INSIDE, OUTSIDE, AND IN-BETWEEN: BELONGING AND IDENTITY NEGOTIATION FOR CHINESE AMERICAN ADOPTEES STUDYING ABROAD IN CHINA

by

GENEVIEVE HOPE ROESLER BEECHER

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of International Studies
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2012

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Genevieve Hope Roesler Beecher

Title: Inside, Outside, and In-between: Belonging and Identity Negotiation for Chinese American Adoptees Studying Abroad in China

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of International Studies by:

Dr. Kathie Carpenter	Chair
Dr. Jiannbin Lee Shiao	Member
Dr. Carl Falsgraf	Member

and

Kimberly Andrews Espy	Vice President for Research & Innovation/Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded June 2012

THESIS ABSTRACT

Genevieve Hope Roesler Beecher

Master of Arts

Department of International Studies

June 2012

Title: Inside, Outside, and In-between: Belonging and Identity Negotiation for Chinese American Adoptees Studying Abroad in China

Since 1992, most US transnational adoptions have occurred between White American parents and female babies born in China. Many of these adopted girls grow up in the US as a racial minority, but when visiting their birth country they become the racial majority. I collected both qualitative and quantitative data from Mandarin language learners during a summer language program in China to find the similarities and differences among six adopted and 11 non-adopted American adolescents. The data reveal that adoptees are initially perceived to be insiders for racially belonging in China, but cultural and linguistic differences place them as outsiders. Most adoptees fit in-between belonging and not belonging in Chinese society by attempting to "pass" as Chinese citizens in public spaces. Their accounts emphasize how race, nationality, and adoptive status contribute to larger themes for identity development and belonging in "third spaces" across globalized contexts.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Genevieve Hope Roesler Beecher

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Peking University, Beijing, China
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, International Studies, 2012, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Organizational Communications, 2000, University of Northern Iowa

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

International Education, Heritage, and Gender
Women and Gender Studies

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Advising Assistant, International Student and Scholar Services, University of Oregon, 2011-2012

Writing Tutor, Oregon International Internship Program, University of Oregon 2011-2012

Teaching Assistant and Undergraduate Advising Assistant, Department of International Studies, University of Oregon, 2009-2010

Administrative Program Assistant, Department of Educational Methodology, Policy, and Leadership, University of Oregon, 2007-2009

English Teacher, Luohu Foreign Language School, Center for Teaching and Learning in China, Shenzhen, China, 2006-2007

Office Specialist, Humanities Consortium, University of Oregon, 2004-2006

Academic Records Assistant, Office of the Registrar, Concordia University in Saint Paul, 2002-2004

Peer Advisor, Study Abroad Center, University of Northern Iowa, 1998-2001

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Office of International Affairs, 2011-2012

Center for the Study of Women in Society Graduate Student Research Grant, 2011

Slape Award, Department of International Studies, 2010

Summer Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship, Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, 2010

Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Department of International Studies, 2009-2010

Study Abroad Scholarship, UNI Study Abroad Center, 2001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Kathie Carpenter for her wise and nurturing assistance during my entire graduate career and for her patience with the preparation of this manuscript. I also thank Jiannbin Lee Shiao for helping me think outside the "toolbox" and for pushing me to aim higher. Special thanks are due to Carl Falsgraf, whose innovative ideas and collaborative spirit inspires and guides me throughout this research and beyond.

In addition, I would like to thank all the students and their parents who participated in this research and the two teachers who accompanied me on this journey in China. Your enthusiasm, hard work, and flexibility made this study possible. I also thank Amy Harter at the University of Oregon for fostering connections both local and nationally.

My gratitude goes out to the financial sponsors for their generous support made in part by the International Studies Department, the Center for the Study of Women in Society (CSWS), and the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies (CAPS) at the University of Oregon.

I owe many thanks to my family members and pseudo-family friends for their encouraging and emotional support and to my colleagues in the International Studies Department for sharing their experiences. Finally, none of this would have been possible without the love, encouragement, support, and stimulating conversations with my spouse, life partner, and forever friend, Mat Beecher.

DEDICATION

For my dear husband: You nurture me with your gentleness and uphold me with your strength. I look forward to our continuous journey of growing wise together as both teacher and student, house-spouse and tech-person, and hus-friend and soul-mate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since 1992, the majority of transnational and transracial adoptions in the United States (US) have occurred between White American parents and female babies born in China. *Transnational* adoption is defined as the legal adoption of a child by one or more adults of another country who become the legal parent(s). *Transracial* adoption is an adoption that occurs between the parent(s) and child(ren) whose racial and ethnic backgrounds are different. Chinese adoption is largely both transnational and transracial. As Chinese American adoptees are coming of age and opportunities arise for them to "go back" to their country of birth, the heritage-seeking experience is becoming more common for adoptees. The term *heritage-seeking* in study abroad refers to those who participate in programs in the country of their ancestral heritage with the purpose of learning about their ancestral background, ethnicity, culture, language, and/or nationality. Heritage-seeking students are also known as *heritage students*. In this globalized world, more and more students of color are choosing to study in a country reflecting their ancestral heritage (Doan, 2002). Often they expect that they will have a strong sense of belonging and will be accepted by their host culture; however, this is not necessarily the case. For example, many Asian American heritage students experience high levels of culture shock and have difficulty acculturating to Asian societies (Comp, 2008).

