupations of prestige, attaching a symbolic capital to them, and equating the entry of such jobs with the accordance of 'upper-class' social status or 'decency'. These students are heavily influenced by their parents and come to see being doctors or dentists or lawyers as *the choice*.

7.3.2 Children of middle-class families: reproducing middle-class dreams

Compared to the 'working-class' group, Walter, Mary and Nathan show a wider range of job choices. Although the three students in this group emphasize that their parents support their future career decisions and aspirations, that they go to university is a must. In addition, despite parents from this group being more in the role of advisers or supporters, limits and taboos are clearly communicated to their children. The common message is that their children's choice must be a profession with a future. Walter is quite representative in this,

> My mum doesn't really mind what I do, a couple of things she said when I was young is that she told me are not to be a sports star and not to be an artist, because artist, either people love or hate it, and your income can be distorted…She doesn't mind my brother does sports, but she always says to have a back-up because you always need something after the sports...

For Nathan, he doesn't think much about what he is going to do in the future. "Maybe an engineer" is his answer based on his academic interest. Walter is more ready with his answer. He wants to work for his country and shows a strong desire to represent Australia as a diplomat in the United Nations. He chooses law, which he identifies one of his real 'interests', that can also be used as a backup if his diplomat ambition is not realized.

Mary finds that her future job choices are limited by her academic weakness in sciences. She does not worry too much about what she is going to do as a future career because her parents allow her a great deal of autonomy. Mary highlights a form of unselfishness in her career choice, stressing that she loves "helping people". She even considers being a nurse as it can serve to deliver her "compassion".

McLeod and Yates (2006) theorize such compassions and the willingness to extend help as middle-class values. But Mary constructs these values as an *Australian* middle-class morality.

Both groups of families adopt the cultural logics of localization, targeting their capital imaginaries and class goals in Australia (except Walter, but he endorses Australian cultural capital). For 'working-class' families, there are strong class ambitions in their emphasis on education, because this is the only route to upward mobility, from where they are located. In contrast to Archer and Becky (2006) who attribute the Hong Kong background students' hardworking in the UK to a Chinese 'ethnic habitus' that values education, here I argue that it is not education per se, rather, it is the social status and symbolic status entailed in educational credentials that drive the children of first-generation Chinese immigrant families to seek prestigious jobs. Doctors and lawyers are interpreted as the most straightforward way of upward mobility through education, without having to resort to Australian cultural capital which some families obviously lack. Compared to their 'working-class' counterparts, middle-class groups are allowed a wide range of job choices as long as they fit in with their class status and ensure class reproduction. Within these confines, there is always a wrestle with lifestyle considerations about personal interest, ambition and self-autonomy in decision-making.

7.4 Classed strategies, tactics and practices of capital accumulation

Students from 'working-class' and middle-class families have different capital imaginaries and class mobility imperatives. So, how do they achieve their class goals? I shall proceed to explore what strategies each group of families and each student literally employ in aiding the children's capital accumulation and outline different parenting tactics both sets of families deploy in their role of neoliberal supervision.

7.4.1 Community forces

Children of immigrant families use 'community forces' (Zhou 1997, 2005) and go to community-based tutoring classes for academic purposes. This is documented in many studies (Archer and Becky 2005a, 2006; Li 2001; Vivian Louie 2004; Zhou 1997, 2005). Nina and Nick from 'working-class' families rely on access to

community forces such as Chinese language schools and Sunday tutoring schools to "get extra" for VCE subjects. Choosing Chinese language as one of her VCE subjects, Nina commenced tutoring in a Chinese language school from Year 10. Nick goes to a Sunday school at Box Hill to get tutoring for mathematics, science and English.

7.4.2 Parental coaching

However, inter-generational tutoring within families is often ignored in such research. Especially in immigrant families, parents holding higher education qualifications are neglected because of their downward class grouping after migration. As is revealed earlier in this chapter, Dory's parents are doing 'manual' labour, working in self-owned fish-and-chips outlet in Melbourne. But, they still have the educational capital to supervise her schoolwork. Here Bourdieu's (1984b) notion of capital conversion can be used to explain this type of inter-generational capital transmission. Her parents' education credentials and capacity directly ensure her accumulation of the right educational capital.

Besides, Dory's family strategically chooses Dory's LOTE (Language Other Than English) language, as a subject in VCE. Dory speaks fluent Putonghua. At home she speaks Shanghainese with her parents. She says,

> My mum sees that there are quite a few international students, mark up more if taking Japanese as LOTE. For year 12, that would be a very big addition in VCE…And so my mum thinks if "you do Chinese, it is going to be a very large group of people doing it, and you might get marked up only 3 points. But if you do Japanese, because it is such a small group doing it, you might mark up 5 or 6 points instead". So I chose Japanese because in a sense Japanese is very similar to Chinese, the pronunciation, it will be easier for me in pronunciation than French or German.

The research by Smala et al (2013) on Australian parents' involvement in their children's LOTE choice indicates that some parents are identifying second language as having potential to boost their children's competitive capacity in the global job market. However, Dory's parents intervene in her second language choice without this global vision. Unambiguously orienting to the Australian market, they choose an 'Asian' language out of their knowledge about the importance the Australian government attaches to 'Asian literacy'. They choose Japanese instead of Chinese so

as to achieve a desirable VCE score. The parental guidance here is hard to translate into a certain form of capital, but it can effectively help Dory avoid the competition in high-stake VCE tests, smoothing Dory's study of LOTE by choosing a similar Asian language and securing Dory's VCE success in the end.

7.4.3 Neoliberal parenting and ethnicized parent-child relationships

Some research reveals that children obey their parents on account of the cultural thesis of a Confucian tenet of filial piety, their understanding of their actual living situations and a recognition of parental sacrifice (Archer and Becky 2007; Li 2001). However, in my study, students from both 'working-class' families and middle-class families stress that their parents encourage them a lot, instead of pushing them in their education and career aspirations. There is a lot of dialogue, communication, mediation, reasoning, empathy and adjustment happening in their parenting. Instead of being trapped by filial piety as a traditional Chinese value, the students are encouraged and guided by their parents to make decisions on their own. I argue that, in the process of 'parenting to the market', parents are not reduced to purely calculating subjects. Rather, there are emotions and feelings involved in the project of their child's cultivation.

In terms of class making, is it self-making or family-making? My argument is that, in neoliberal times, the room for self-making has been considerably taken by parent-making, as the space of self-making is more attuned to parental guidance, perspectives and visions under the pressures and stakes of the market. Students from both 'working-class' and middle-class groups in this study tend to identify with their parents' parenting, but there is room for negotiation and self-making.

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This chapter has examined the dimension where immigrant parents and local-born children made school choices and set class goals. It has revealed how market rationalities shape their cultural practices of cultural capital accumulation and negation, pointing out that both middle-class families and 'working-class' families orient to the Australian market and regard Australia as their future destination of residence. These orientations shape their or their children's school-related or

education-related practices of self-development. In the next chapter, this line of inquiry along cultural incorporation will continue to be pursued. Therefore, further theoretical discussion regarding schooling-related cultural practices and rationalities will be offered in the next chapter.

Middle-class families attach much importance to mainstream cultural capital. Unlike the findings of the work of Reay (2008), that UK-based middle-class families read 'cultural diversity' as a form of cosmopolitan capital that will advantage their children's standing in the global labour market, the families in this Australian context do not treat their cultural heritage as an advantage. Rather, as these families imagine and plan their future in Australia instead of anywhere else, their ethnicity is reworked and reshaped by localized market rationalities.

However, this process of ethnicity reworking differs between middle-class and 'working-class' groups due to what Stratton (2009b) calls a race-based market order and class system. Locked in immigrant jobs that prevent them from accessing localized cultural capital, 'working-class' families have to hold on to their classed ethnic perspectives, ideas, resources and ambitions, to supervise and guide their children's class making in Australia. The well-established middle-class families are more sophisticated deciphers of the market and the class games of Australia. They are still in the throes of peeling off their cultural baggage, distancing themselves from the ethnic label in return for social prestige. Therefore, I argue that their cultural logics of accumulation or incorporation are informed by market rationalities that cut across nationality, or ethnicity, and reshape ethnicity along the way in the new geography of Australia. Their cultural logics of rooting/localization shows that a new geography of forces—Australia as both market and home— intervenes, takes effect and shapes the Chinese immigrant parents' cultural ways and imperatives of cultural changes with a sense of Australian middle-classness.

Besides this, both groups engage in various ways with neoliberal parenting. Parental reading of the market order and social prestige has been put to their practices of supervision of, support and guidance for, and direct intervention in their children's classed self-making. Following Connell, I argue that neoliberalism makes familial

capital and parental informational capital all the more critical and decisive in these children's class making.

Chapter 8

Children of the Chinese Diaspora: Making Australians

> I am heavily involved in lifesaving, which includes a lot of swimming and training and a lot of running and training, [and] a lot of gym. I am a runner [too] (Mary, interview transcript).

> I probably have an apartment very soon, at about 19 or 20 years old probably in the city, [when I] go to university, [and] take a part-time job. And my mum says (laughing), "as soon as you reach 18, you have to go out there and find yourself a boyfriend or something, because you cannot wait until you are too old, because it doesn't work like that" (Dory, interview transcript).

The literature I mobilize in this chapter is oriented to the studies of youth in Anglophone countries. It includes three groups of youth: the second-generation, ethnic or diasporic Chinese (Andrea Louie 2004; Archer et al 2009, 2010; Archer and Francis 2005b, 2007; Vivian Louie 2004; Francis et al 2009), other ethnic minority youth (Harris 2010; Nayak 2003, Nayak and Kehily 2008; McLeod and Yates 2003; Ong 2004), and 'mainstream' youth (Demerath and Lynch 2008; Kenway and Bullen 2001; Kenway, Kraack, Hickey-Moody 2006).

In the Australian context, there is a lack of research that focuses solely on diasporic Chinese youth, except for work that includes a couple of Chinese background students in a group loosely labelled 'Australian' youth (Tsolidis 2006; McLeod and Yates 2006). As McLeod and Yates (2003) argue, the study and theorization of ethnicity as an analytical tool needs to be contextualized and situated in the dynamics of the present socio-cultural landscape. This gives rise to a methodological imperative for me to capture the analytical purchase of the notion of ethnicity by engaging with the contemporary ethnicity/diaspora constellations in the Australian context, for the reason that my study of local-born youth of Chinese background is contextually Australia-based.

Apart from that, the broad studies of youth increasingly draw on globalization as a lens to understand youthful cultural ways. The global ethnography of youth living in rural Australia by Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody (2006) is an excellent example that situates the study of youthful identity in frameworks that focus on the place-based 'global/local' nexus in terms of specific 'scapes'. In particular, mediascapes, ideoscapes and technoscapes (Appadurai 1996) have been employed to refer to the extended scope of everyday experiences and cultural choices made available to youth. The interplay of the personal, local, national and global has become a central focus of analysis in the identity work of young people. Furthermore, globalization as global capitalism 'at large', in particular, its neoliberalism in moral and ethical dimension, has been highlighted as another theoretical framework for studying youthful identities. Ong (2004) depicts how Cambodian migrant youth experience neoliberalism in the US context.

These new lenses and dynamics definitely change the way we research youth today. They further prompt us to ask: what forces are at work in shaping youthful identities in the changing socio-cultural fabric that contextualizes contemporary youth, diasporic or not? In particular, how can notions of ethnicity and/or diaspora facilitate our understanding of ethnic Chinese youth in the West? Compared with their 'mainstream' counterparts, how salient is ethnicity in shaping their project of self-making?

In the existent literature on Chinese diasporic youth, there is a lack of attention to and employment of these new methodological endeavours, such as a globalization lens. National identifications of these youth are mainly analysed in the theoretical framework of ethnicity as an experiential racial structure and as a structurally hierarchical cultural difference. I attempt to go beyond the methodological trap that adopts an ethnicity-centred analysis of national identifications and cultural moorings in the study of ethnic minority youth. I want to intervene in this line of investigation by asking: what forces shape ethnic Chinese youth's cultural identifications? What forces shape their national belonging? To push this line of inquiry further, I will focus on the national identification/cultural identification nexus in this chapter.

To initiate a theoretical discussion of how to theorize the youthful self, this chapter engages with previously introduced analytic tools put forward by Ong (1999) and Mazzarella (2004) that focus on the cultural logics of self-making, cultural mediation and cultural moorings (see Chapter 6, Section 6.1.1), or the culture/power/self nexus, to theorize a youthful self. This approach will intervene in the consumption approach of youth cultural studies (Nayak 2003, Nayak and Kehily 2008) and make a theoretical linkage between cultural practices and rationalities of self-making. I will further develop the theorization of the cultural logics of localization/rooting (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1) by exploring the Australia contextualized forces of neoliberalism and ethnicity.

My discussion starts with an introduction of my theoretical tools, namely the cultural logics of localization/rooting intersected with cultural forces of neoliberalism and ethnicity in the past decade in Australia. An analysis of the high-fee, high SEA school's construction of its school ethos—'well-roundedness' precedes an exploration of Chinese background youth's everyday cultural practices and their mediation of their practices of cultural incorporation and rejection in terms of their national membership and cultural frames of reference. Following this, I examine the rationalities of their self-making project via the lens of neoliberalism.

8.1 Revisiting the cultural logics of localization/rooting

In Chapter 7, I put forward my own analytic tool, the cultural logics of localization or rooting, to link Ong's notion of the cultural logics of self-making theoretically to the question of geographies as targeted by the Chinese background youth in their classed self-making. In this chapter, I draw on this notion as my major theoretical framework to examine their cultural identities by looking at their daily cultural practices of incorporation and rejection and the rationalities behind them. I further develop the cultural logics of localization/rooting by drawing to the geography of forces at work in the Australian context.

To start with, I will differentiate between localization and rooting here. As indicated in my previous chapter (Chapter 7), by the cultural logics of rooting, I highlight the fact that for the local-born Chinese background youth, their country of birth and residence ('root') is their parents' country of arrival/destination ('route'). The

geographical place of birth and residence may have the potential to change diaspora studies' and migration studies' approach to 'roots' as tied to an ancestral place. These local-born youth do not have a 'route', rather, all they have is the 'root' legitimated by their birthplace and their place of residence. By using rooting, I emphasize the autonomy of the root identification by these youth. By the cultural logics of localization, I highlight the forces and rationalities that shape the cultural practices of these youth's in the specific country of residence/birth. With this, I am able to ask, what are the major force fields the Chinese background students are situated in that shape these youth's cultural practices and self-making? I find Bourdieu's (1984) nation-state/school/culture nexus is particularly useful to explore how Australia as the geographic force works in Chinese background youth's cultural mediation, reflexive cultural identification and self-making. By drawing on this nexus, I will further develop the theorization of the cultural logics of localization/rooting.

Basically, in Bourdieu's (1984) theorization of the nation-state/school/culture nexus, he argues that besides the syllabuses or curricula, the educational system also distinguishes curricula related to 'scholastic' and non-curricular culture. This 'non-curricular general culture', he defines as 'delimiting the area of what it puts into its syllabuses and controls by its examinations'. Bourdieu further points out that,

> It has been shown that the most 'scholastic' cultural objects are those taught and required at the lowest levels of schooling, and the educational system sets an increasingly high value on 'general' culture and increasingly refuses 'scholastic' measurements of culture as one moves towards the highest levels of the system (23).