My interest in investigating this topic developed in a workshop for the course SOC 510 Asian American Experience. In May 2010 I interviewed my Chinese American friend about her heritage-seeking experiences in China. During one of the interview questions, I asked her about some of the differences she had seen between herself and the

locals. She responded that she thought her host family had been disappointed that she was not white. Her response influenced me to reflect on how my whiteness affected my own experiences in China. I had previously lived and worked in China as a foreign English teacher for almost one year. My teaching experience in China was one of the few times in my life where my race was not the majority in the dominant culture. When I shared my feelings of "sticking out" with my friend, she disclosed that her experience in China was one of the few times in her life she felt she could "blend in" with the dominant culture. We discussed our experiences with global stereotypes of American women as being promiscuous and wealthy. We noticed that our gendered experiences were similar due to our nationality; nonetheless, there were racial differences. For instance, I had often received verbal sexual harassment in public spaces, such as catcalls or whistles; whereas, she experienced both verbal and physical sexual harassment, though mostly in private spaces. Our different experiences in the same culture sparked my interest in learning more about how race shapes American study abroad students' experiences, particularly, in their ancestral homeland.

The workshop interviews reflected a variety of experiences for the Asian Americans who visited their ancestral home country. For example, students who did not stay with relatives felt their host families were disappointed because the host families had expected their host students to be white. The students' experiences indicate that the host families' racialized expectations reflect global stereotypes that all Americans are white with Western European heritage. One student recalled that her host family had thought she would be white with "blond hair and blue eyes." The preliminary data sparked my interest in investigating, through a Master's thesis, how host country nationals'

expectations of race, ethnicity, and nationality shape Chinese American adoptees' interactions in the country of their birth: China.

This study aims to understand rather than predict human behavior. More broadly, it investigates how race and nationality shape cultural belonging across transracial and transnational boundaries. Specifically, it focuses on Chinese American adoptees' perceptions and experiences and looks at behavior through my observations and through the voices of the adoptees. Chinese adoption practices formally began 20 years ago; thus, the timing of this study is important because few studies to date have included Chinese American adolescents' first-hand accounts since the first generation of adoptees is just now coming of age. In order to pursue this topic further, I address the following research questions:

1. How do Chinese American adoptees negotiate their racial and ethnic identities while studying abroad in the country of their birth?
2. How do Chinese American adoptees view their sense of belonging in response to expectations and interactions with members of the host culture?
3. How do Chinese American adoptees strategically "pass" as locals in China? What are their reasons for passing?

This study contributes to the growing body of research on identity formation and cultural belonging for transracial and transnational adoption (Tuan & Shiao, 2010; Kim E. , 2007b; Dorow, 2006; Volkman, 2003) as well as research on study abroad for Asian Americans (Doan, 2002; Bolton Tsantir, 2010; Le, 2008), which is discussed in detail in Chapter II Literature Review. These studies already delve deeply into the complexity and diversity of Asian Americans and study abroad; however, they are limited by gaps pertaining to the perspectives of heritage-seeking Chinese American adoptees. I address those gaps by intersecting race, nationality, and adoptive status as identity factors that

shape one's sense of belonging in public spaces. It is consistent with postmodern research showing that identities are dynamic and constantly changing, such as Pawan Dhingra's (2008) study involving identity formations among Asian Americans and Stuart Hall's (1996) account of identity formation as always undergoing constant transformation.

Identity formation and one's sense of belonging are the result of a complex interplay among a range of factors. Gwyn Kirk and Margo Okazawa-Rey (2010) argue that the single most visible signifier of identity is physical appearance:

> How we look to others affects their perceptions, judgments, and treatment of us. Questions such as "Where do you come from?" and questioning behaviors, such as feeling the texture of your hair or asking if you speak a particular language, are commonly used to interrogate people whose physical appearances especially, but also behaviors, do not match the characteristics designated as belonging to established categories (p. 94).

Physical appearance is not the only organizing factor that affects identity. Many other contributing elements, such as race, ethnicity, nationality, adoptive status, gender, class, sexuality, religion, politics, age, generation, and disability (to name a few) influence identity as well as our social location in society; however, in this research I focus on race, nationality, and adoptive status.

The difference between race and ethnicity often causes confusion across global contexts. Variations of race and ethnicity from one society to another shape how we see race and ethnicity (Lorber, 2010; Waters, 2010). Racial formation theory explores the development of race as a social construction. Race and ethnicity are dynamic and fluid across time and space; in addition, they are not unchanging concepts based only on physical criteria (Omi & Winant, 1986). For example, in the United States, Chinese Americans' race is Asian American and their ethnicity is Chinese; however, in China ethnicity is not based on national ancestry but on regional differences of language, culture,

traditions, and bloodline. In fact, multiple ethnic groups populate China to the extent that the Chinese national government recognizes 56 different ethnic groups living within its borders. Ethnicity depends on the ethnic group, such as Han, Bai, Yi, and Hui, and nationality is based on citizenship. Therefore, I refer to adoptees' Chinese ancestry as race and American upbringing as their nationality.

The rise of heritage-seeking experiences for Chinese American adoptees is a recent phenomenon. This study sets the groundwork for future studies regarding adoptees' perspectives in contemporary Chinese adoption while also contributing to studies on heritage-seeking experiences in international education. By introducing Chinese American adoptees' perspectives to these fields, this study assists heritage students, adoptive families, and study abroad professionals in planning for unexpected identity negotiations related to race, nationality and adoptive status. It also helps heritage students prepare for the feelings associated with blending in as insiders, sticking out as foreigners, and hovering in-between belonging and not belonging in public spaces.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I begin by first addressing themes that arise involving identity development for Asian American study abroad students, then expand the discussion to include Korean Adoption and Chinese Adoption, and finish with Korean and Chinese adoptee study abroad experiences. Since the literature about Chinese American adoptee heritage-seeking experiences is limited, it is important to review research involving Asian American heritage-seeking experiences as well as Korean adoption. By investigating similarities and differences within these areas, we can have a better understanding of both Chinese American adoption and heritage-seeking experiences.

Heritage-Seeking Experiences

As the number of American students who participate in study abroad programs is increasing, the heritage-seeking experience is also becoming more common for US students. Traditionally, the heritage-seeking discussion has focused on European American students (i.e. German-American students going to Germany), but conversations are changing to include students of color (Bolton Tsantir, 2010). The Institute for International Education's (IIE) *Open Doors* (2010) report reveals that whites are still the majority group to study abroad (80.5% in 2008/09 and 78.7% in 2009/10), but the percentages of minority groups are on the rise. Asian Americans (7.3 in 2008/09 and 7.9% in 2009/10) are the top leaders among minority groups studying abroad since 2001. According to the Chronicle of Education, the number of U.S. students studying in Asian has risen by nearly 200% over five years and that many of these students studying abroad in Asia are Asian American students (Fischer, 2010). For example, at New York

University, students of Asian descent make up half of those in their overseas China program. Moreover, China is ranked as fifth among the top leading study abroad destinations for US students in 2007-9. Of course, Asian Americans are not the only racial group studying abroad in Asia, but the diversity of Asian Americans as a complex group and the rise of their presence in study abroad are significant.

Many researchers acknowledge heritage-seeking experiences in their work about identity development for Asian Americans (Dhingra, 2007; Lowe, 2000; Doan, 2002; Le, 2008).[1] Pawan Dhingra (2007) recognizes heritage-seeking sojourn experiences "as a common type of identity work to *discover oneself*" (emphasis original, p. 76). Lisa Lowe (2000) highlights the many intersectional components of identity for Asian Americans both inside and outside of the US. She provides an analysis of the film *A Great Wall* by Peter Wang about heritage-seeking experiences. In the film, a Chinese American family, (the Fangs) leave the US to visit their relatives (the Chaos) in Beijing, China for the first time in almost 20 years. Although the two families are related by blood, the film focuses on the many contrasts between the two families and their national and cultural differences. Lowe uses the film as a tool to demonstrate the ongoing construction of "hybrid" cultural identities with the migratory process of moving between cultural and national sites. Thus, she warns us against casting essential assumptions across nationalities or cultures. Specifically, Chinese and Chinese American difference are highlighted because "cultural difference is always simultaneously bound up with gender, economics, age, and other distinctions" (p. 438). In other words, just because someone is Chinese American does not mean that they will culturally fit into Chinese culture and society in China.

[1] Content from Thuy Doan and Emily Le will be provided in the following pages.

In regards to general studies about Asian American study abroad students, many scholars focus on the ethnic variances for Asian American students abroad (Le, 2008; Bolton Tsantir, 2010; Doan, 2002). I will discuss each of these studies in further detail below, but first want to point out that these studies can be used to dispel notions of the model minority stereotype. The model minority stereotype includes notions that Asian Americans are the ”model minority” over other US minority groups because they are hard working, smart, and can assimilate easily into White American culture. These stereotypes are dangerous because they flatten individual differences and claim that all members of the group conform to these generalizations. By including Asian Americans in study abroad research, scholars can highlight similarities and differences among a number of factors such as race, ethnicity, class, and history. Emily Le (2008) points out that students from various Asian American ethnic groups are treated differently depending on the region they choose to study abroad. For example, Japanese or Korean American students feel they are treated negatively in China because of their ethnicity and historical conflicts among Japan, Korea, and China. Stacey Bolton Tsantir (2010) found six similar themes that emerged for students of color studying abroad in their heritage regions that were not much different than study abroad students in general. Thuy Doan’s (2002) study highlights the diversity among Asian Americans students attending the same university by analyzing their participation, perspectives, and experiences with study abroad. Although the model minority stereotype is present in US culture, these and other similar studies are useful to examine how stereotypes occur across cultures and borders.

Study abroad research about Asian Americans and students of color may not focus specifically on heritage-seeking experiences, but they provide insight about the

themes that arise for those students who study abroad in regions where their race or ethnicity become the majority. As mentioned in Chapter I, heritage students are students who study abroad for the purpose of learning more about their familial, ancestral, national, cultural, racial, or ethnic background; however the ambiguities and social constructions of these categories can be confusing for determining who is and who is not a heritage student. I argue that heritage students are those who see a part of their identity as being the same as the region in which they are studying abroad and who chose to go to that region because it reflects their heritage. For example, if a student identifies as a Korean American from Korea and chooses to study abroad in China because it is a part of her ancestral heritage, then I would consider her to be a heritage student.[2] However, if she identifies her Korean heritage to be from the state of Korea only, then I would consider her to not be a heritage student. We must be careful of making assumptions about race and ethnicity, since physical features do not necessarily indicate heritage.

Le, Bolton Tsantir, and Doan list similar themes as emerging for the Asian Americans participants in their studies. Asian American students who study in Asia think that members of the host country:

- expect them to be familiar with local customs, norms, and languages;
- have higher expectations for them than for their White American counterparts;
- and assume that they are not from the US.

Not only do participants notice how members of the host culture perceive them, but they also reflect about how they see themselves. They notice that they returned with a different sense of identity than what they had before their experience abroad. For example, Bolton Tsantir finds that "most students return to the United States feeling

[2] Korean is listed as one of the 56 ethnic groups residing within China's borders.

empowered and with a new sense of identity" (p. 1). This is only one of six themes that emerged for heritage students of color. The other five themes include aspects of identity and knowledge:

- A change in American identity
- Surprise that they blended in with the host culture
- Surprise that other aspects of identity (i.e. gender, class, or religion) affect how they are viewed by members of the host culture
- New knowledge about emigration reasons
- Culture shock

Their experiences support Stuart Hall's claim about identity as "a production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (cited in Wong & Xiao, 2010, p. 154).

Despite similarities, there are also many differences about how Asian American heritage students' identities change. Le and Bolton Tsantir find that participants feel more in touch with their identity, both with their "Asian side" and their "American side" after their study abroad experience; however, Doan (2002) and Rubin (2004) show that the outcomes of students' ethnic and national identities varied. For example, each Chinese American heritage student in Rubin's study returns to the US feeling differently than the others about their identity. Among the females, one female feels a greater sense of American identity, but the other feels a greater sense of Chinese identity. For the males, one feels a greater sense of both his ethnic and national identities, whereas the other feels more aware of his Chinese identity only. These various outcomes echo Lowe's earlier statement that we must be aware of the problems that arise when essentializing culture and confirm the complexities of heritage student study abroad expectations.