Schools not only legitimate the 'general culture', Bourdieu (ibid: 23-26) argues, but also serve as a cultural force that imposes classed cultural practices on students. Through 'the manipulation of aspiration and demands' and 'value-inculcating and value-imposing operations', educational institutions lead students to recognize the legitimacy and worth of legitimated cultural practices, and shape their 'propensity' to accumulate or be inculcated in these practices. Stressing the link between cultural accomplishment and class status, Bourdieu argues that schools employ a range of class-conscious and class-awakening mechanisms that are

> channeling pupils towards prestigious or devalued positions implying or excluding legitimate practice. The effect of 'allocation'…mainly operates through the social image of the position in question and the prospects objectively inscribed in it, among the foremost of which are a certain type of cultural accumulation and a certain image of cultural accomplishment (ibid: 23).

However, important and insightful as Bourdieu's argument is about the cultural force that schools exert, his theoretical context is France in the 1960s and early 1970s. What is its theoretical purchase for the Australian context in 2010? Firstly, as Kenway (2009) argues, Australian education sectors have been shaped by neoliberal logics of 'market principles and management models'. How, then, will these neoliberal logics and practices in educational sectors impact on the school/class/culture nexus in terms of cultural inculcation through school's class-laden values and morals imposition? In particular, Kenway's (2009) argument leads me to the nexus of class and neoliberalism as a site of theoretical endeavour and invites me to enhance Bourdieu's theorization of the school/class/culture nexus.

Secondly, in the Australian context, the 'general culture' legitimated by the nation-state/school nexus is not to be taken for granted. As Bourdieu is often criticized for not attending to ethnicity (and gender) in his theorization of the 'general culture', this chapter will pay heed to ethnicity as a cultural force in the nation-state/school/ethnicity nexus.

However, the social-historical and socio-cultural construction of Australia's version of ethnicity needs to be examined in terms of issues of race, ethnicity and national belonging, which is such a hard thing to do. For one thing, Australia's official construction of ethnicity deliberately avoids issues of race and refuses to address racism, by focusing on addressing ethnicity in terms of culture and national belonging (Ang and Stratton 1999). The official construction of ethnicity in Australia is mainly in the domain of culture with regard to ethnic culture rights and citizenship responsibilities for learning the 'mainstream' culture. This official intervention has produced a discursive, self-conflicting notion of ethnicity, which is subject to an ongoing historical/political process and has been particularly volatile in the past two decades. As I am looking at how youth of (part) Chinese ancestry born in the mid-1990s, understand and relate to their cultural identities and ethnicity in 2010,

reviewing the vast literature on ethnicity in Australia that covers a long immigration history is unnecessary and potentially misleading. Further, in the past ten years, there has been a lack of scholastic attention to the link between the latest official rhetoric of ethnicity discourses and empirical investigation of how ethnicity is experienced by school-age Chinese background youth in everyday life.

Therefore, in this chapter I will draw on two major works (Forrest and Dunn 2005; Harris 2010) that help build on this new nexus of nation-state/school/culture between 2000 up to the early 2010s. I find Forrest and Dunn's (2006) highlight on Anglo privilege and its linkage to the officially endorsed notion of national identity, and Harris's (2010) emphasis on government's enforcement of social cohesion discourses on youth through the venue of schooling (2010) to be particularly relevant.

Forrest and Dunn (2006) approach the question of contemporary ethnicity discourses in Australia in terms of 'Anglo privilege' revolving around the official documentation of Australian cultural core and the cultural rights of ethnic groups in discourses of multiculturalism. This 'Anglo privilege', they argue after Johnson (2001), is rendered 'invisible', in their role as the 'founding (settler) group in Australia in providing the nation's language, law and institutions' (Forrest and Dunn 2006:213). They further point out,

> This group holds the reigns of cultural and economic power and to that extent may be seen by themselves and others from different cultural backgrounds, as 'privileged' (i.e. the dominant culture) (ibid).

They also point to the class dynamics in Anglo privilege. Working class dominated Anglo privilege from the mid-1970s has given way to 'new managerial-professional class'. This new middle class termed by Hage (1995) as 'cosmo-multiculturalists', rising in the 'new knowledge economy', have no 'concern for' remaining 'culturally inclined' toward Anglo hegemony. That gives an impression that the 'Anglo privilege' is in decline. Forrest and Dunn proceed to argue that the idea that 'Anglo privilege [as] no longer central…creates an opening within the dominant imaginary in which non-Anglo Australians can be included' (2006: 212).

However, since 1999, Forrest and Dunn reveal, the official discourses of the establishment of the Australian core—Anglo cultural heritage and the legitimacy of its political system—has once again been accorded 'a privileged status to Anglo-Australians within multicultural history and identity' (ibid: 205). Australia's previous effort to 'disengage from a legacy of Anglo privilege and cultural dominance' in the 1980s and up until the mid-1990s has been stopped. This is what they call 'an ethnocultural or assimilationist perspective' in the 'forefront of at least government concern in Australia' (ibid: 209).

In a different vein, Harris (2010) takes up the link between Anglo privilege and Australian national identity in her critical engagement with schools' role in responding to official discourses of 'social cohesion' and 'social inclusion'. She points out that the 2005 *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* as Australia's first official values education policy and *A National Action Plan to Build on Social Cohesion*, Harmony and Security (DIMIA 2006) released in 2006, both target schools, making it rudimentary for schools to communicate the purposes to 'reinforce social cohesion, harmony and support the national security imperative in Australia' (2010: 577). These policies particularly aim at 'young people from minority communities' through underlining "the responsibility of citizens to follow Australian law" and "by reinforcing values and civic education" (ibid). With this nation-state cultural imperative in the name of social cohesion agenda, it is obligatory for all Australian schools to teach 'Australian values'. Other venues such as the *Diverse Australia Program*, complementing National Action Plan projects, encourage and guide youth's participation in sport, surfing, lifesaving, leadership workshops, and so on (ibid: 578).

Harris reveals that these official policies and school-based programs, with an emphasis on minority youth's responsibility to integrate under national project of 'cohesion, shared values and harmony' (ibid: 575-576), question the need for the maintenance of their culture and language. She argues that the official shift to 'assimilationism' neglects the rights of 'cultural minorities', the actual multicultural landscape of Australia, and social inequities experienced by migrants.

The particular emphasis on the culture/ethnicity/value nexus will definitely change the fabric of cultural force that schools exert, a feature of contemporary schools in Australia, which Bourdieu's theory does not attend to. Against the backdrop of Bourdieu's nation-state/school/class/culture nexus, I link the cultural logics of localization/rooting to the Australian contextualized forces of neoliberalism and ethnicity. This further develops the nexus of the cultural logics of rooting/localization and geography, as Australia is put in the centre in the analysis of the geography of forces. With these tools, I will explore how the high-fee, high SEA school the Chinese background youth attend and their families as major cultural regimes shape students' rationalities of self-making.

8.2 Teachers' construction of the school ethos: 'well-roundedness' as a neoliberal logic of self-making

Beachton Grammar has been coeducational for only five years: it was formerly a boys' Anglican Church school (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6 for a brief profile). A high-fee independent school, it has an open enrolment policy, taking students from all background and of all cultural and religious beliefs, providing they can afford the fees of course.

There are about five other schools in its vicinity, but Beachton Grammar has established itself as a co-educational school that is more study-focused, better structured and more attuned to 'values' than surrounding schools. First and foremost, according to the six teachers and the school principal I interviewed, their school distinguishes itself in that it 'cares' about the student 'as a person' and endeavors to develop 'well-rounded' students. Natasha, the Marketing Manager at the school, gives quite a representative explanation of the school's ethos of 'well-roundedness',

> What our school is trying to do is that it looks at the whole person, not just somebody who is a student, like a person who's learning something, in terms of in the classroom writing, reading, arithmetic, that's important, that's a given. You just have to do that. What this school tries to do is that all that learning, plus all the other things make up a really great person which is personal self-satisfaction, maybe sport, art or music. Everybody has a talent, whether it be inside or outside the classroom. Some people have it all, but this school tries very hard to really look at the whole well-being of the child and it's not just about how good they are, what marks are they are getting… I would say welfare and wellbeing of the children are paramount.

This notion of 'well-roundedness' capitalizes on "the whole wellbeing of the child". It firstly prescribes the cultural way of being a "really great person", who is supposed to be capable of "all the other things", namely, a talent in co-curricular programs of sport, art or music, as well as academic learning. In other words, the school's 'well-roundedness' legitimates certain cultural practices, such as sport and music. To achieve this, Beachton Grammar relies on its well-structured co-curriculum as a culture-imposing operation. This supports Bourdieu's (1984a) argument that the co-curriculum constitutes the very fabric of the non-scholastic general culture that the school legitimates. English (2009: 89-90) also indicates the trend that schools attempt to "insert a form of 'culture' into co-curricula" to attract enrollment in the Australian context. Horne, Lingard, Weiner and Forbes (2011:861) argue that that all schools, either government or non-government, "will increasingly seek to establish their distinctive curriculum and co-curriculum 'offer'". They link the distinction aimed for in curriculum and co-curriculum design to a neo-liberalizing, market logic of the educational system.

Sonia works for Beachton Grammar to keep its archive and her work also involves managing its Weekly Bulletin. She regards this school as a school free from an intensely competitive academic environment. To support her view, she gives an example that even students in Year 12 can afford to take part in compulsory Saturday sport rather than being desk-bound, preparing for the VCE. She takes pride in the school's endeavor to strike a balance between academic and co-curricular programs,

> I think this school suits the purpose for students who are not totally totally driven just by academia…There is a lot of opportunities for performing arts, music and they have time to have fun.

It is worth noting that in this school, co-curricular programs are culturally hierarchical around the local/overseas distinction rather than based on a mainstream/minority cultural hierarchy. Only certain sports, such as swimming, lifesaving, Australian football and netball, attached to an 'Australian' or 'mainstream' tag, enjoy a prioritized popularity, compared to sports with a 'Chinese' label, like table-tennis and badminton. This labeling of sport becomes a commonsensical practice which the interviewed students, local and overseas alike, are quite aware of.

Besides privileging Australian culture in the form of Australian sport in local/overseas cultural hierarchy, Beachton Grammar works very hard to maintain the mainstream-ness of its school culture from the challenge of the international student quarter. As the Principal hints, one big cultural risk is the lingua franca. A big poster on the wall inside the school building emphasizes the importance of mastering the English language, highlighting the scope of job choices that are directly linked to the proficiency of English. International students, compulsorily paired or grouped with local students, are encouraged and coerced to speak English in group discussions and teamwork both in classrooms and laboratories at school.

The ethnic composition of the school (see Chapter 3, section 3.6) is also an indicator that is used to secure the cultural mainstream-ness. The Principal mentions that the number of international students, mainly from China, should be limited to 7% of the total school student population, otherwise the mainstream Australian culture of the school will be at risk, which also jeopardizes the enrollment of local students in this school[18]. He stresses that this figure is based on a specifically designed survey of students and parents in the school vicinity. The school is vigilantly alert to protecting the dominance of its culture in terms of the local/overseas dichotomy.

The school's notion of 'well-roundedness' also involves a reflexive self-appreciation of these cultural attainments or cultural inculcation in terms of 'personal satisfaction', a link between legitimated cultural practice and the introspection of the self, rather than narrated as a classed taste theorized by Bourdieu (1984a). Instead of emphasizing what English (2009: 99) calls 'co-curricular cultural capital' as a selling point, Beachton Grammar weaves these coercive, middle-class cultural practices of inculcation into attractive narratives of 'pastoral care' and self-care imperatives. Self-care, according to Sonia, a staff member working in the area of school

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[18] Several years ago, a large volume of overseas students admission at Beachton brought about 'cultural chaos', as the Chinese international students mixed only with their own group and spoke their mother tongue at school. This had caused great dissatisfaction among the local students and their families. To appease the anger and reorient its major student recruit in the local market, Beachton Grammar initiated a survey in the local community and 7% of international admission has since been set as the maximum gauge.

publications, is about the students "with a really broad knowledge of who they are" and are "confident in who they are". Self-care also refers to students' responsibility for achieving their best potential and self-actualization through self-management. In so doing, students undergo the process of value inculcation and embodiment in demonstrating the school's espoused values. The local-born students in my study are quite aware of and can recite these values, namely, "integrity, respect, caring, resilience, service, discipline and endeavour", which are printed on the back of the student diary.

It is not only the legitimate culture that 'well-roundedness' prescribes and gives value to. An important aspect of well-rounded education is also about 'life learning' and accumulating 'life skills'. Beachton Grammar encourages its students to experience life, to better understand the self and be better prepared for an independent life. 'Life skills', overlapping with self-care skills, such as time-management and leadership capacity, communicate a neoliberal moral ethics of self-care and self-responsibility for self-making. Time-management skill, for example, is cultivated as a neoliberal mechanism with intense supervision. Students are required to constantly use their student diary. The school believes that writing in the diary will give the students a sense of time, and accordingly, will facilitate their time management at school. Wall-planners, personal planners and yearly planners are allocated to students to facilitate their short-term and long-term self-management. These planners are heavily scrutinized areas, as students are regularly 'checked' by their housemasters for their progress, according to their plans made in their diary. Every term they have a formal interview with their housemaster to discuss how they have achieved their pre-set goals and to rate their effort, with their academic results as a strong evidence of effort.

In order to enforce and inscribe the school ethos of well-roundedness as an intersection of middle-class-ness, cultural mainstream-ness and neoliberalism as values, ethics, morals and legitimate cultural practices, Beachton Grammar intensively and strictly monitors students' extra-curricular activities. Saturday sports are compulsory and all students are required to come to school to join in sports for the school. A failure to show up will result in a detention on the student's part. Involvement with performing arts, musical instruments or participation in music

band is also monitored as students are required to consistently and regularly practice if they take part in these activities.

8.3 Reflecting on Chinese ethnicity

This section focuses on Chinese background youth's everyday cultural practices of incorporation and rejection. It will examine how they relate their cultural practices to their own cultural membership identification and the rationalities behind them. It aims to explore the geography of forces that shape their sense of cultural mooring.

For the Chinese background youth, their homes and the school are the major sites where they take up cultural activities. In the previous chapter, I divide the local-born students of Chinese heritage into two groups: the 'working-class' group and the middle-class group. In my investigation of their everyday cultural practices, two broad patterns emerge along these class lines.

8.3.1 The middle-class group: asserting an Australian cultural membership

Walter, as we learnt in Chapter 7, was born into a family of Malaysian-Chinese background. Even without prompting, he identifies himself as an Australia national, which is most clearly expressed in his remarks about Australia's economy,

> Well I think the whole reason for the boom in Australia, the mining boom is because Chinese require so many resources from Australia and it is very beneficial for Australia at this moment. I am just worried what will happen when China slows down. I don't know what will happen to all our resources…Maybe a shift to India. But at the moment China is very influential on how Australia's economy is going, you know it is one of the reasons why Australia didn't really go into the recession because China sort of kept Australia afloat by purchasing our irons or metals.

Diasporas are termed as the 'other' of the nation-state (Totolian 1991:5). How the later generations see their ancestral roots and their imagination of the 'homeland' are a central focus for scholars of diaspora (Andrea Louie 2000, 2004; Clifford 1997). Walter's case draws us again to the question of national allegiance and the old question arises: "who is 'Us' and who is Other" (McLeod and Yates 2003: 29)? Walter has already given his unambiguous answer when he calls Australian resources *'ours'*.