Inside-Outside

Those who pursue the heritage-seeking experience indicate that they sometimes feel like insiders, yet sometimes also feel like outsiders. They feel like insiders when they easily integrate into the host culture, blend in, are mistaken for a local, do not stand out as a foreigner, and are not targeted as tourists (Doan, 2002; Rubin, 2004; Bolton Tsantir, 2010). For example, a Japanese American is proud that he blended in with Japanese society and states, "They always talked to me; they always chose me first" (Bolton Tsantir, 2010 p. 2). Some studies find that Asian Americans thought that their race, ethnicity, or family background gave them an advantage over other students for blending in (Doan, 2002; Rubin, 2004). Compared to the white students, some students think the local people are more comfortable speaking or interacting with them or that they are charged lower prices. They could achieve insider status because their family cultural background prevented them from making culturally offensive mistakes. In addition, they thought they were seen as being more respectful than other study abroad students.

Being treated like an insider does not always have its benefits for study abroad students; sometimes it can also make them feel like outsiders. Negative aspects for blending in are that many Asian Americans feel invisible or less noticed compared to White Americans and, thus, feel less important (Doan 2002; Le, 2008). In various contexts across the globe, whiteness is associated with wealth and prosperity. In some contexts, white foreigners are more likely than the heritage students to receive invitations to events or dinners from host nationals than the heritage students. Some students feel like outsiders because of their American nationality. One student writes, "It was weird, I felt like a minority not because of my skin color but of being American (Bolton Tsantir,

2010 p. 1). Other feelings of outsideness are when a students feels parts of their identities are looked down upon. For example, an Korean adoptee notices that the locals are ashamed of her adoptive past or a Mexican American is perceived to be poor because her family emigrates to the US.

Asian Americans who are drawn to their ancestral host country are unique because they can be cast as perpetual foreigners in the US as well as abroad (Tuan, 1998; Takamori, 2010). Global stereotypes about American whiteness places them as foreigners not only in their home country, but also places them as "others" in their ancestral home country. Assumptions about how one may or may not fit in with the host nationals can affect heritage students' senses of belonging. For example, many heritage students may have expectations that will feel a sense of homecoming and acceptance or that the locals will behave as if they grew up there, yet this is not always case. In *The Accidental Asian*, Eric Liu (1998) conveys feelings of guilt that he felt like an outsider after his overseas experience in China. As a result of blending in but being culturally different, many Asian Americans return to the US disappointed because they felt like outsiders when rejected by their peers in their "homeland."

Language

Besides ethnic and cultural differences, language ability is also an important factor for heritage students' abilities to blend in their heritage communities (Rubin, 2004; Takamori, 2010; Wong & Xiao, 2010; Liu, 1998). On the one hand, heritage students who have high language ability can be readily accepted as insiders or pass as locals. In Rubin's study, she collects data from four Chinese American students who studied abroad in China. Rubin states that "language skills remained essential in their ability to

interact with Chinese citizens and blend in with the surrounding culture" (Rubin, 2004, p. 41). For example, one student was able to "pretend" that she was a local citizen when interacting with people in public because she had high language ability. She finds that language skills can be a tool for pretending, passing, and interacting with others as insiders.

On the other hand, heritage students who are culturally different can be cast as outsiders because of their language level. For example, many Korean Americans who grow up in the US and only speak English find that Koreans in Korea view them with some suspicion. These students feel that they have more in common with their white classmates than the host nationals (Neff, 2001). Rubin (2004) finds a correlation with language skills and the "othering" of Chinese culture. Students who struggle with their language skills see Chinese customs as "foreign," and do not try to engage as much in the culture as those who have high language skills. Ayako Takamori (2010) investigates how language and communication affects Japanese Americans living in Japan. She argues that speaking a heritage language does not mean that a person will fit in, but that by having an accent and speaking "strangely," s/he is set apart from the citizens in that country. "Heritage language education can paradoxically serve to heighten a heritage language speaker's sense of alienation and non-belonging from his or her *heritage*" (emphasis original, p. 219).

Takamori acknowledges that Japanese Americans living in Japan became more aware of how other people (both Japanese and foreigners) perceived them. As a result, many heritage-seeking Japanese Americans reconstruct their social and ethnic identities by strategically changing their communication patterns with people in Japan. For

example, one female participant deliberately changes her language levels for speaking Japanese depending on where she is and with whom she is speaking. When speaking with Japanese mothers, she speaks Japanese with a heavy accent mixed with some English; when ordering from café attendants, she speaks only English; and when talking with her family, she speaks fluent Japanese with no accent. When asked why she changed her language level, she says that people treat her better or worse depending on if they think she is a foreigner or local. Her accounts demonstrate examples about how language plays a major role for shaping heritage-seeking experiences.

These studies indicate that adoptee experiences are emerging but being marginalized in general studies about heritage students. Despite the differences and similarities among Asian Americans, many adoptees' accounts are either absent from general Asian American studies or lumped into the results about Asian American experiences overall. For example, Le does not indicate any adoptive differences among her analysis about Asian American study abroad students. Both Bolton Tsantir and Doan refer to Korean adoptee accounts in their studies, but neither provides a thorough investigation about how students' adoptive status affects their study abroad experiences.

Since most studies about adoptee heritage-seeking experiences revolves around Korean adoptees, this next section will provide a brief history of transnational adoption and highlight some of the similarities and differences for the emerging fields of Korean and Chinese adoption.

Transnational Adoption History

Transnational adoption, also known as intercountry adoption, had been a significant part of America's modern history since the end of WWII. After WWII, many

Americans became more aware of the thousands of abandoned and orphaned children in post-conflict countries. As a response to the aftermath of war, the first formal U.S. transnational adoptions occurred with Europe and Japan (Herman, 2012). Many US adoptive parents were eager to adopt these children not only because they thought it was a humanitarian efforts that helped save the children, but also a philanthropic effort that donated money towards post-conflict countries.

After the Korean War, Korea became the leading sending country for US transnational adoption. American political organizations supported the transnational adoption between US and Korea because they saw it as a form of compensation for the high number of illegitimate babies born from Korean mothers and American fathers who were soldiers in the war. Korean adoption increased in popularity when an evangelical couple from rural Oregon, Bertha and Harry Holt, adopted eight Korean War orphans (Tuan & Shiao, 2011). The Holt's media attention stirred public interest and rose awareness for transracial and transnational adoptions. Even after many of these biracial babies were adopted after the 1960s, Korea remained one of the top sending countries for transnational adoption towards the end of the century. The history of Korean adoption is relevant because it paved the way for Chinese adoption practices.

Although most transnational adoptions began as an aftermath of war, China has a different history as to why its orphanages swell with baby girls. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping set policies in place to control national birth rates as part of his market and political reforms to modernize China. He enacted the One Child Policy and regulated families to have only one or two children per family. This new policy conflicted with Chinese cultural values of Confucianism. Confucian traditions encouraged having lots of children

and practiced ancestral worship within the male bloodline that placed more value for sons over daughters. Boys were expected to grow up to carry the family lineage and to care for parents while girls were expected to marry into another family and leave the parents. Many parents kept their first daughter, but second or third daughters disappeared so that the parents could try again for a son to carry the family lineage (Johnson, 2004). As a result, many of China's baby daughters have disappeared by unaccounted numbers of abortions, infanticides, abandonments, and unofficial adoptions (Volkman, 2003; Johnson, 2004; Brandeis University, 2008). Although these practices generally took place in privacy and in secret, the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 caused global powers to cast their gaze on Chinese human rights, and the Western world became more aware of humanitarian issues surrounding the high number of abandoned baby girls (Kristof & WuDunn, 2010). As a result, China enacted its first China-US Adoption Law in 1992.

Since the early 1990's, China has consistently been one of the top sending countries of US transnational and transracial adoptions. Initially, China did not have many restrictions about who could adopt Chinese daughters. Heterosexual couples, queer couples, and single parents were among the first groups of parents to participate in transnational adoptions until policies changed. Currently, China only allows adoptions to take place with heterosexual married parents or single women who are over 30 year old (U.S. Department of State, 2011). Despite these policy changes, China still leads the adoption arena for US transnational adoptions. According to the US Department of State, in 2011 China accounted for 34% more adoptions than the number two country, Ethiopia and 77% more than the number four country, South Korea (Figure 1. 2011 Top Five Sending Countries).

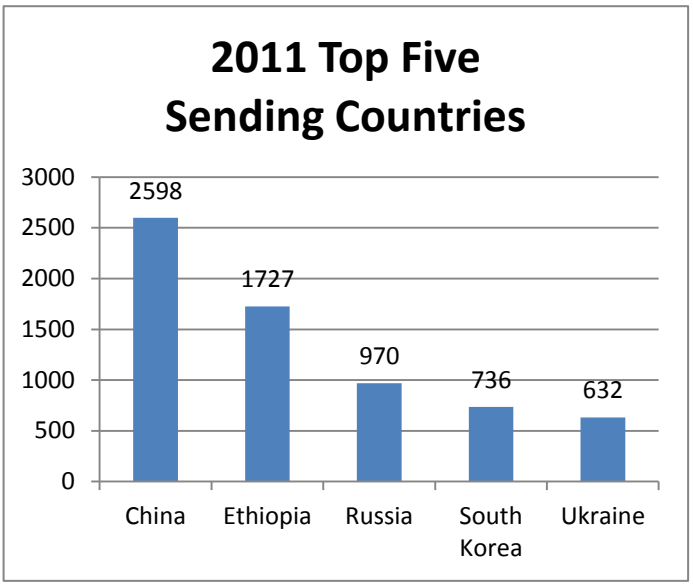

Figure 1. 2011 Top Five Sending Countries
Source: US Department of State
http://adoption.state.gov/content/pdf/fy2011_annual_report.pdf

Korean and Chinese Adoption Similarities

Besides being among the top five sending countries for transnational adoption, there are many other similarities among Chinese and Korean adoptions. Most Korean and Chinese American adoptees are raised by white parents in interracial families with white heteronormative cultural values. These values believe in notions of universalized belonging despite one's racial or ethnic background (Tuan & Shiao, 2011). Universalized belonging believes that our belonging needs are shaped and conditioned by early experiences within the family. The construction of family values is important to recognize because it shapes emotional bonds, cultural connections, language, and status in the wider community that contributes to identity and sense of belonging (Kirk & Okazawa-Rey, 2010; Dorow, 2006). Not only does family shape belonging, but society shapes it, too. Racial formations in the US place adoptees as Asian American racial

minorities in a racially stratified society dominated by whiteness (Omi & Winant, 1986). Therefore, both Korean and Chinese American adoptees are grouped as Asian Americans according to social construction of race in mainstream US society.

In general, Asian Americans are depicted as both insiders and outsiders in US mainstream society (Lowe, 2000). On the one hand, they are racialized as "others" and seen as outsiders who are exotic and dangerous and who lack a full sense of cultural citizenship based on racial and ethnic differences (Said, 1978; Tuan, 1998). On the other hand, they are insiders who are adaptable and flexible model minorities that have assimilated into US white culture. These contradictions are problematic because Asian Americans must regularly achieve and explain their cultural belonging in their local communities. Scholars have only recently started to investigate how the complexities of transnational and transracial adoption shape how Asian American adoptees fit and belong in our globalized contexts. For example, instead of constructing an either/or dichotomy for cultural belonging, Yngvession (2010) argues that these entrenched dichotomies of race and nation for Asian American adoptees burdens them with constructing an *in-between* identity in social contexts. Asian American adoptees share similarities based on the social construction of race both as members of society and as members of their families. Many similar factors for both groups, such as their racialized experiences, allow research to draw from both Korean and Chinese adoptees to increase understanding for identity development and cultural belonging.