The other side of the claim for an Australian citizenship is how he relates to the country of his ancestry. On the one hand, he relates to China as his parents' ancestral land, a history recorded by his mum's family lineage book. On the other hand, Walter's knowledge about China is sourced by Australian media representation of China as an economic power and as an important business partner of Australia. He does not have any sentimental feelings towards China, let alone a sense of belonging due to his Chinese ancestry. Instead, Walter communicates more strongly his pride in belonging to and identification with Australia as a 'Western' country constructed politically and ideologically different from China. The loss of ancestral rootedness, especially in terms of emotional ties to an ancestral land, is similarly documented by Andrea Louie (2004) in her study of American-born youth of Chinese ancestry.

Walter claims his Australian cultural mooring by his deliberate Australian upbringing as well as the differences he constructs between him and "all the other Asian people out there". Equating Australian to Western, he is very appreciative of his mother choosing the Australian way to raise him and inculcating him with a Western culture and lifestyle. He justifies his Australian culture identification and endorsement,

> I think culture stems from how you are brought up and the personal values instilled into you the day you were born…My mum is the one who says that we are not going to raise our children as Chinese and we are going to make sure that they have enough freedom in their speech.

Immigrant parents have been recognized as an ethnic cultural force by transmitting ethnic culture to their local-born children (Archer and Francis 2007). However, as Vivian Louie (2004) reveals in her US-based study of Chinese immigrant families, this familial ethnic cultural transmission between immigrant parents and their US-born children is unsuccessful. Walter's case shows that the parent is no longer the ethnic cultural force. Instead, his mother, who migrated to Australia at the age of 16 and received local education until she finished her undergraduate study, represents an Australian cultural force as she identifies with and endorses the mainstream culture of the country of destination.

For Walter, his Australian way of upbringing also makes him see what he believes to be the Australian ethics of the self. He sets himself against what he constructs as

Asian styles of parenting, which is featured by authoritarian, pushy Asian parents who like to 'show off' their children or 'boast' about their children getting scholarships. Asian parenting is a node of ethical problematization for Walter. He speaks about the Asian parents whom he knows:

> Asian parents are very consequential, as they influence a lot of what you do. And you don't get much of what you say, there is no negotiation, there is just that "you do this" …Like there is no compromise, like, I send you to a Chinese school. And can I ask questions, [or] can I say no? No...And in some domains, like, if you go to uni, you must do accounting, [or] you must do medicine.

He ethically problematizes what he believes to be the parental deprivation of their children's self-autonomy. The Asian children have no bargaining space. Neither are they treated with respect as a person. This, he adds, constitutes the very fabric of ethics of the self in other Asian background students.

Besides, the school-espoused notion of 'well-roundedness' is a cultural force and is regarded as an Australian cultural logic that shapes Walter's everyday cultural practices. This 'well-roundedness' becomes a distinguishing mark for him to claim his Australian cultural identification. He uses it to guide his everyday cultural practices of incorporation and above all, rejection of ethnic cultural practices and cultural ways. He is heavily involved in school-espoused cultural activities such as debating, music, sport, as well as maintaining academic excellence.

For Walter, his cultural identities are constructed out of a hyper-conscious awareness of an Asian/Australia dichotomy. Rationalities are constructed revolving around the idea of 'well-roundedness' endorsed as an Australian value, the cultural force and rationality of self-making. He is actively practicing this rationality by embodying it through his deliberate choice of Australian cultural ways and practices. He is on his way to establishing a fully Australian identity by cutting off, guarding against and distancing himself from the 'Asian stereotypes' of his construct.

Walter's national belongingness to Australia is shaped by his recognition of his birth in Australia, his Australian passport and his upbringing here. This resonates with the official discourse of Australian citizenship. He is fighting to assert his Australian identity with his dad who would say that "we are all Chinese", and with his friend,

Nathan. He challenges the race/ethnicity/citizenship alignment, a view that he believes mostly held by and about Asian people, as "politically incorrect"

> It annoys me… just because I look Chinese or Asian, it doesn't mean that I am less Australian than anyone, the Caucasian person for example… Like Nathan… He sees himself German-Chinese because he sees them as his heritage. And I ask him [how he would call] the Caucasian people, [and] he calls them Australian. And I find it so politically incorrect. I give him a two-hour lecture.

Nathan, the boy we met in Chapter 7, was born in Australia with his father from Germany and mother from Shanghai, China. The language they use at home is English. Although Nathan learns German and Chinese languages and visits China and Germany regularly with his parents, he culturally and sentimentally feels attached to neither of his parents' country of ancestry. His mum, jokingly criticizing his dad for his 'German perspective', tries to maintain neutrality to things without being implicated by her Chinese vantage point. Influenced by his family where his mum and dad consciously try to refrain from exerting their respective ethnic cultural force, Nathan claims that he doesn't "feel like any nationality". But this does not prevent him from identifying with his national belongingness in Australia.

Culturally speaking, Nathan does not draw on or negotiate cultural differences between his ethnic background and the 'mainstream' culture of Australia. For Nathan, the 'mainstream' culture is taken for granted. The high-fee independent school he has attended since pre-prep is the major source of cultural force. Its 'well-roundedness' not only works to shape his cultural practices and endorsement of school-espoused co-curricular programs, but also works as an ethical endorsement of well-rounded ethics of self. He is struggling to perform 'well-roundedness', trying his best to juggle music, sport and study in his very tight schedule for Year 11. He wants to and believes that he will do well in all of them, namely, piano, percussion and many sports in and out of school.

Nathan mentions that he is under 'lots of pressures' to excel in all, and to live up to his parents' expectations. He admits that he has many problems in such a heavily loaded life. Briefly though, it is not characteristic of him to disclose his feelings. When I try to pick it up and suggest maybe he could let his parents know about his struggles, he dismisses the idea by simply saying "That's not it". I think he has been

struggling with these pressures and problems for a long time and he takes the time to vent his frustration, almost in a 'Freudian slip' in his interview with me, believing that I would not disclose his frustration to anyone else. Never faltering in his belief in well-roundedness as his exemplar self-image he wants to achieve, he searches within himself for a solution. He thinks that he should hone his time-management skills, study more efficiently, and 'tough it out' until he finishes Year 12. This is an example of relying-on-the-self mentality, which Ong and Zhang (2008) identify as the neoliberal logic, an insatiable endeavor to better the self and a consciousness of self-making as his own responsibility.

When reminded that he still has two years to go, Nathan replies, "Well time flies. It will be pretty quick". Life surely goes quickly with his round-the-clock pace. He has demonstrated great perseverance for a boy of 16 years old. This perseverance is also sustained by his future plans and expectation of rewarding himself in the future. He has already made plans for the break he is going to enjoy between finishing school and commencing university: travelling overseas and then taking a part time job.

Besides, the independent school also has an impact on his personal values, such as commitment, team spirit, integrity and sticking to what he believes to be the right thing. Although being a boy of few words, he talks about a dispute with his dad, which is a wrestle of personal principles,

> One time in the concert I was performing in, the school always seems to forget my name, to write it in, as a player. And like my dad, when he finds this out, he doesn't want me to play out and he says that "if your name ain't there, you shouldn't play it". Then I don't think it's right.

Nathan regards the mistakes that his school makes as tolerable, for the reason that the changes made to performing students in a wide range of school events are frequent. He puts team spirit and commitment to his school before anything else.

Mary, a very sporty girl who was introduced in Chapter 7, is from a family with a father who is a 2.5-generation Chinese born into a Hong Kong background family and a Caucasian, Australian mother. When alone, by looks, it is hard to tell that Mary has any affiliations with a Chinese ancestry. Still, the background question haunts her on two themes. One is when she has her parents beside her, the question

of 'what's your background' is asked about her looks, as she does not look like her Caucasian mother who has 'red curly hair, pale skin and freckles', nor does she look like her very dark-complexioned father. The other question is that local people ask about her Chinese surname,

> Definitely people question why there isn't an B in my name, like the animal Lamb, because in Australia there is quite common for L-A-M-B, so they question why don't I have a B and I have to explain that it is from past generation of Lam, my Chinese background.

If there is an expectation for people who have a Chinese appearance to demonstrate some Chinese traits, such as language (Ang 2001), Mary's case also reveals a parallel expectation for people who do not look Chinese to distance themselves from something Chinese, such as the surname that indicates such a connection. The questioning and suggestions about Mary's surname are a gesture of kind inclusion Mary as *our girl*, as 'Australians'.

Although on experiential levels her ethnicity pops up once in a while, this does not affect her Australian national identification. She talks about her much diluted Chinese background,

> It is just my surname. It is just my grandparents. And my grandpa died, but I've still got my grandma. She is Australia(-born), she is (Hong Kong) Chinese, and she is traditionally Australian…my parents are like fully Australian…It [Fully Australian] is very Australian-based.

By claiming "very Australian-based", Mary communicates her strong endorsement to and identification with Australian culture. She also claims that her Chinese background has nothing to do with her everyday cultural ways. The only 'cultural' thing her family do is to eat Chinese food at her grandparents' house on the eve of the Chinese New Year. Stressing that "our family is very sporty", she reads Australian cultural ways as 'sporty' and justifies her Australian identity by her love of and involvement in sport, in particular Australian sport that is related to Australia's signature beach culture,

> Since we live so close to the beach, we always go to the beach as kids. And we've got involved into lifesaving and then into swimming, so been swimming ever since about one year old with my dad, then having swimming lessons up to right now. So my brothers are really involved into swimming too, they are really good swimmers.

Mary's well-rounded values and her love of sport further justify and convince her of her Australian cultural mooring, against overseas Chinese girls in her school. She finds that these girls only focus on study and perform poorly in school sports. Their attitude to sports in particular causes intercultural communication barriers between local student group and international student group. Mary is concerned about the fact that the school student culture is divided in Australian/Chinese dichotomy, even when the school is trying very hard to bond them together. This makes her all the more aware of her cultural positioning and identification and the cultural differences between Australians and these Chinese girls,

> I definitely think they don't like sport, don't get involved in sport which is a shame because I think if they got used to playing with us, improved and less confused…they will enjoy it. We will see that gives us a chance, they won't know…I think if we are in a group sport, that they always stand by from the group, like don't want to play, I don't know why…

In addition, her choice of sport consolidates her Australian cultural identity too. She finds out that a lack of interest in sport does not apply to all Chinese international students, as some Chinese boy students "are really getting sport" and "very competitive". Still, this doesn't translate into playing together and bonding with each other, as they play different sports. She is the school's girl swimming team captain, a player in the first basketball team, whereas no Chinese or Asian background boy students make it to the school's first basketball team. She is also heavily involved in training and competition as a promising runner. The sports she invests in are mainstream Australian sports, holding more cultural capital compared to 'Chinese' sports such as badminton and table-tennis.

Mary's self-identification as an Australian is fuelled by her knowledge about Chinese international students in her school. She constructs the cultural differences between them,

> When we have new students coming in, we think, oh they must be really smart…they are international students they must be smarter than us…I normally and generally think about the subjects doing at school, maths methods, chemistry, or maybe I am into arts, and I find all the smart people do maths. All international students do math.

She links the smartness of Chinese international students to Chinese parenting. She continues,

> I also think it might be the way the kids are brought up like in their families the parents expect them do. More brought up to be hardworking and have pressure, expectations…to have good marks, to have lucky good jobs in the end.

Like Walter, Mary also regards parenting as a node of ethical problematization. In her eyes, parental expectations make no difference between Chinese and Australians. However, parents who encourage and support their children heavily are very different from parents who push or force their children into doing something. She is ethically against 'Chinese' parenting style and maintains that her parents do not force her to do work.

Mary justifies her ethical negation of Chinese parenting, morally. She thinks that all the pushing from Chinese parents is for "good marks" and "lucky good jobs", while her parents' expectations are only related to the sports she plays and she is given full autonomy and freedom to choose her future career. Mary's emphasis on enjoying helping people and her wish to help out poor people in somewhere like Africa, signal a moral distinction from the Chinese international students who end up with 'lucky good jobs'. In Mary's construction of self-profiting ethics, the question of what Collier and Lakeoff (2005) call 'how one should live' is raised. Her moral goal is to help people, not to make profits out of one's smartness as Chinese students do. In her view, her rationalities lie in morals in terms of selflessness, while the Chinese students' rationalities are informed by market force in terms of selfishness. This mismatch highlights the moral high ground Mary takes and her claims against the Chinese self-profit motivations. This is an ethical differentiation Mary identifies and endorses in her Australian cultural mooring.

Mary asserts her Australianness by her priorities on both sport and academic, her appreciation of her upbringing, her selfless future career plans and her moral high ground of loving to lend a helping hand.

Unlike the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in the UK who experience everyday racial and cultural 'Othering' (Said 1978; Rattansi 1992) as indicated by 'mainstream' teachers and peers in Archer and Louise's (2007) study, Walter,

Nathan and Mary live up to their ethnic backgrounds without such fuss and difficulties. I find two reasons behind this.

First and foremost, the school/nation-state nexus highlighted by Bourdieu (1984a) works to legitimate the middle-class culture as a cultural force that reworks these middle-class youth's cultural ways and above all, ethnicity. That is, the 'invisible Anglo culture core' (Forrest and Dunn 2006) has been lived, embodied by these students as Australian culture that not only dominates their cultural ways, but also reworks their ethnicity in cultural terms. To Nathan, ethnicity is about learning heritage languages—Chinese and German. It doesn't contradict his Australian cultural identity. To Mary and Walter, on the one hand, ethnicity is read as cultural baggage that needs to be unloaded. On the other hand, ethnicity is interpreted through the lens of ethics and problematized in the form of the 'Chinese' ethics of self. Their families join the school in endorsing and enforcing school-prescribed cultural practices as another cultural force, while cutting or distancing themselves from their ethnic cultural practices.

Secondly, they all get the message that they are Australians by birth, which demonstrates the success of the school's obligatory civics education in the form of the nation-state/school nexus captured by Harris (2010). Their middle-class positioning, a comfortable lifestyle and the fact that all their parents hold professional jobs in Australia make them interpret their ethnicity through a rosy lens, rather than as structural inequality. Given that, they invest in their Australian national identity without worrying that their ethnic background will hold them back. In their Australian dreams, ethnicity is experienced as neither a cultural structure nor a racial structure. Vivian Louie (2004) also reveals the optimistic view held by middle-class second-generation Chinese-Americans.

Therefore, I argue that, based on the three cases of these three middle-class students of Chinese heritage, in the Australian context, that ethnicity is no longer experienced as structural inequalities that work against their national identification with Australia. The youths' ethnicity/culture nexus has been reworked towards peeling off their ethnic cultural baggage and embracing an Australian cultural core by both the independent school and their families.

8.3.2 The 'working-class' group: naturalizing an Australian citizenship

In Chapter 7, we know that Nick puts his study on top of his priority list. Self-rated 'nerdy' instead of 'sporty', he does not seem to embrace the school ethos of striking a balance between study and sport or music. Although participating in sports such as tennis, he puts his academic performance before anything else. At first glance, Nick fits perfectly with the 'Asian stereotypes' Walter mentions: studious but not well-rounded, not getting out much but spending a lot of time talking to friends and struggling between parental expectations to be a doctor and self-aspired IT engineering as a future career. Does this mean Nick is more 'Chinese'? When asked how to define himself in cultural terms, Nick says,

> I am more Australia, I think. But I am also a Chinese son, [as] I like rice, Chinese style food, more Asian style [food].