Other similarities between Korean and Chinese adoption emerge from the debates surrounding transnational and transracial adoption practices. These debates highlight the multiple complexities of adoption that indicate racialized, gendered, cultural, national,

poverty and privileged components for adoption practices. Dorow's (2007) research in her book *Transnational Adoption* provides a thorough investigation of the challenges and opportunities for families who adopt children from China. Many issues that she highlights can also be found in Korean adoption practices. She argues that *impossible contradictions* shape adoptees' senses of identity and belonging. These impossible contradictions can neither be resolved nor disregarded, such as the contradictions involving why the child was adopted in first place. The first impossible contradiction is the relationship between *commodification and care* of children being bought and sold for profit or cared for based on humanitarian reasons. The second involves the demands of *dislocation and relocation* for children have a "clean break" from Chinese society, thereby losing their biological origins and gaining culturally chosen kinship. The third is the *fixed and flexible racialized imaginaries* referring to notions of being both insiders and outsiders for US racial formations mentioned above. These impossible contradictions involve larger debates about the transnational adoption practices for setting up children to be sold as commodities or rescued through humanitarian aid. (Andrew, 2007; Dorow, 2006). They also address issues regarding the formations of family kinship and senses of belonging across biological and racial differences (Miller-Loessi & Kilic, 2001; Volkman, 2003).

Despite their similarities, there are many components that mark major differences between Chinese and Korean adoptive practices, such as the gendered components of Chinese adoption, political and economic histories, and cultural socialization activities.

Korean and Chinese Adoption Differences

One major difference that shapes Korean and Chinese adoptions differently is gender. Whereas a more evenly distribution of males and females are adopted from Korea, almost all of the Chinese American adoptees are female. The US Department of State claims that between 1999 and 2010, 94% of children adopted from China are female. Moreover, approximately 1/3 of adoptive parents are single white females (Miller-Loessi & Kilic, 2001). The large-scale migration of female babies from China to the US and the rise of single motherhood for US women demonstrate the gendered components involved in contemporary Chinese adoption.

Political and economic histories have shaped Korean and Chinese adoptions differently. Before the civil rights movement and for the first few generations, Korean adoptees were typically raised with notions of assimilation or colorblindness. Parents and adoption agencies expected that children would not struggle with questions about race or ethnicity and would assimilate well to white society, yet researchers showed that this is not necessarily the case (Tuan & Shiao, 2011; Yngvesson, 2010; Kim E. , 2007b; Kim S.-Y. , 2003). The first generation of Chinese American adoptees grew up in the 1990s and during the rise of the third wave of feminism when assumptions about assimilation and multiculturalism changed. As a result, more adoptive biracial families recognized their racial differences and taught their children about Chinese culture. Policy factors have also influenced these parents to teach their children about Chinese culture. Whereas Korean adoptees were typically delivered to the US, parents who adopt from China were required to fly to China to pick up their children and spend 1-2 weeks in Chinese society (Volkman, 2003). This policy gave parents an opportunity to experience

Chinese culture first hand. They were also required to sign an affidavit at the time of adoption stating that they will teach their children about China (Dorow, 2006). Yet another factor that shaped Chinese American adoption was China's rise to power in the global realm. In the last decade, the US has received more imports from China than Korea (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), which has a greater cultural influence on US society. These ubiquitous imports gave parents more access to Chinese goods than other nations' imports and can be used for many cultural activities. All of these factors contributed to developing Chinese adoption differently than Korean adoption.

Chinese cultural socialization activities are becoming more and more common for Chinese American adoptees. The prevalence of these activities develops local, national, and international networks across the globe. Chinese children tend to have more opportunities for and frequency of engaging in their birth country's cultural activities than other transnational adoptees (Miller-Loessi & Kilic, 2001). Not only do political, economic, and historical factors influence the networking aspects of Chinese adoptive families, but greater access to online resources also connects these nonnormative families together. For example, one well-known organization, Families with Children from China (FCC), posts many activities for families on their website. These include (but are not limited to) subscriptions to newsletters, membership directories, family picnics and pot-luck suppers, celebrations of Chinese festivals and holidays, pre-adoption information meetings, playgroups, Chinese language and culture classes for children, parent speakers, and online blogs. Adoptive families' engagement with these and other types of cultural socialization activities causes scholars to investigate both the advantages and

disadvantages of parents' passion for cultural socialization as well as to discuss themes of longing, belonging, and kinship (Johnston, et. al. 2007; Volkman, 2003).

Some adoption agencies recommend that families should directly confront issues of loss and rejection, which the children often face when they begin to understand the social and gender politics that caused their families in China to abandon them. These feelings of longing imply some sadness for the lack of knowledge of the birth culture and fuels the cycle of cultural socialization. "Sometimes parents want to celebrate, even exoticize, their child's culture, without really dealing with race," said Ms. Brown, 52, who is white and who has adopted children from Korea and China (Clemetson, 2006). She goes on to say:

> It is one thing to dress children up in cute Chinese dresses, but the children need real contact with Asian-Americans, not just waiters in restaurants on Chinese New Year. And they need real validation about the racial issues they experience

Ms. Brown is not alone in her concerns about cultural socialization activities, and many questions arise about what are appropriate activities for Chinese American adoptees.