There is a list of everyday cultural practices that he identifies as 'Australian'. For example, he does not go to Chinese language schools to learn Chinese. He does not watch Chinese movies or TV programs. All he watches is Australian programs. There are times his Australian cultural base causes a family discordance,

> Normally I just joke around with them [his parents], and they don't like English much, so when I am telling a joke [in English], they just like screaming out or stuff like that…My mother understands English, but she doesn't understand the sarcasm.

For Nick, his Chinese background is about Chinese food. From his family, he learns to prioritize study. Apart from that, his parents do not intervene much in how he spends his spare time. Most of the time, as he stresses, he and his father agree with each other.

Dory, as we knew about her in Chapter 7, holds a 50% piano scholarship. At school, she does take part in music programs such as piano playing in the school orchestra. But that is only part of the picture. She struggles with Physical Education class and Saturday sport, which she regards as one of her weak points. Like Nick, Dory's first priority is study. Even music is simply what the school demands. Despite the fact that she continues to have piano lessons, Dory does not link it to the school's ethos of 'well-roundedness'.

Dory is the only Australian-born student who genuinely loves watching TV as a pastime, although via computer. Being fluent in Mandarin, she watches a lot of Chinese TV, in particular, dramas, romantic comedy, teenage drama and Chinese movies. In my interview with her, she asks me if I have ever watched a TV play called 'Princess Huanzhu', a serial comedy about a Chinese princess in Qing Dynasty. Knowing that I am familiar with this TV play, she shares her view about it with me, excitedly,

> That is very interesting! Princess Huanzhu (the heroine) is so funny, I love her! I love the fighting scene, the fly (a type of Chinese Kong Fu), so cool! With my cousin, we kept repeating the scene and watched one episode for two hours.

Engaging with Chinese medium popular culture does not mean a cut-off from local media culture. Dory also watches a lot of local TV series. She comments on her two sources of media consumption,

> When you watch one, you cannot tell. If you compare with that of Australia, then you say "wow the Chinese TV, that's so different"!...Sometimes I watch [Chinese] comedies, I don't like the endings because they stop halfway before something happens. When it stops, you go, what, it cannot stop there! When you watch an Australian drama, it keeps going, like *Neighbors*. The conflicts end and new [conflict] appears, it is actually never ending.

Dory's transnational media cultural consumption includes not only Chinese medium movies, TV programs, but also Japanese medium cartoons, anime and Japanese magazines. Besides, in terms of movies aired in Australia, they are of the global scope. Locally aired movies definitely constitute an important part of the global media culture. Dory shares a lot of ideas about Japanese manga with her friend. She is heavily involved in seeking the endless global craze created by the global media culture, both inside and outside school,

> Movies, if a movie is coming out, say, *Harry Potter*, it's like before we go to see it, we were like quoting *Harry Potter*, reading *Harry Potter*, it was like *Harry Potter* crazy. But after we see it, we go, ok, it is a good movie. What is the next one out? We always fancy what the next one will be…

These transnational cultural consumptions and the talk about them become a major part of local youth subculture, as is revealed in Nayak and Kehily's (2008) study of the UK-based minority youth. However, the mediascape as part of their everyday life

doesn't get counted in the school-espoused mainstream, high culture activities of music, especially musical instruments like the piano and the violin.

In Andrea Louie's (2004) study, American-born youth of Chinese background mediate their incorporation of Chinese culture through the imperatives of the US identity politics in the 1980s and 1990s. Their knowledge about their ethnic cultural roots constitutes a 'complete' hyphenated American-Chinese identity. In contrast, Dory takes up some Chinese culture as a result of her familial exposure of Chinese medium TV programs and a preference for Chinese popular cultural consumption established out of habit. When she was little, she watched a lot of Chinese TV programs along with her parents and, so, her parents' media consumption turns out to be an unwitting ethnic cultural force.

Although Dory immerses herself in diversified sources of media culture, she stresses that her major cultural frame of reference is Australia. Consuming a smorgasbord of culture makes her highly conscious of the cultural differences along national lines. For her, cultural practices of incorporating non-Australian cultural forms add on to and convince her that her cultural identity is firmly anchored in Australia.

For **Nina** and her family, as I point out in Chapter 7, Beachton Grammar is valued for its moral education—sense of right and wrong, hardworking ethic, discipline and good manners, but not for its co-curricular programs. Her passive attitude to school sport is expressed in words such as 'have to', 'all right'.

> Well, we have to choose a sport to do. I choose volleyball and netball. [I] Play for the school and like it. Sometimes I think I don't like Saturday sport, because if you don't go, you get a detention, but it is all right.

She usually draws, watches TV (local TV programs) and reads books in her spare time. Regarding her drawing, she comments that "there is not really much you can do". This echoes her father's attitude to Nina's extra-curricular interests,

> She draws very well, but we've never taught her or thought of finding her a teacher or enrolling her into a drawing class for it. We as parents haven't done anything about it, and she just draws all by herself...But above all, she should put her schoolwork first.

Unlike middle-class families that are supportive of their children's co-curricular activities, Nina's family does not attach any importance to them. Although recognizing that Nina has some talent in drawing, her family never thinks of developing or cultivating it. Nina's participation in the school's extra-curricular programs and after-school pastimes is not a domain of parental supervision or guidance.

Citing the hardworking ethic as characterizing her 'strong' Chinese background, Nina's self-identification of Australian belongingness lies in her birth and upbringing in this land. She claims, "I would say I am an Australian because I was born here and I've been here ever since".

The commonality among 'working class' families is that they prioritize their children's schoolwork. Co-curricular programs provided by the school are a neglected area of strategic cultural inculcation, with the exception of musical instruments for the purpose of scholarship. Nina's and Dory's families orient their children's extra-curricular development to Beachton Grammar's scholarship guidelines and pre-requisites in music, which they see as skills endorsed by the school, and they then build on these skills in their children. As long as their children are granted scholarships, their concerns about their musical development usually stop. This is an instrumentalist interpretation of extra-curricular activities, rather than an understanding and endorsement of the school-espoused notion of 'well-roundedness'.

The 'working-class' students' claim of Australian mooring comes from their Australian birth, residence and education. Unlike their middle-class counterparts, they do not resort to their cultural membership to justify their Australian national identity. They regard their Australian cultural membership as a natural process of living in Australia, rather than a product they deliberately and consciously work on. They narrowly interpret their work ethic as 'Chinese' and strongly identify with their parents in using it to prioritize their academic cultural capital accumulation. With a diminished and limited understanding of Chinese culture, they do not place it against Australian culture in a dichotomy.

For the 'working-class' group of students, their parents leave the children's Australian cultural inculcation to the 'naturalizing' process of exposure to schooling, Australian TV programs and socializing with friends. As parents, they do not meddle in their children's cultural activities, either inside or outside school. Nor do they deliberately force Chinese culture on their children. They communicate to their children that their undesirable job market emplacement in Australia is due to their lack of Australian educational capital, rather than the result of a structural inequality associated with their ethnicity. They instil in their children the importance of education, but do not recognize the importance of the broader spectrum of cultural capital that middle-class families set their minds to. Instead, they allow much freedom for their children to develop their cultural tastes and leisure-time activities.

In contrast, for middle-class families, extra-curricular activities are cultural practices that are well thought through, calculated and constitute an indispensable part of their children's classed self-making. Middle-class families work closely with the school to support their children's extra-curricular needs, for middle-class cultural tastes, mainstream cultural inculcation and an ethical endorsement of well-roundedness. Extra-curricular activities involve cultural mediations that lead to what I describe as 'ethical living', or their construction of a worthwhile life. In the case of Mary and Walter, their Australian identity is an identity transformation of their 'ethnic' ethics of the self and involves an ethical negation of what they construct as the ethics of their ethnic cultural roots. They claim their Australian cultural membership.

8.4 Localizing Australia's neoliberal logic of self-making

Students from both 'working-class' and middle-class families are on a very tight schedule, squeezing a lot into their spare time. For example, on weekends, along with Saturday sport at Beachton Grammar, Nathan has to compete in golf. He has two music lessons, for piano and percussion respectively and a Chinese language lesson. Mary's spare time is split between heavy training in sport in the mornings and afternoons and schoolwork. She has no time for TV watching; the only luxury is going on Facebook and talking to friends on the phone. For Nick, going to academic tutoring for Mathematics method, English and other VCE subjects occupies a large proportion of his after school time.

All students are acutely aware of how they will use their time, including their spare time. Demerath and Lynch (2008) note this time-consciousness in their study of US-based middle-to-upper class youth and make a theoretical linkage between their use of time and self-making as a neoliberal, entrepreneurial mode. What I am trying to stress here is that the Chinese background students are not only time-tight, they also concentrate on managing their time properly, a tenet espoused by their school as a basic life skill. When asked how often he goes to his friends' parties, Nick answers, "most of the time I cannot go, …I have, like, tutoring". This is a neoliberal sense and mastery of time, which relates to how to make the most of one's time, for market oriented self-making. Therefore, spare-time, for these students, becomes a luxury and the logic of how to best invest in their time penetrates the everyday practices of their life.

However, when it comes to which cultural practices are involved in leisure time activities and the rationalities behind them, a patterned difference between 'working-class' students and middle-class students begins to emerge.

8.4.1 The 'working-class' group: a discontinuance of school and after-school cultural activities

In the working-class group, homework is first and foremost and occupies a massive part of their after-school time. Besides that, their parents do not intervene much in their children's leisure time activities, such as watching TV and playing computer games.

Except Dory, who still has piano lessons after school, what the 'working-class' background students do after school does not have anything to do with the extra-curricular activities they get involved in at school, either in sport or music. They entertain themselves in a totally different way after school, compared to the school-espoused cultural activities. This shows a rupture of cultural practices between home and school.

For Nina and Nick, leisure-time activities are a domain of cultural practices taken for the purposes of self-entertainment, which is not oriented to market rationalities or better life chances, but to a notion of the present tense of living a life or lifestyle.

However, for Dory, pastimes have been used as both entertainment and capital accumulation. Her leisure time activity of watching Chinese media programs and Japanese manga is a way to learn the languages. Japanese language is one of her VCE subjects. She is well ahead of other students who take up Japanese, because she watches a lot of Japanese anime in Japanese. Never attending a Chinese language school, she speaks good Mandarin and she is quite proud of the fact that she learnt the language from TV program viewing. She is fully aware of the importance of mastering the Chinese language,

> …because Chinese becomes a quite important language in Australia. And a lot of people are studying Chinese now. Because China is becoming more powerful, I guess. Like you know Shanghai like the World Festival [World Exhibition Fare in 2010] that's happening and everybody knows about it. And Beijing Olympics, as China is like a very popular country. Maybe not everyone learned Chinese language, but it is considered in like Asian languages because it is one of the main ones.

Dory understands the importance of 'Asian literacy', that is accorded strategic significance in Australia (Ang 2008), and Chinese language as a form of nationally recognized cultural capital. Therefore, the consumption of Chinese and Japanese culture is out of both love and an instrumentalist intention, as linguistic capital can be accumulated and incorporated from these cultural practices, along with entertaining purposes served.

8.4.2 The middle-class group: blurring boundaries of school and after-school cultural activities

The middle-class group's use of pastimes as a 'plus', namely for market oriented capital accumulation, is common. Middle-class parents intervene by showing strong support and encouragement in their children's well-calculated extra-curricular choices, along with investment in both time and money. Their children's leisure-time activities, in particular, for middle-class families, are supervised as a new site of cultural capital accumulation.

Nathan, Mary and Walter, from middle-class families, demonstrate a consistency and coherence between their school-based extra-curricular activities and leisure-time activities. It is difficult to distinguish their co-curricular choices at school and their leisure-time activities after school, for they tend to do same things in the two time

slots. In other words, these students' leisure activities are a continuation of their school-based extracurricular activities. After school, Nathan and Mary spend a lot of time training, attending competitions and honing their music or/and sport skills. Walter, although not so avid about sport, uses extra-curricular activities, such as debating and extensive reading, deliberately to prepare himself for the career of diplomat in the future.

8.5 Further theoretical discussion

As I argued in chapter 7, these well-chosen extra-curricular activities are strategically oriented to cultural capital that the parents endorse and identify as beneficial for their children's life chances. The overlapping of school-time cultural activities and the self-chosen, self-motivated, self-automated cultural practices of their after-school hours indicates that this middle-class group of students' cultural capital accumulation is non-stopping. Their cultural logic of self-making is in a time-conscious, ongoing mode. Their cultural capital accumulation is directly oriented to their life chances, rather than what Nayak and Keihly (2008) call 'sub-cultural capital' that only applies to a specifically contextualized student subculture.

In this chapter, I further argue that the fact that leisure time activities are linked to deliberate capital accumulation is a neoliberal logic to maximize profit by making the most of one's time by both middle-class students and 'working-class students'. This neoliberal logic especially shapes these students' choices of leisure-time activities. In this regard, neoliberalism works with the school to shape middle-class youth's cultural practices of incorporation, which shift back to high-culture activities such as music and/or new value-laden sport involvement.

Here, I also argue for a contextualized and research-based understanding of ethnicity and its linkage to youthful self-making and cultural identities. The local-born students in this study construct their Chinese ethnicity culturally, as their heritage language, food, hardworking ethic and cultural baggage that needs to be emptied, with most students agreeing that their ethnic background is far from a salient node of their daily experience. On the whole, Chinese parents from both middle-class and 'working-class' groups do not exert an ethnic cultural force by insisting on ethnic cultural transmissions. Schools' intervention in carrying on Australia's construct of

ethnicity in citizenship/civics education and cultural cohesion imperatives is a strong force that makes these youth unambiguously regard Australia as their own country, their home and their cultural moorings.

Class dynamics have been revealed between students from 'working-class' and middle-class families as to their choices of cultural activities and rationalities behind them. For middle-class families, school-based extra-curricular choices and leisure time activities are sites of strategic capital calculation and accumulation. These cultural practices are a newly found site of cultural capital accumulation, which is mediated with market rationalities. With Dory as the exception, these activities are not counted in their capital imaginaries of the 'working-class' group. It is just from this site that I develop and extend Connell's (2009) notion of neoliberal parenting. I argue then, in this chapter, that cultural practices both inside and outside school make a big difference in students' project of self-making and in what their future holds for them.

My research supports Bourdieu's (1984a) argument that schools legitimate 'general culture' in the school/nation-state/class nexus. However, it pushes this argument further. Australia's neoliberalism is intimately captured by this school, paired together they prescribe a 'legitimate', middle-class, 'Australian' culture. The school, namely, Beachton Grammar, taking up the neoliberal logic, encroaches on the domain of youth subculture. In so doing, sport, music and such other highly personalized cultural consumption sites as hobbies and interests, are now monitored and prescribed by the school in the name of 'co-curricula' with new wraps such as personal skills and talents. In their *Masculinity Beyond the Metropolis*, Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moody (2006) theorize a neoliberal approach to hobbies and leisure-time activities in some rural Australian youth as the "serious business" of self-making. My study of Australian-born students of Chinese background resonates with this theorization. Based on that, I therefore argue that the logic of cultural consumption for fun and as a pastime depicted by Nayak and Kehily (2008) have in these cases at least given way to a school-espoused neoliberal logic of capital accumulation oriented to labour market and work place.