Toby Volkman calls cultural socialization activities "cultural bites" of Chinese culture and questions their authenticity with Chinese culture. For example, many Chinese heritage camps for Chinese adoptees modify a Chinese folk story to connect adoptees to each other and/or their family members. The original tale describes a red thread that connects all Chinese people with their future spouse by fate. For adoptees, the story changes from connecting spouses to connecting adoptees with each other or with their family members. This connection is symbolized by using the same red string for tying a knot around each person's wrist, thus bonding them together. Volkman questions if such practices, like the red thread story, are authentic to Chinese culture since it is

originally about traditional arranged marriages that often results in the oppression of women. The Americanized version modifies it to a "feel good" story about parents and daughters. This newer version reflects notions of White American culture that "everything happens for the best," and she suggests that these cultural bites are exotifying Chinese culture and bring up issues of racism and discrimination in society to which parents, children and networks are still learning how to respond. She states:

> Performing Chinese culture surely does not erase racism; it may reshape difference in unintended ways, but many of these complexities and contradiction are now exposed, voiced, and debated, at times to such a degree that some parents wonder if this is not too much…It is too soon to know what the growing cohort of adopted Chinese children will eventually have to say about adoption, birth parents, culture, race and gender, China or the world" (Volkman, 2003, pp. 50-51).

Although it is "too soon" to tell how these cultural bites are impacting Chinese adoptees' identity development and cultural belonging, I argue that culture bites are a form of cultural syncretism that are authentic to the melting pot of American culture and Chinese American adoptive families. Like identity, culture is not fixed or static. Culture changes across time, space, and context, and the reality of the postmodern world is that there are no homogenous societies anymore. Chinese American adoptees are both Chinese and American, and their dual identities in both worlds allow them to see both cultures clearly making them bicultural citizens of the world. Dorow (2006) connects the contradictions that surround adoptive practices with cultural adjustment processes for Chinese immigrants. Many authors agree that cultural changes are being affected by the different formations of kinship, the hegemony of whiteness, and parents' involvement with Chinese cultural socialization activities for children (Dorow, 2006; Volkman, 2003; Miller-Loessi & Kilic, 2001). Various cultural socialization activities are indeed

influencing ways in which adoptees negotiate culture with identity, belonging, and kinship across space and time.

Return trips to China are becoming more and more common for Chinese American adoptees, and some adoptees are able to travel to China annually and at very young ages. Information about return journeys for Chinese American adoptees is limited; therefore, the next section focuses on Korean adoptees' heritage-seeking experiences. By highlighting the themes that emerge for Korean adoptees, my goal is to gain a better understanding of similarities and differences for Chinese American adoptees.

Korean Adoptees Abroad

Scholars have more recently turned their attention towards the many factors that shape Korean adoptees' identity negotiation including heritage-seeking experiences and return journeys. In this section I highlight themes that emerge for Korean adoptee heritage-seeking experiences.

In their book *Choosing Ethnicity, Negotiating Race*, Tuan and Shiao investigate how Korean adoptees negotiate their identities in relation to broader stereotypes and interactions with others. When Korean adoptees travel to Asia, most of them enjoyed blending in and felt welcomed by it, but they also encounter some form of cultural censure from the host nationals. On the one hand, blending in with the majority makes them indiscernible in a crowd. This can create a sense of belonging for being at "home" in Korea. On the other hand, some adoptees feel like they do not belong when they stick out linguistically. These two factors are not much different from non-adoptee experiences; however, what Korean adoptees experience differently than non-adoptees is the cultural censure that occurs when Koreans learned about their adoptive status and make negative

judgments about the adoptees' bloodline. This contradiction of belonging but not belonging causes them to reflect on their American nationality, ethnic identity, and adoptive status. As a result, most respondents enjoy the racial comfort of being in the majority for once but notice many of the cultural differences that set them apart from other Asians. Their commonalities with American culture strengthened their sense of belonging with American culture. Thus, adoptee heritage-seeking experiences are unique because the salience of their adoptive status was highlighted more than racial or ethnic visibility.

In *Adopted Territory*, Elena Kim (2010) writes about adult Korean adoptees' heritage-seeking experiences on short-term "motherland" tours hosted by the Korean government. Similar to Tuan and Shiao, her data show that many Korean adoptees express pleasure in finally looking like everyone else and blending into the majority, but that their initial senses of belonging are also followed by the realization that there are gaps in language and culture. These gaps create miscommunication when interacting with Korean nationals and emphasize feelings that they are foreigners in their birth country. They feel that the host nationals seem to have an inability to understand their position as an individual who is genetically Korean yet culturally Western. This lack of understanding for their dual identities causes much frustration because Korean adoptees are physically insiders but culturally outsiders.

These two studies provide insight for unfixing stable categories of identity or for defying either-or solutions of being Korean or American, birth child or adopted child, or abandoned or rescued. The adoptees in these studies racially blended in with the majority in the country of their birth, but express mixed feelings about culturally and ethnically

belonging. Despite looking like they belong, many feel like outsiders who do not belong. Their experiences abroad cause them to negotiate their senses of cultural belonging and identity development, which may fit more appropriately in both-and categories for belonging.

Higgins and Stoker's (2011) study is unique because they investigate how Korean adoptees experience social inclusion and senses of belonging in Korean society based on language. The framework analyzes narratives of identity construction within the notions of inside, outside, and in-between cultural belonging. As outsiders, many express frustration for high expectations from Koreans that they should have "innate" language ability or a deep desire to acculturate or speak fluently based on the adoptees' Korean heritage. They feel Koreans often had a lack of patience with them if their Korean was still developing as well as a lack of sympathy for their adoptive status. One Korean Adoptee compares herself to other foreigners and said:

> [I am] expected to really want to learn Korean. But other foreigners it's like a free pass – they never have to learn Korean and Korean people never care. Korean people don't expect foreigners to learn Korean at all (p. 404).