This neoliberalism, I argue, changes the logic of cultural practices in students. For middle-class students, the school/neoliberalism nexus presents itself in the form of 'well-roundedness' as the ethics or cultural logics of self-making while ethnicity barely makes its way in these logics. In spite of the fact that 'working-class' students tend to overlook leisure-time activities as a strategic site of capital accumulation, they are shaped by a neoliberal sense of time. The school/neoliberalism nexus, which Kenway (2009) highlights as transformative of educational sectors in Australia, turns out to be a salient moral force. The high-fee, high SEA independent school disseminates and instils in its students the neoliberal ethic of self-responsibility for self-making in association with a tint of middle-classness. The neoliberalism/middle-class linkage detected in this chapter, I argue, adds a nuanced layer to Bourdieu's (1984a) nation-state/school/class nexus, as well as complementing Bourdieu's culture/school/class linkage by drawing attention to the ethics/school/class nexus.

Let us now get back to the theorization of students' self-making. Regarding Ong's notion of the cultural logics of transnationality (1999), these students adopt the cultural logics of localization or rooting, looking to their future as geographically chained and bundled to Australia. Born in Australia, they no longer look elsewhere or resort to further transnational mobilities. Their capital imaginaries and ethical endorsements are all oriented to Australia. The school these students attend exerts one of the major geographical forces of Australia. Therefore, I argue that the local-born students' cultural logics of localization or rooting have been further shaped and reworked by the school they attend. In so doing, the nation-state/school nexus in the forms of 'invisible Anglo core culture' and Australian neoliberalism shapes the very fabric of these students' *Australian* cultural identity, rather than a rhetorical sense of national belongingness.

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In this chapter, I explored how the Chinese background students mediated their cultural practices in relation to their construction of, identification with and experiences of their Chinese background and their birth and upbringing in Australia in their everyday lives. I especially looked at how these youth engaged in the project of self-making in terms of their school-based and after-school cultural activities. I

examined how families and the school shaped these students' cultural logics of localization. These students' market rationalities, cultural rationalities, as well as ethical identifications are all targeting Australia. To the local-born students of Chinese ancestry, their families and the school are identified and further unpacked, as two major geographical forces of Australia, culturally and ethically.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 My research

I have examined how two groups of youth, Chinese international students and Australian students of Chinese background, imagine their future and construct a worthwhile life for themselves against the backdrop of transnational mobilities, flows and imaginaries of the contemporary world. Positioning myself in the field of the cultural sociology of education and putting culture at the centre of analysis and scrutiny, I wanted to understand how two groups of youth in such differently labelled social categories make their way in the world by engaging in different and similar cultural practices that constitute the very fabric of their self-making. I captured their schooling-dominated cultural practices as well as their take-up of culture in after-school hours and connected them to their projects of self-crafting. I wanted to know what cultural logics are behind their cultural choices of incorporation and rejection—the global, the transnational, the national, the institutional and the individual levels of power that interact and intersect to affect these youths' imaginations and practices. In particular, I have linked their cultural practices of incorporation and rejection to their cultural identifications and moorings, thus making a theoretical linkage between their cultural logics of self-making and cultural identifications.

Both groups of students attend the same high-fee, high SEA, independent school in Melbourne, Australia. This school becomes the meeting place of these youth from China and Australia. The school was also the major research site of my comparative study. To understand and probe their projects of self-making, I tried to capture the forces in assemblages that intervene in three broad cultural practices, namely, how they imagine a worthwhile life, how they relate to their education and how they engage with everyday cultural practices inside as well as outside school.

Drawing on semi-structured, in-depth interviews as the major method, I addressed my central inquiry of understanding the youthful self in contemporary living by focusing on: How Chinese-born students and Australian-born students of Chinese background, who study in the same high-fee, high SEA, independent school in Australia, engage in their projects of self-making in culturally different and similar ways?

I extended my central question with four sub-questions. Firstly, what can an analysis of the intersection of the nation-state, culture, education and social class tell us about these youthful projects of self-making? Considering that both groups of youth are involved in the processes of transnationality for education and/or migration purposes in the increasingly globalized world, my second concern was to examine the influence on their projects of self-making of global and transnational forces. Beyond the macro forces, I also wanted to understand, through my third sub-question, how the school, the family and the students themselves mediate between these global, transnational and national forces. All these questions raised issues that challenge a nationalistic perspective and Western/non-Western binaries, and I find Ong's work very relevant in engaging closely with such challenges. So comes my fourth sub-question: In what ways are the theoretical concepts of Aihwa Ong instructive for responding to these questions?

As I looked at two groups of Chinese background youth, I need to discuss my arguments about each group separately.

9.2 My arguments

9.2.1 Regarding Chinese international students

I have identified four themes to unpack the Chinese international students' projects of self-making. These include their construction of a worthwhile life, their uses of education and choice of schools, especially the high-fee independent Australian school, for the purpose of self-making, their take-up of self-making related cultural activities inside and outside the school, and their reflections on these cultural practices of self-making in terms of their cultural moorings.

The international students in my study come from families of business backgrounds with 'naked money power', a group Goodman dubs the Chinese 'new rich', in social class terms (2008). These children of the Chinese 'new rich' are, thus, not representative of the whole Chinese case. Instead, they are a particular example of specific class positioning and class dynamics, compounded with their specific geographical locations, or specific cities, in China. Therefore, my first argument is: Chinese international students' projects of self-making need to be addressed through the lens of class.

I will leave the question of their self-imagination till later and start by elaborating on what I found about why these students choose to study overseas. Regarding the Chinese students' and their parents' overseas educational imperatives, I not only drew attention to the market rationalities but also identified the ethical rationalities. In addition, I revealed the emotional landscapes of the Chinese students and those of their families as a reason behind their familial overseas schooling choices. The psychological cost that a highly competitive and examination-oriented education system in China incurred, compounded by Chinese parents' high expectations for their 'only child' to excel in the social status race, was the primary reason for these students to opt out of domestic education and pursue overseas education.

I found that even before they embarked on an overseas study journey, the Chinese students were well informed by many sources, such as friends and relatives who study or live overseas, agencies for overseas study, and personal visits 'have a look' at targeted schools at abroad. They constructed the merits and benefits of studying in Australia by drawing on a set of contrasts between Australia's and China's education systems. Hence, the choice of an Australian school was based on a dichotomy between domestic and overseas education.

The facilities and resources of their Australian school these Chinese students attended impressed them the least, since all attended academically well ranked and well resourced schools when in China. In contrast, Australia's secondary education was acclaimed for the practicality of its curriculum and endeavours to link academic subjects with real life phenomena. Most importantly, they appreciated the school's moderate study load, much less authoritarian student-teacher relationships, a space

for self-assertion, self-planning and self-management and the much lesser intensity of competition for gaining university entry. These features were interpreted by the students in relation to how Australia's education brings out the best in them.

As to why Chinese students chose to study overseas, my second argument is that it needs to be addressed with an approach that combines class analysis with ethics. I drew on Collier and Lakeoff's (2005) anthropological take-up of the notion of ethics that concerns 'a worthwhile life' in everyday domains of living. The ethics-related aspects of the high-fee independent school particularly appealed to students who had struggled on their Chinese education journey as well as to students who coped well and excelled in China's schooling system.

But, how did their overseas schooling choice relate to their self-projects? Did their transnational practice of overseas education change their geographies of class-making and self-imagination? More specifically, I wanted to know how the students mediated and 'used' transnational mobilities in relation to their self-making projects. In response to these questions, my third argument points to the necessity to link geographical mobilities, transnational practices and the self-imagination of these students.

I revealed that the linkage between transnational practices and projects of self-making raises questions of when (as students or as job hunters), where (domestic or overseas), which (global, transnational or domestic market) and what (for purposes of education or a career). As to the question of when, I identified two distinct but interrelated stages in the Chinese international students' self imagining and planning. The first phase relates to a student life, which revolves around education. The second stage points to career aspirations, or a life planning after finishing formal education in terms of future jobs and a life they aspire to. I detected in these students two different approaches to and interpretations of their life concerns in terms of how they narrated ethical issues and set up ethical problematization.

In their student life course stage, ethical problematization towards the Chinese educational system was voiced. With strong financial backgrounds, the Chinese students could afford to look after their ethical needs, opt out of China's educational

system and seek *ethical sanctuary* in Australia's education system. Ethical issues associated with a blueprint of a 'worthwhile life' comprise a force that drove some Chinese students overseas to further their education; they utilized transnational mobilities to achieve an ethical end.

Their perspectives changed in their post-education life planning. When it came to deciding where to make good for the rest of their life, students demonstrated two destination orientations: China and/or Australia. One group of students undoubtedly saw China as their future destination for life and work. Within this group, some never thought of Australia as an option in terms of their life and careers; China was the only option. Others, having their transnational dreams dampened, regarded China as a better place after weighing up the pros and cons of a transnational future. They tended to interpret transnational mobilities in a pessimistic light. Their transnational experiences drew them to the issues of *class emplacement in transnationality*, for example, the loss of geographically embedded social, cultural and symbolic capital in Australia. In contrast, China remained as an ideal environment for them to achieve their class ambitions. Ethical issues were also raised in their interpretation of a transnational prospect. Their overseas education experiences made them more aware of what a worthwhile life meant to them. These students found indispensable a range of comfort indices of life, such as a familiar cultural landscape, entertainment, services and conveniences of a city life. These comfort indices of contemporary urban living served as a new set of ethics of life, which were not to be given up for a transnational future.

Unlike the potential returnees, there was also a tendency among a minority of students to seek ethical sanctuary in Australia permanently. In this case, transnationalism continued to achieve this ethical end in the career planning phase of self-making.

In contrast to those who showed unambiguous favour to either China or Australia, there was a transnational orientation to reap benefits of transnationalism in a certain student. Consequently, Australia was regarded as a potential transnational market and Australian-embedded capital was deliberately accumulated.

These national and transnational orientations inform my fourth argument that Chinese international students 'used' transnationalism variously to achieve their equally varied life goals. I detected the practice of *one-off transnationalism* in some students by linking their education-seeking and career-planning phases of self-imagination. That is, the students deployed instrumental transnationalism for educational purposes, which, however, was not oriented to self-imagining of a transnational future.

But, a future with or without the tendency to transnationalism does not provide us with any clues regarding how Chinese international students' present tense transnational practices and experiences shaped their cultural moorings. So to capture the changes in their cultural behaviours and habits in transnationality, I explored how these students engaged with and negotiated and mediated their cultural activities and practices in Australia. I found that *experiential transnationality* produced three types of cultural identities in them, namely, *a coherent and consolidated geographically embedded Chinese identity*, *simultaneous identities* and an *ethically transformative cultural identity.*

My fifth argument thus lies in the intersection of transnationality and cultural identity formation. For students who experienced passively, negatively, reactively, or structurally their transnational displacement, in particular, in the Australian schooling setting, they had their Chinese identity consolidated. They saw no point to endorsing what they believed to be Australian culture. This was further strengthened by their geographical self-imagination in China. Their schooling in Australia and their exposure to and emplacement in a range of forces the Australian school exerted did little to shape their cultural ways of self-making. Another group of students did engage with transnationality culturally by embracing their Australian school-espoused activities. They demonstrated varied processes of culture and value deciphering and non-native culture endorsement. They represented a simultaneous identity, a process of incorporating Australian culture into their cosmopolitanizing cultural repertoire. Apart from these, there was one student who achieved a total ethical transformation by reading and interpreting transcultural experiences through an ethical lens. This type of transformative cultural identity draws attention to contradictions between Chinese and Australian ethics which are interpreted as being

embedded in everyday cultural practices. It involves an ethical endorsement to Australian ethics and a negation of Chinese ethics.

I conclude this section with my sixth argument that links the project of self-making to the question of geography in the self/geography nexus. Chinese international students' self-imagination and self-making in transnationality were still chained to a specific geography. The material embeddedness of a specific geography was mediated in the form of job markets. In this light, the specific geography was imbued with geographically embedded resources for achieving class goals. The geography of ethics in terms of a familiar cultural landscape and comfort indices of urban living was also mobilized and calculated through what constituted a worthwhile life. China exerted dominant geographical power in shaping the students' reference frames of cultural ways, class aspirations and ethical considerations.

9.2.2 Regarding Australian-born students of Chinese background

With respect to Australian-born students of Chinese background, I examined similar themes to uncover their projects of self-making. I classified these students in two class categories in the Australian context, namely, the 'working-class' group and the middle-class group. My first argument was that the Australian-born students' projects of self-making need to be addressed through the lens of class against the backdrop of their familial class emplacement in Australia. Unlike the children of the Chinese new rich, Australian-born students' class goals were strongly manifested in terms of their self-imagination and their everyday cultural engagements.

My second argument was that their projects of self-making are intimately tied to the geography of Australia. Unlike their Chinese-born counterpart who engaged with transnational strategies of self-making, or the *cultural logics of instrumental transnationalism,* the local-born students employed *the cultural logics of localization* for their self-making in Australia. Global and transnational forces did not saliently intervene in their reading and deciphering rationalities.

I identified amongst the Australian-born students that their schooling choice was one of their important localizing and localized class strategies. Thus comes my third argument which is that the choice of the right school for Australian-born students of

Chinese background was oriented to their class goals. Middle-class students aimed for class reproduction, whereas the 'working-class' group strove for upward social mobility. The middle-class and 'working-class' groups' *capital imaginaries* overlapped in educational capital but diverged in terms of subtle cultural capital ways, such as leadership and mainstream cultural capital in the form of sport and extracurricular excellence.

My fourth argument is about how they mediated the force of the school in their class-laden self-making project in the school/class/culture nexus. For middle-class families, they actively embraced the cultural power that the school exerted by enforcing the Australian, middle-class culture in its co-curricular activities. In contrast, 'working-class' families ignored the school's classed cultural interpretation and inculcation. However, it is worth noting that the school-espoused neoliberal ethics of self-making as an ethical force hailed both groups of students.

As regards how the students reflected on their cultural practices of incorporation and rejection in relation to their cultural moorings, my fifth argument stresses that ethnicity is an indispensable analytical lens. I drew attention to the ethnicity/class nexus, revealing that middle-class families and students increasingly dichotomized Chinese ethnicity against a middle-class Australian main-stream-ness and were peeling off their ethnic cultural baggage. As a stark contrast, 'working-class' families and their children capitalized on certain essentialized ethnic values and class beliefs to achieve an upward mobility in the status race in Australia, while unintentionally dropping ethnic cultural transmission in families.

9.2.3 Summary

For both Chinese international students and Australian-born students of Chinese background, the question concerning how Aihwa Ong is instructive for me to explore my research questions regarding these two groups will be attended to in my theoretical contribution section.

With reference to the two sets of arguments as stated above, national forces still played a major role against transnational forces in shaping students' projects of self-making. For Australian-born students, their transnational ambitions stopped as their

parents' chose to prioritize Australia as the ideal destination for their transnational journey. The local-born students did not have to look around and search their horizons for transnational opportunities. For Chinese-born students who harbored transnational aspirations, the loss of capital advantage in transnational emplacement and the hardships they experienced living overseas wiped out their transnational dreams. Of course, there is no denying that there were students who wanted to make the most of transnationality.

Despite facing the global forms of economic or market imperatives, ethical considerations and mediations of a good life, these two groups of Chinese background youth used transnational mobilities differently and made informed choices of culture, ethics and class ambitions tailored and dominated by the nation-state as a specific geography of investment and stakes of the future. Their projects of self-making in the age of global assemblage were still tied to and encumbered by the materiality of a specific geography.

9.3 My contributions to the fields of the cultural sociology of education and studies of the internationalization of education

My study concerned the theorization of youth in the blending of the 'cultural' and the 'social', a major theme in the cultural sociology of education. Specifically, it asked: how do we research and theorize Chinese background school students in transcultural contexts? How do we capture the situated forces of the 'cultural' and the 'social' in such contexts?

I have pointed out that the critique of methodological nationalism is not new in the field of the cultural sociology of education. A global perspective has been challenging the use of the notions of the nation state and nation state culture as the legitimate units of analysis when theorizing contemporary youth. These 'bounded units' are being penetrated by the force of globalization. However, the central line of theorizing a youthful self according to the alignment between society, culture, modernity and self in Western sociology is not strongly challenged. Also not sufficiently challenged is the practice of theorizing a non-Western subject by using the notion of Western modernity as a legitimate frame of reference. In other words, methodological Westernism, a methodological dichotomy erected between Western

and non-Western societies, cultures, modernities and ultimately national subjects, is still prevalent in the cultural sociology of education.

In theorizing a particular group of *non-Western* background youth who do not fit neatly in nation state categories, I adopted a transnational and global perspective through which to situate and develop my critiques of methodological nationalism and methodological Westernism.

To do so, I had to think: how can I avoid these theoretical traps? As I mentioned briefly, Aihwa Ong is provocative and pertinent in responding these questions. I found her thinking very useful in two ways that shaped my study of Chinese background youth. The first lies in how she understands the 'social' as a unit of inquiry. To capture the 'social', Ong puts forward the notion of 'global assemblage' as the unit of the empirical inquiry. Also to break the 'social' as the container of the bounded nation state, Ong introduces the concept of 'global forms'. With these concepts, Ong extends the reading of knowledge/power scheme from a national perspective. More importantly, she includes a range of forces that sometimes do not sit neatly as the 'social' or the 'cultural'. These forces may work on national, transnational and global levels, such as knowledge, politics, ethics and neoliberalism as mobile technologies and modes of governmentality. In so doing, power and practices, situated against the backdrop of 'global assemblage' as 'a particular field of inquiry', are no longer bounded by a given society, or by a collective culture. The second way is Ong's approach that puts cultural practices and human agency, or the practices culture/power/self formula, at the centre of analysis to understand humans today.

I have brought these insights to the field of the cultural sociology of education and release the interpretation and analysis of culture, class and ethics from a national perspective and the national/social power frames. In my comparative study of Chinese and Australian students, cultural, economic and ethical imperatives are thus regarded as global forms of contemporary living. This helps deconstruct methodological nationalism and breaks the confines of nation state culture and modernity as dominant forces in theorizing youth in this field.

Given all this, my study represents a distinctive approach to addressing 'non-Western' youth in transcultural contexts. To deconstruct and delineate the forces of the nation state and culture in shaping youthful identities, I enhanced Ong's culture/power/self formula by developing *the self/geography nexus*. I put forward the notion of the *geography of forces* to match Ong's culture/power/self formula with the backdrop of a situated global assemblage. My employment of the geography of forces is by no means a reintroduction of national society or getting back to methodological nationalism. Rather, when power is released from 'society' and roams within the scope of the global, we still need to know which is the most salient and how the salient forces interact to shape the youthful self, amongst a vast array of power registers. Furthermore, we are yet to address the projects of self-making in relation to geography and its linkage to the question of youthful cultural moorings.

My contribution to the cultural sociology of education also lies in my theoretical linkage between rationalities and the cultural practices of self-making. I linked rationalities to situated global assemblages and a constellation of forces at all levels. Through the employment of my own theoretical framework—*the geography of forces*, I was able to distinguish global forms at different levels, or, to find out which exert salient power, hail youth and thus mark their cultural identifications and moorings.

By drawing attention to the notion of geography, I showed how global forms—markets, capital in the forms of the cultural, social and symbolic, and ethics—intersect and interact with a specific geographical location and constitute situated, new imperatives of living today in the two groups of Chinese background students. In other words, the new imperatives of living include accumulation of capital and the take-up of ethics that relate to 'a worthwhile life'. These very particular forms of power or forces need discernment and careful interpretation.

My theorization of youthful projects of self-making against global and transnational flows, mobilities and contemporary imperatives of living, however, does not necessarily support theories about global subjects in the cultural sociology of education. I found that although the global forms are there, the nation-state, the power regimes of schools and families still exert situated power and influence. In

this regard, I did not discover the global subject. Rather, I theorized how locality and geography still reign in relation to students' identity work. I found that despite the fact that some global forms intervene, they are mediated within national power registers or, they are appropriated by locality and then taken as the 'local', rather than the 'global'. In the face of globalization and transnationality, the nation-state prevails, as a major market and as the geographical place of residence. In other words, the geography not only determines students' life chances in the form of *geographically embedded capital*, but also shapes their cultural moorings. Geography still plays a role in youth's cultural moorings, as it is specifically linked to their classed future and life aspirations.

To sum up, my contribution to theorizing a youthful self in the cultural sociology of education is the development of the self/geography nexus. I identified and theorized two cultural logics of self-making: the cultural logics of instrumental transnationality and the cultural logics of localization or rooting. I used what I call a geography of forces to capture the forces of situated global assemblages, to theorize the self in the global assemblage/geographies of forces nexus. In so doing, I overcame the problem incurred in the use of the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis, so as to capture the forces that cross national boundaries and operate in situ in contemporary milieus of living.

My comparative study of Chinese background school students in Australia also sits in studies of the internationalization of education. In this field of research, one major issue focuses on class inequality associated with overseas/transnational education opportunities. I have mentioned in previous chapters that the school where I carried out my comparative study is a local school for Australian-born students and an overseas/international school for Chinese international students. More attuned to the question of how to cater to international students in Australia's schools, therefore, the focus on school education/class inequality in my study potentially speaks to Australia's school education sector.

In the existent literature, overseas/transnational/international education is theorized as a space for advantage reproduction that features a future of geographical mobilities. This result, produced mainly from a Bourdieusian capital approach,

points to 'the privileged nature' of international/overseas/transnational education, such as globally accredited educational qualifications and skills. The privileges also include the affordability of such education due to the strong financial backgrounds of the students' families, and for some students, their academic eliteness—outstanding academic performance. My own study of Chinese international students and Australian-born students of Chinese background supports these privilege theses in certain ways. A case in point is that some students sought after the globally accredited educational qualifications and skills to further consolidate and fortify their class privilege.

However, despite the concurrence, I revealed nuances and contradictions in relation to how this 'privileged space' of education and transnational mobilities are mediated, experienced and imagined through the lens of social class. I added to the analyses of the education-related transnationality and class linkage by drawing attention to the class/ethics intersection and the socio-cultural disadvantages associated with transnational mobilities.

Specifically, I developed the class/transnationality nexus along three lines. One line focuses on the connections between class, capital and geography. To highlight the processes of transnationality in terms of capital accumulation, I used the *capital imaginary* and *capital list.* These terms refer to the capital orientations of Chinese international students and Australian-born students of Chinese ancestry in relation to their economic and cultural rationalities. I linked the two terms with the notion of geography to highlight and delineate capital accumulation that goes transnational. Taking cues from Waters' (2006) 'geographies of cultural capital', I used geography and geographically embedded capital to depict and further differentiate between capitals that seem to be de-territorialized in transnational mobilities.

The second line of development around the class/transnationality nexus is concerned with how we understand the question of the class emplacement of immigrants in the country of destination. To understand the designation of class categories, I drew attention to the issue of transnational/immigrant class emplacement and developed the links among class, ethnicity and transnationality. Using Bourdieu's capital approach to class categorization to explore the links between capital and ethnicity, I

highlighted the loss of cultural capital that transnational emplacement or mobility may incur.

In this line of theoretical development, I also heeded how ethnicity is reworked and reshaped by specific geographies of forces. I detected the connections between class, ethnicity and neoliberalism in the Australian-born students of Chinese heritage, revealing how their Chinese ethnicity is reworked by Australian expressions of neoliberalism, which takes three forms, namely, neoliberal parenting, the neoliberal ethics of self-responsibility and the rely-on-the-self mentality.

The third line I adopted to develop the class/transnationality nexus drew attention to Collier and Ong's (2005) conceptualization of ethics from the perspective of the cultural anthropology. I used the notions of ethics and ethical problematization to explore the ethical considerations and negotiations of two groups of Chinese background youth. I develop these notions by *the node of ethical problematization, ethical abstraction, negation, mediation, endorsement and identification*. I showed how ethics are rendered as a force that is still chained to specific geographies. However, transnationality offers a way to evince the power or force of geographical ethics. I found that the use of transnationality for an ethical end is closely associated with affordability. Only those who have a strong financial background can afford to look after their ethical needs by engaging with spatial strategies. Therefore ethics in this thesis has been developed in its linkages to social class.

Apart from the three lines developing the class/transnationality nexus, I have offered new terminologies regarding transnationality and transnationalism. I used *instrumental transnationalism* to refer to Chinese international students' transnational education choices as a transnational/ spatial class strategy with which to facilitate their capital accumulation. Instrumental transnationalism is used, as well, to evince the ethical problems that they identify and construct when undertaking schooling in China. This transnationalism, for most of the Chinese students, was one-off, as they saw their future in China.

In this thesis I also built on the intersection between transnationality and culture. Despite the opportunities and benefits transnationality offers, I drew attention to the

real issues transnational emplacement plunges international students into. By experiential transnationality I refer to these emplacement issues. Whereas instrumental transnationality highlights the positive dimensions that are linked to the Chinese students' projects of self-making with a focus on how they strategically used the culture of the emplaced geography, I used the notion of *the experiences of culture* to highlight the subtleties of intercultural encounters and experiences. This notion engages with and adds nuances to cultural cosmopolitan theses. The experiences of culture, on the one hand, point to the positive aspects of transcultural encounters, which include cultural cosmpolitanization, exposure to new culture as knowledge accumulation, ethical transformation and identifications with and appreciation of new values. On the other hand, negative aspects are also incurred in intercultural processes, such as difficulties, confusions of intercultural communication and structures of national cultural dominance. My study further suggests that the overt and covert experiences of culture in transnationality shift over time.

My comparative study of Chinese background students' trajectories of self-making has brought about a productive intersection of the fields of the cultural sociology of education and studies of the internationalization of education. It has identified three areas that need improvement in Australia's internationalization of its school education: pedagogy, cross-cultural communication initiatives and the cultural-laden extra-curricula and curricula (eg. Physical Education and Saturday sports) where Australian culture dominates in terms of the local/overseas cultural hierarchy.

My contribution not only includes weaving ideas and insights from migration/diaspora studies and cultural anthropology into the cultural sociology of education. But, there is potential for my methodological approach, ideas and theoretical frameworks to travel into and speak back to these fields. An example is through drawing attention to the self/geography intersection with an emphasis on situated global assemblages and geography of forces, migration/diaspora studies can heed institutional, national, transnational and global forces at work without prioritizing one or another.

These contributions open up many possible directions for further research in the fields that I have drawn on in this study, namely, the cultural sociology of education and the internationalization of education.

One of many possible directions is to explore the potentialities of other types of transnational movements. How well will my concepts work with different sorts of economies, different locations and different groups? What will my study of transnational mobility from China (in the 'global south') to Australia (in the 'global north') say to transnational flows in other directions, for example, south to south, south to north, north to north, let alone movement in multiple directions? The choice of a transnational destination for education is itself a research topic that is worth further probing through the theoretical lenses I have deployed and developed. And further, how will a Chinese student in Japan, or a US student in South Africa construct his/her transnational orientation after graduation? And, how applicable will my conceptual frameworks be? In what way will they be stretched and need to be further developed in those research sites? For instance, in terms of economy, markets, geopolitical relations and cultural hierarchies, my concept of self/geography can be further delineated in these new research agendas. Another direction for possible research on multi-directional transnational mobilities drawing on my concepts might be with a range of groups other than students, for instance business people or mobile intellectuals. Such studies would definitely bring in new class, cultural and ethical dynamics in transnational encounters, along with new interpretations of such people's transnational strategies, orientations, aspirations and self-making.

Amongst these possibilities, I am particularly interested to carry on longitudinal research on these Chinese background youth, a majority of whom are now studying in universities in Australia.

Nearly three years have passed since I first spoke to the students and now most of them have started their university life and fulfilled their anticipated dreams. I kept contact with some of the students. Phil retained his high-achiever standing and scored the second highest in VCE in his school. Jane and Natalie both scored 95 and ended up happily at the University of Melbourne. Cindy, on the verge of failing in

China's education system, scored 87 and secured her study at Monash University. She told me that she had worked really hard in Year 12. Rose satisfied her mum's expectation by getting admitted to the Australian National University (ANU), a university with a ranking higher than that of the University of Melbourne. She was excited about a new life at ANU. Jack finally settled on a major in photography. Tim left Australia and went to Japan to do his Bachelor's degree. However, with a VCE score of 87, Rose still felt inadequate, telling me that the international students from China newly recruited by her school (Beachton Grammar) immediately after my interview study of Chinese background students in that school, performed much better in the VCE. She hoped that I had interviewed these "really good" Chinese students. Tracy, a psychology major, felt the pressure as the only non-native speaker among her local classmates at university. Cindy had to finish a required 12-week intensive English language course before starting her university life, due to her low score in ESL. Listening to them happily looking forward to the life that will unfold in university, I, once again, feel an urge to get involved and continue my portrait of these youthful lives.

Further research on this same group of Chinese background youth will not only satisfy my interest in understanding these youth but also has the potential to put my theoretical frameworks to the test and contribute to the cultural sociology of education. So, what will the tracings over time enable me to do? I am eager to know how the empirical building on of self/geography/mobilities around the axis of time will put my current theorization of this nexus to the test. After graduation, will these students go back to China, stay in Australia, or set out for a new destination? With a Bachelor's degree in hand, how will they interpret and read transnational mobilities? This reminds me of the Chinese international students who preferred to return to China in interviews with me a few years ago. I keep wondering whether they will change their mind and take up a transnational option, as their geographically embedded Australian capital—cultural, social and symbolic—accrues over time with their tertiary education and more exposure to the wider Australian society than when they were at school. Maybe a part-time job in Australia will offer an opportunity for students to weigh up their capital repertoire in the market and rework their work destination in the future. Conversely, having been very embedded in Australia with

two years at school and another three years at university, how will Chinese international students think about going back to China and face a future of 're-territorialization'? Are they still welcomed with open arms in the Chinese market?

For Australian-born students, it is possible that their transcultural background will get them an overseas job opportunity, say, in China, and consequently open up their transnational vision. It is equally possible that parents in these immigrant families, who migrate for their children's education purposes, decide to return to China after their local-born children finish education. This is a story I am quite familiar with among the Chinese community in Melbourne. What will parents' China-returning mean to these Australian-born young adults? These possibilities also open up new research agendas around transnationality and self-making.

Apart from the capital approach to understanding a transnational orientation, other factors should also be taken into consideration. What will a lengthier stay in Australia do to their transcultural experiences? I want to put my theoretical frameworks under the pressure of time and to explore the connections of the length of time in transnational emplacement and the students' experiences of culture in various settings. The students may face a more comprehensive exposure to Australian culture and society due to their widened scope of life of adulthood. Will the changes of sites from school to university, and possibly to a workplace in Australia bring new cultural dynamics to these transcultural processes?

In particular, how much do value deciphering and ethical endorsement happen in these processes? I wish to know how an ethical reading of transcultural experiences change with time and sites. I am equally intrigued to know whether the ethical reading of Australian culture will bring a whole new set of ethical understanding of Australian society and a reinterpretation of Chinese society. Will these affect their transnational aspirations, too? Through a rich, qualitative, longitudinal study of these youths, I can further explore the links between ethics and the self/geography/cultural mooring nexus in relation to new dynamics of cross-cultural interactions and mediations, which can put these concepts under empirical pressure.

One of the things, I think, important to the potential study, concerns the implications of tracings over time for the conceptual work I have developed in my study. But, I am facing the pressure of not simply the changing of site from school to university, and to a work place, maybe in China, Australia or elsewhere. These scattered students will no longer be accessed through one site, as their education and career trajectories vary. This gives rise to a new research method attuned to a multi-sited study. To follow the students individually in the longitudinal study, multiple methods should be deployed. Interviewing via Skype, for example, is a suitable data collection method. This is a new area to explore for my future study to carry on.

This multi-sited, longitudinal research has potential to test most meaningfully my conceptual frameworks and key thinking extracted from my current study of Chinese background youth in Australia. It has the potential to generate more in-depth analyses around the mobilities/geography/self nexus to investigate ongoing projects of self-making in multiple settings through a longitudinal trajectory of portrayal. Overall, it will extend the exploration of connections between self-making, class, culture and ethics through tracings over time in multiple sites.

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It is the tenth year that I have been in Australia. My older boy, Lachlan, turns nine and, my younger one, Peter, now six, has started school this year. I have witnessed how the tides of student subculture at school implicate my boys: a craze for Beyblade, yoyo, Justin Bieber, One Direction, and various types of cards trading. Of course the list goes on and on. This did not attract my attention until the other day Lachlan asked me, while I was listening to my old favorite Chinese CD in the car, "Why does the singer scream"? "This guy is singing!" I insisted, for the first time feeling the huge cultural gap between an immigrant mother and her local-born child.

A few days ago, our family gathered in front of TV for Australian Football final. My two kids were busy having potato chips and lemonade, while lamenting that their favorite teams did not make to the

final. When a singer started singing the Australian national anthem—a routine to start the game, my boisterous boys suddenly became quiet, then singing along solemnly. The look on Peter's face reminded me of his out of place perplexity and bewilderment, as a prep student, at his first school assembly that held weekly, when teachers and students started singing the Australian national anthem. Here I see another research project in the making, with regards to culture, schooling and belonging. Being a member of the Chinese mothers who travel with their children for education — those who migrate, those who return to their country of origin, those who stay home when their children travel, and those who are constantly on the move as their families relocate, I, from the perspective of an immigrant mother and educational researcher, again, want to start with my own experiences but with an ambition to look beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Explanatory Statement—students and parents
Explanatory Statement—students and parents (in Chinese)
Explanatory Statement –staff Participants and Principal
Consent Form – students (18 years old or over)
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Appendix II
Interview questions for Chinese international students
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Appendix III
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Appendix V
Interview questions for parents of Chinese-Australian students
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Appendix VI
Interview questions for parents of Chinese international students
Interview questions for parents of Chinese international students (in Chinese)

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Appendix I

Explanatory Statement—students and parents

Title: Getting beyond the stereotypes of Chinese background students in an Australian high-status school: questions of identities and globalization[19]

This information sheet is for you to keep.

Dear parent/Guardian,

Your child's school—XX is taking part in a research project titled above. It is investigating the link between family cultural background, high-status school education and Chinese background students' self planning and cultural ways. It also intends to gain information on parents' expectations for elite school education. This project is part of the doctoral candidature for Ms Yujia Wang, under the supervision by Professor Jane Kenway in the Faculty of Education, Monash University. It will be aimed for a doctoral thesis of 80,000 words.

Chinese international students and Australian citizens and permanent residents born into a Chinese background family, aged 15 to 19 years old, who are currently studying in Mentone Grammar are invited to take part in this research. Chinese background student' participation involves taking part in an individual interview with the researcher (Ms Yujia Wang). The topics of interview are students' future planning, vocational choice and their everyday cultural practices. Estimated time commitment for the interview is 20-30 minutes. The interview is audio taped, and to be taken in the school, at a time that suits both the student and the researcher. In addition, participating students are required to write a 1- A4-size page (maximum) comment on their interview transcripts, which will take 10 minutes.

Besides, parents are warmly invited to participate in this project. Overall, a parent will be interviewed individually by the researcher (Ms Yujia Wang) for 15-20 minutes, with topics covering their views and expectations for their child's education and descriptions of the family's cultural ways. This interview is to be audio taped, and will be done in the school at a time that suits both parents and the researcher. Parents can speak either Chinese or English in the interview.

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[19] This proposed thesis title was later changed to *Making and Remaking the Youthful Chinese Self in an Australian School: the Complex logics of culture, class and ethics*.

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To maintain confidentiality, names of participating school, students and parents will be changed in the interview transcripts and students' written comments. All information will be kept on university premises in a locked filing cabinet for 5 years according to the university regulations. The data will only be used for the purpose of this project. A summary of the findings will be made available to your child's school. No findings that could identify any individual participant will be disclosed in reports or to any other party. Consenting for you and your child to participate will be greatly appreciated, but please be advised that taking part is completely voluntary. You and your child can avoid answering questions that are felt too personal in the interview. Should you wish to withdraw at any stage, you are free to do so.

Please find enclosed two consent forms and the contact information sheet. Please note that there are separate consent forms for student and parent participants. Please return all signed consent forms and completed contact information sheet in the reply paid envelope addressed to the researcher. If you would like further information please do not hesitate to contact the researcher Ms Yujia Wang [redacted].

If you have any queries about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator Professor Jane Kenway, who is based in Room 219, Building 6, Faculty of Education, Monash University or [redacted]

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research project, please contact the Executive Office, Human Research Ethics, Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) [redacted] regarding my research project, its serial number is CF10/1073 – 2010000565.

Kindest regards,

Yujia Wang

Faculty of Education, Monash University

MONASH University

项目解释说明书— 致学生以及家长

项目题目：深入到刻板印象的背后—看全球化下就读于澳洲精英学校的中国背景学生

此页请由您惠存。

各位家长/监护人:
您孩子就读的XX学校参加如上题目的一项研究项目，即调查研究家庭文化背景，精英学校教育,以及中国背景中学生的个人计划与文化行为之间的联系。此外，本研究也希望获得家长们对精英教育的理解与期待方面的信息。此研究项目是就读于莫纳什大学教育系王羽佳女士的博士研究内容的一部分。这个项目旨在为八万字的博士论文提供数据。这项研究由她的导师珍.肯威教授(Professor Jane Kenway)指导。

此项目邀请年龄在15至19周岁之间，就读于XX的中国背景学生参与。这些学生包括来自中国的留学生，也包括出生在中国背景家庭的澳洲公民和拥有永居权的学生。参与的学生需要与研究人员王羽佳女士进行个别面谈。面谈的内容主要涉及到学生的未来规划，职业选择，以及他们在日常生活中的文化行为。该面谈大约持续20到30分钟，会选择在学生方便的时间在其就读的学校进行，其内容会被录音。此外, 参与学生还需要就其面谈的文稿写一份书面评论 (不超过A4纸一页)，这大约需要10分钟。

另外，此项目还诚挚邀请家长们的参与。参与的家长需要与研究人员王羽佳女士进行大约15到20分钟的面谈，内容主要围绕家长们对孩子的教育方面的看法，对孩子的未来期望以及对家庭的文化氛围的描述。面谈会选在家长们方便的时间，在您孩子就读的学校进行。研究人员将录音面谈的内容。访谈可以用中文或英文进行。

为了保密，研究者将书面访谈录音以及学生们的书面访谈评论进行匿名处理。按照大学的研究数据管理规定，所有的访谈信息会存放在上锁的文件柜内保存5 年，之后销毁。此数据只能用于研究使用。研究的结果会以摘要形式反馈给学校。任何可能导致参与学校，参与学生或家长被认出的研究结果不会以报告形式发表，也不会透露给任何一方。研究人员非常感激您孩子与您的参与。不

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过，在此告知参加这一项目完全是自愿性的。您和您的孩子可以在任何阶段退出，或在访谈期间拒绝回答您们认为不方便回答的问题。这不会对您和您的孩子产生任何不利影响。

随函附寄了同意书和联系方式表。请注意同意书是两份，为您和您的孩子分别准备的。如您同意让您的孩子参加这项研究，请在学生参与者同意书上签字。如果您也愿意参加，请在家长参与书上签名。请将已经签字的同意书与填写好的联系方式表放在随函附寄的信封中直接返还给研究人员。预知进一步详情，尽请联系研究人员王羽佳女士。电话号码99052988，或电子邮件yujia.wang@monash.edu。

如果您对本项目有疑问，敬请联系本项目主要研究员珍. 肯威教授。她的办公地点位于6号楼， 莫纳什大学教育系，219号房间 (Room 219, Building 6, Faculty of Education, Monash University）。您也可以拨打她的办公室电话99052071，或发电子邮件Jane.Kenway@monash.edu.

如果您对这项研究项目的处理有所担心忧虑，敬请联系莫纳什大学人文研究道德委员会行政处(Executive Office, Human Research Ethics, Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee)。 电话号码：（9905 2050），传真（9905 3831）或者发电子邮件 muhrec@adm.monash.edu.au。此项研究的序列号为：CF10/1073-2010000565。

谨致以最诚挚的问候，

莫纳什大学教育系
王羽佳女士

MONASH University

Explanatory Statement –staff Participants and Principal

Title: Getting beyond the stereotypes of Chinese background students in an Australian high-status school: questions of identities and globalization

This information sheet is for you to keep.

My name is Yujia Wang, a PhD student in the Faculty of Education, Monash University. As part of my doctoral studies, I am conducting the research project titled above, which is supervised by Professor Jane Kenway in the Faculty of Education, Monash University. This research project will be aimed for a doctoral thesis of 80,000 words.

In recent years, increasing number of Chinese background students choose to study in Australian high-status secondary schools, which are often seen as the gold standard for school education.

In my study, I am to investigate the link between family cultural background, school education and Chinese background students' self planning and cultural ways. It also intends to gain information on teachers' perspectives on education issues.

Staff members of XX School are warmly invited to participate in this research project.

Taking part in this project means that you will be interviewed once for15 minutes, which is audio taped. The interview will be done in your school, at a time that suits both you and the researcher. Interview topics are about the school ethos and policies under the influence of globalization, and personal ideas of what the school's role is in shaping Chinese background students' identities.

Being in this study is completely voluntary. You can avoid answering questions which you feel are personal or intrusive in the interview. You may withdraw at any stage. There is no consequence for you if you do so. There are no foreseeable risks of harm or side effects to the potential research participants. All possible effort will be made to maintain anonymity of participants. A pseudonym (false name) will be used for all participants and the educational institution involved when I transcribe the research data. No findings which could identify any individual participant will be published in a thesis, journal article or conference paper.

Storage of the data collected will adhere to the University regulations and kept on

MONASH University

University premises in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for 5 years. The data will

only be used for the purpose of this project.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please feel free to contact me on [redacted] The findings are accessible for 5 years.

If you have any queries about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator Professor Jane Kenway, who is based in Room 219, Building 6, Faculty of Education, Monash University or [redacted]

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research project, please contact the Executive Office, Human Research Ethics, Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) [redacted] regarding my research project, its serial number is CF10/1073 – 2010000565.

Kindest regards,

Yujia Wang

Faculty of Education
Monash University

Consent Form – students (18 years old or over)

Title: Getting beyond the stereotypes of Chinese background students in an Australian high-status school: questions of identities and globalization

NOTE: *This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records*

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to allow the interviews to be audio taped	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to write three two-A4-page personal journals	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to make myself available for further interview if required	☐**Yes**	☐**No**

And
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

And
I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics

And
I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of ay individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

And
I understand that data from the interview/transcript/audio-tape/personal journal will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5-year period unless I consent to it being used in future research

Participant's name
Signature

Date

同意书—学生（年满18周岁或以上者适用）

项目题目：深入到刻板印象的背后 — 看全球化下就读于澳洲精英学校的中国背景学生

注意：此同意书将由莫纳什大学项目研究者进行保存

我同意参与上述莫纳什大学的研究项目。我已经了解此研究项目的目的与内容。我已经阅读并保存此研究项目的解释与说明条款。

我得知参加此研究项目意味着：

我同意接受研究者的采访	☐ **同意**	☐ **不同意**
我同意采访被录音	☐ **同意**	☐ **不同意**
我同意写1页A4纸采访内容的评论	☐ **同意**	☐ **不同意**
我同意如有需要可再次接受采访	☐ **同意**	☐ **不同意**

我知道我是自愿参加此项目，我可以全部的或部分的参加此项目，我也可以在研究的任何阶段退出，这些对我不会产生任何不利后果。

我知道研究者用于报告和发表的学术刊物所抽取的数据，在任何情况下不得包括我的名字或者是导致我的参与被认出的任何信息。

我知道我在此研究项目中提供的数据是个人的，应当被保密的，任何能导致受访者的参与被认出来的内容不得以项目研究报告形式对外透露，也不得透露给第三方。

我清楚我与研究者访谈的录音与誊写稿将安全的存放在大学里，只有研究者才能够使用这些数据。除非我同意这些数据用于五年以后的研究，否则这些数据在五年后会被销毁。

参与学生的姓名
参与学生的签名

日期

Consent Form – students (under 18 years old)

Title: Getting beyond the stereotypes of Chinese background students in an Australian high-status school: questions of identities and globalization

NOTE: *This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records*

I agree that my child may take part in the above Monash University research project. The project has been explained to my child and to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I will keep for my records.

I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to allow my child to:

Be interviewed by the researcher	☐Yes	☐No
Have the interview audio taped	☐Yes	☐No
Write a 1-A4-page comment on interview transcripts	☐Yes	☐No
Be available for further interview if required	☐Yes	☐No

And
I understand that my child's participation is voluntary, that he/she can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

And
I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview/transcript/audio-tape/writing for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics

And
I understand that any information my child provides is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

And
I understand that data from the interview/transcript/audio-tape/written comment will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the researcher. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research

Participant's name
Parent's / Guardian's Name
Parent's / Guardian's Signature

Date

同意书—学生参与者（未满18岁者适用）

项目题目：深入到刻板印象的背后—看全球化下就读于澳洲精英学校的中国背景学生

注意: 此同意书将由莫纳什大学项目研究者进行保存

我同意让我的孩子参与上述研究项目。我与我的孩子已经了解此研究项目的目的与内容。我已经阅读并保存此研究项目的解释与说明条款。

我们知道，同意我的孩子参加此研究项目意味着:

我同意研究者采访我的孩子	☐同意	☐不同意
我同意采访被录音	☐同意	☐不同意
我同意我的孩子写1页A4纸采访内容的评论	☐同意	☐不同意
我同意如有需要我的孩子可再次接受采访	☐同意	☐不同意

我们知道我的孩子是自愿参加本项目。我的孩子可以全部的或部分的参加此项目,也可以在研究的任何阶段退出，这对我的孩子不会产生任何不利后果。

我们知道研究者的报告或者任何发表的研究结果中，都不能透露出我孩子的名字或者是任何有可能导致我的孩子被认出来的信息。

我们知道我的孩子在此研究项目中提供的数据是个人的，应当被保密的，任何能导致受访者的身份暴露的信息不能以研究报告的形式对外透露，也不得透露给第三方。

我们得知所有关于我孩子的数据，包括访谈的录音, 誊写稿以及书面访谈评, 将安全的存放在大学里，只有研究者才能够使用这些数据。除非我同意这些数据用于五年以后的研究，否则这些数据在五年后会被销毁。

学生参与者的姓名
家长／监护人姓名
家长／监护人签名

日期

Consent Form –school staff and Principal

Title: Getting behind the stereotypes of Chinese background students in an Australian high-status school: questions of identities and globalization

NOTE: *This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.*

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I will keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required	☐**Yes**	☐**No**

And
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

And
I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics

And
I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

And
I understand that data from the interview/transcript/audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the researcher. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5-year period unless I consent to it being used in future research

Participant's name
Signature
Date

Consent Form –parents

Title: Getting behind the stereotypes of Chinese background students in an Australian high-status school: questions of identities and globalization

NOTE: *This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.*

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I will keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped	☐**Yes**	☐**No**
I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required	☐**Yes**	☐**No**

And
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

And
I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics

And
I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

And
I understand that data from the interview/transcript/audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the researcher. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5-year period unless I consent to it being used in future research

Participant's name
Signature
Date

同意书—学生家长

项目题目：深入到刻板印象的背后—看全球化下就读于澳洲私校的中国背景学生

注意：此同意书将由Monash University 项目研究者进行保存

我同意参与上述研究项目。我已经了解此研究项目的目的与内容。我已经阅读并保存此研究项目的解释与说明条款。

我清楚参加此研究项目意味着：

我同意接受研究者的采访	☐**同意**	☐**不同意**
我同意采访被录音	☐**同意**	☐**不同意**
我同意如有需要可再次接受采访	☐**同意**	☐**不同意**

我清楚我是自愿参加此项目，我可以全部的或部分的参加此项目，我可以在任何研究阶段退出，这些对我不产生任何后果。

我清楚我在此研究项目中的提供的数据在报告和发表的学术刊物中，在任何情况下不得透露出我的名字。

我清楚我在此研究项目中提供的数据是个人的，应当被保密的，任何能导致受访者的参与被认出来的项目研究报告内容都不得透露给第三方。

我清楚我与研究者访谈的录音与誊写稿将安全的存放在大学里，只有研究者才能够使用这些数据。除非我同意这些数据用于五年以后的研究，否则这些数据在五年后会被销毁。

参与家长的姓名

参与家长的签名

日期

Appendix II

Interview questions for Chinese international students

About family background

1. Which part of China do you come from? How long have you been in Australia? Who do you live with in Melbourne?
2. What do your parents do for a living? What is their educational background?

Life inside school

3. What do you like about this school? What do your parents like about this school? Why do you (or/and your parents) choose a high-status school in Australia?
4. What school activities are you involved?
5. How are your parents involved in your schoolwork and school activities?
6. Can you talk about your friends at this school? What do local students' think about Chinese international students? Why do you think the school is taking in international students?
7. Generally speaking, what is the typical way of being a boy/girl student at this school in terms of their attitudes to schoolwork and leisure activity engagement? How different are students in this school compared to your schoolmates back in China?

Life beyond school

8. What do you like to do in your leisure time? (Internet, media consumption, sports and shopping…)
9. What sorts of media are you engaged with? In terms of the media engagement you've just mentioned, can you give me an example of the typical way of being a boy/girl? Compared to being a Chinese boy/girl?
10. Talking about consuming popular music, movies, sports, food and fashions, which country do you think has the most appeal to you? Why?
11. How do you define yourself in cultural terms, given the range of cultural resources you are engaged with—food, fashion, media, and festivals? How Chinese are you?
12. Can you give me an example of a disagreement between you and your parents?

与中国留学生进行的访谈问题

家庭背景

1. 你从中国哪里来？来澳洲多久了？住在哪里？
2. 你父母是做什么的？他们的教育程度？

校园生活

3. 你对这所学校满意吗？你的父母对这个学校看法如何？ 为什么选择了这所（私立）学校？
4. 你参加了学校的什么活动？
5. 你的父母管不管你的学习？管不管你参加什么学校的活动？
6. 你能说说你在这个学校的朋友吗？本地学生对中国留学生是什么看法？你对学校招收国际学生的事情怎么看的？
7. 总体来说，你觉得男生和女生在对待学业和娱乐活动的态度是什么样的？这个学校的学生跟你们在中国的同学比起来，有什么不一样的地方？

课余生活

8. 放学以后都喜欢做什么？(上网，看电视，电影，听音乐，运动...)
9. 谈谈你感兴趣的电视／电影／网络游戏／音乐。 你觉得男生和女生在这方面有什么不同？你能对比一下中国男女生在这方面的喜好吗？
10. 说起音乐,电影,体育运动，食品，时尚，你觉得中国还是澳洲更对你的口味？
11. 考虑道你的一系列文化消费，你怎么定义你的文化？从文化上讲，你有多中国？
12. 你能给我举一个与父母意见不同的例子吗？

Focus group discussion for Chinese international students

Prompt:
There has been very little research to date on the experiences of Chinese international students and their teachers in Australian schools" says Dr Arkoudis in her article *Chinese secondary students in Australian schools need more language support.*

"With the soaring number of the Chinese students in these two countries in recent years, especially the increase of younger ones, the unhealthy tendency among groups of international students became more and more outrageous. Many students are lacking ability for self-control and unable to take care of themselves and study alone. Some students are squandering money without restraint, and even blindly pit themselves against one another to show off their richness. Some simply do not study hard and underachieve while some other students study and live among the Chinese and can't get accustomed with local culture and environment, and now it is still difficult for them to follow the lessons in classrooms.

What is more troublesome is that these quick-tempered young ones are still in their "reckless period", whose characters are in the shaping. They will easily get hot-headed and be led astray because of the unhealthy influences".

(Media Release, Wednesday 21 September 2005, accessed on 18 April 2010, http://uninews.unimelb.edu.au/view.php?articleID=2792)

Central topics:

1. What do you think about this quotation about Chinese international students?
2. Does it fit you regarding your experience in Australia?
3. What are this school's policies towards international students and especially Chinese international students?
4. What school activities are you involved? Why?
5. What do you think a 'good student' is like in this school?
6. Who do you hang out with between classes and after school? Why?

中国中学留学生小组访谈

引子:

迄今为止，在澳洲针对中国中学留学生的研究太少了。这是Arkoudis博士在她的文章《中国中学留学生在澳洲学要更多的语言帮助》中提到的。

下面一段摘自Arkoudis博士在墨尔本大学网站上的呼吁:

“随着近年来越来越多的中国留学生来到新西兰和澳大利亚求学，尤其是年龄偏小的留学生数量增多，这些留学生身上的不良作派愈演愈厉。有些学生缺乏自控能力，在国外无法自己照顾自己， 也没有能力做到独立学习。有些学生挥霍钱财，还有的甚至盲目与其他中国留学生攀比炫富。有些学生根本不好好读书，成绩一落千丈。还有些学生无法适应当地文化，只跟中国其他留学生住在一起，在课堂上听课根本就听不懂英语，更跟不上教学内容。

更令人揪心的是，这些年龄尚小的留学生还处在性格形成阶段，他们容易头脑发热，做事不成熟。因此很容易就在这些不良影响下，走向歧途”。

讨论问题:

1. 对上面摘录内容，你们看法如何?
2. 上面对中国留学生的描述，你们觉得跟自己的经历相似吗?
3. 能谈一谈你们现在就读的学校对中国留学生的政策和态度吗?
4. 在学校里你们都参与什么活动?
5. 按照你们的理解，在这所学校里好学生是什么样的?
6. 在学校里，你们经常和谁在一起?

Appendix III

Interview questions for Chinese-Australian students

About family background

1. How long have your family been in Australia? Which part of China do your parents come from?
2. What do your parents do for a living? What is their educational background?

Life inside school

3. What do you like about this school? What do your parents like about this school? Why do you (or/and your parents) choose a high-status school?
4. What school activities are you involved?
5. How are your parents involved in your schoolwork and school activities?
6. What makes a popular student in this school? Among Chinese-Australian students?
7. Why do you think the school is taking in international students?

Life beyond school

8. What do you like to do in your leisure time? (Internet, media consumption, sports and shopping…)
9. What sorts of media are you engaged with in your leisure time? Talking about consuming popular music, movies, sports, food and fashions, which country do you think has the most appeal to you? Why?
10. How do you define yourself in cultural terms, given the range of cultural resources you are engaged with? How Australian are you? How Chinese are you?
11. Given the fact that you are from a Chinese immigrant family, how Chinese are your parents? How Chinese are you?
12. Can you give me an example of a disagreement between you and your parents?

Appendix IV

Interview questions for school staff

I will interview 7 staff altogether in this school: the Principal, the school marketing personnel, the student career adviser, the international student coordinator, the Year 11 welfare officer and 2 teachers.

General questions

1. How would you like to describe your school?
2. Does this school have different ethos for boys and girls, why?
3. How do you understand that this school takes in international students?

For the marketing personnel

1. How does this school's market strategy indicate or demonstrate the school ethos?
2. What market strategies have been employed to attract international students, especially Chinese international students?

For the Principal

1. What is the school's discourse of knowledge in high-status education?
2. What are the policies of internationalizing the school?
3. How do you understand the impact of this school's internationalizing polices on local students?
4. What is the school's discourse of desirable careers in knowledge driven employment market?
5. What do you think about educating students in the increasingly globalized world?

For the Year 11 Welfare Officer

1. What impressions do you have on Chinese international students?
2. Can you tell Chinese international students from Chinese-Australian students?
3. What do you recon the difficulties Chinese international students have at this school?
4. What do you recon the difficulties Chinese-Australian students come across at this school?

For the international student coordinator

1. What are the living arrangements of Chinese international students?
2. What impressions do you have on Chinese international students?
3. What do you recon the difficulties Chinese international students have at this school?
4. Can you tell Chinese international students from Chinese-Australian students?

For the student career advisor

1. In general terms, what do most students plan to do after finishing Year 12?

2. In general terms, what sort of jobs are sought after by the students of this school?
3. What do you think about Chinese international students' plans after graduation from here?
4. What do you think Chinese-Australian students' plans after graduation from here?
5. What knowledge do you think are sought after by the job market?

For teachers

1. What impressions do you have on Chinese international students in and out of classroom? Boys and girls respectively?
2. Can you tell Chinese international students from Chinese-Australian students?
3. How different are these Chinese-Australian students from other local students?
4. Can you talk about the Chinese background students' involvement in school sports and other activities?

Appendix V

Interview questions for parents of Chinese-Australian students

Self experience in Australia

1. Which part of China do you come from? How long have you been in Australia?
2. What do you do for a living? Is your Chinese background useful in your work? In what way is it an advantage or a disadvantage?
3. Can you talk about your life beyond work, in terms of your leisure activities, circle of friends, ties with Chinese community, ties with China, and travel?

Your child's education in Australia

4. What do you like about this school? (Compared to other schools in Melbourne)
5. What job do you want your child to do in the future? Why?
6. What does your child like about this school? How many hours does your child spend on his/her studies? Are you happy with that?
7. Are you involved in your child's schoolwork and school activities? How and why?

Understanding your child

8. Does your child go to Chinese language schools? Why or why not?
9. Can you give me an example of disagreement between you and your child?
10. If your child wants to go to his/her friend's party, are you happy to let him/her go? Have you got any concerns about your child in terms of youth issues as we frequent in the media such as binge drinking, knife culture, drugs, drink driving and so on in Australia?

与中国移民家长进行的访谈问题

谈谈您在澳大利亚的经历

1. 您从中国什么地方来？您来澳州多久了？移民原因是什么？
2. 您从事什么工作？ 中国背景对您的工作有影响吗？
3. 您平时有什么消遣活动？谈谈您的朋友圈。您和在澳洲的中国人来往的多吗？经常去中国吗？在那边还有什么联系吗？

谈谈孩子在澳洲的教育

4. 您对这所学校还满意吗？您为什么把孩子送到这所学校来？对比一下其他您了解的学校。
5. 您希望孩子将来从事什么工作？为什么？
6. 您觉得您的孩子对这个学校满意吗？
7. 您参与孩子的学习和课余活动吗？为什么？

谈谈您对孩子的了解

8. 您孩子上中文学校吗？为什么？
9. 能给我举个您与孩子意见不和的例子吗？
10. 您对孩子参加朋友聚会是什么态度？我们经常在媒体上看到或听到澳洲青少年的社会问题，诸如酗酒，嗑药什么的，您有什么方法让您的孩子远离这些危险吗？

Appendix VI

Interview questions for parents of Chinese international students

Self experience in Australia

1. Which part of China do you come from? How long have you been in Australia? How often do you go back to China?
2. What do you do for a living back in China and here in Australia?
3. Can you talk about your leisure activities in Australia and in China?

Your child's education in Australia

4. What do you like about this school? Why do you choose this high-status school for your child?
5. What job do you want your child to do in the future, and why?
6. What does your child like about this school? How many hours does your child spend on his/her studies? Are you happy with that?
7. Are you involved in your child's schoolwork and school activities? How and why?

Understanding your child

8. Can you talk about your child's leisure time activities in Australia and in China?
9. Can you give me an example of disagreement between you and your child?
10. If your child wants to go to his/her friend's party, are you happy to let him/her go? Have you got any concerns about your child in terms of youth issues as we frequent in the media such as binge drinking, knife culture, drugs, drink driving and so on in Australia?

与中国留学生家长进行的访谈问题

谈谈您在中国和澳大利亚的经历

1. 您从中国什么地方来？您来澳州多久了？
2. 您在中国从事什么工作？在澳洲从事什么工作？
3. 您平时有什么消遣活动？谈谈您在中国和澳洲的朋友圈子，休闲活动。

谈谈您孩子在澳洲的教育

4. 您对这所学校还满意吗？您为什么把孩子送到这所学校来？对比一下其他您了解的学校。
5. 您希望孩子将来从事什么工作？为什么？
6. 您觉得您的孩子对这个学校满意吗？
7. 您参与孩子的学习和课余活动吗？为什么？

谈谈您对孩子的了解

8. 您的孩子在中国和澳洲都有什么休闲活动？
9. 能给我举个您与孩子意见不和的例子吗？
10. 您对孩子参加朋友聚会是什么态度？我们经常在媒体上看到或听到澳洲青少年的社会问题，诸如酗酒，嗑药什么的，您有什么方法让您的孩子远离这些危险吗？