As a response to these expectations, some adoptees resist passing as Korean nationals and would rather use their adoptive status as a form of activism to make Korean nationals aware of the social welfare for adoption practices. As in-betweeners, they experienced belonging through their Korean heritage when called "overseas Koreans," practicing their language skills in public spaces, and developing relationships with other Koreans. Overall, Higgins and Stokes argue that Korean adoptees find that they belong in-between both their Korean and American identities through their participation in the third space of the Korean adoptee social networks in Korea.

Third Space

The idea of a third space is not a new idea and many critical theorists recognize the concept of fitting in-between communities. Homi Bhabha (1990) suggests the concept of third space in his discussions about hybrid identities and marginalized groups in postcolonial and subaltern studies. He states, "But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge" (p. 207). The concept of third space can be applied to racial, ethnic, cultural and/or national identities since these identities and borders are flexible. Benedict Anderson (1983) refers to nations as "imagined communities" comprised of members who create an exclusive sense of connection within man-made borders; however, culture does not neatly fit within these borders. Gloria Anzaldua (1987) also challenges how borders separate the *us* from *them* that marginalizes groups who fit in-between these borderlands. Gayatri Gopinath (2005) refers to these in-between spaces in queer theory as the third space of hetero- and homoerotic relations coexisting simultaneously in textual analysis. Thus, Higgins and Stoker are not alone in their argument that adoptees find spaces to fit in-between their adoptive culture and birth culture by creating a sense of a third space for belonging when living in countries of their birth. Barbara Yngvesson (2010) also supports the notion that when adoptees return to their birth country and meet birth parents, this creates a third space for transnational kinship and belonging.

In this study, I refer to the concept of third space to include those "in-between" spaces where adoptees hover both inside and outside of belonging in Chinese society. This concept expands notions of third space in subaltern theories and feminist theories to

refer to one's position in-between belonging as an insider and an outsider in Chinese public spaces. Insider status is the first space; outsider status is the second space; and in-betweener status is the third space for belonging. For example, passing is the ability of a person to be regarded as a member of a social group other than her own for the purpose of gaining social acceptance. When passing, there is always some part of one's identity that is lost or remains hidden from the majority. People who pass are positioned both as insiders and as outsiders because only a part of their identity is accepted whereas other parts are unaccepted. In other words, they are both partially insiders and partially outsiders in the same moment. These moments of "in-betweenness" are third spaces for both belonging and not belonging where the person floats as both an insider and an outsider.

The literature in this section shows that study abroad experiences are racialized and nationalized. Heritage-seeking adoptees may share the same skin color and other features with the citizens of their birth country, but they are often not accepted as readily as cultural citizens of their birth country. Race, ethnicity, and nationality are all important components of identity that contribute to society's expectations for shaping interactions and senses of belonging. Asian Americans are racialized and nationalized in international contexts differently than they are in the United States (Lowe, 2000). Because of these differences, discrimination occurs, expectations are not met, and the process of negotiating one's identity and cultural belonging during study abroad persists. Furthermore, adoptees' experiences are shaped by global presumptions that Americans are white even though the United States is made up of people from different races, ethnicities and cultures.

This study adds to the literature about adoption and international education because I aim to give Chinese American adoptees a voice by investigating their accounts when undergoing the heritage-seeking experiences during adolescence. Most Chinese adoption literature focuses on the parents, and in particular, white mothers (Johnston, et. al., 2007; Dorow, 2006; Volkman, 2003) and fathers, single parents, gay, lesbian, queer, and/or biracial accounts are also not clearly represented yet in this field. Thus, the findings below add to the field by focusing on account of the adoptees themselves, rather than on the parents.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology used for this study. It begins by describing the study abroad program, the participants, and my role in the program as well as my limitations as a researcher. Next, I describe the instrument design, data collection, and data analysis techniques. Finally, I end this section by highlighting three assumptions of what I set out to do, what I did, and what I learned from the process.

Yunnan Program

This research drew data from a diverse group of 17 students participating in a six-week Chinese language immersion work-study abroad program in Yunnan Province, China. For the purposes of this thesis, the study abroad program will be referred to as Yunnan Program. The Yunnan Program was designed to help high school students improve their Chinese language proficiency, increase their understanding and awareness of Chinese culture and society, and volunteer for a community service project with a non-governmental organization (NGO). It was sponsored by the US Department of State and is funded by the National Security Language Initiative for Youth (NSLI-Y). NSLI-Y funding provided merit-based scholarships to US high school students and recent graduates interested in learning less-commonly studied foreign languages overseas (US Department of State, 2011). Therefore, all living and travel expenses for the students and teachers on the Yunnan Program were paid for by the NSLI-Y grant.

The design of the Yunnan Program was based on the US Department of Defense Language Flagship initiative. The Language Flagship initiative prepared students with the linguistic and cultural skills to become global professionals in strategic languages,

such as Chinese, and used an assessment system that included standardized tests and portfolios (Falsgraf & Bourgerie, 2008). The Yunnan Program followed this model by integrating a "learn by doing" approach that combined classroom instruction with real life experiences through language and cultural immersion. It also used an assessment system by administering a standardized NSLI-Y language test before and after the China trip. In addition to the classroom and real life experiences, students were required to conduct research in the field and gather information for developing an independent capstone project. Student capstone projects were presented to parents and community members approximately three months after their return.

The six week Yunnan Program started and ended with activities in Beijing and Shanghai respectively, but students spent most of their time (approximately five weeks) in Yunnan Province. Once in Yunnan Province, students engaged in Chinese classes, NGO work, fieldwork, and real-life activities in and near the cities of Kunming, Dali, and Lijiang. As part of the cultural immersion process and real-life activities, they participated in two homestay experiences. During the homestay experience, students lived with Chinese host families while participating in daily Yunnan Program activities. Students resided with homestay families for a total of four weeks: two weeks with a family in the urban city of Kunming and two weeks with a family in a rural village near the Dali area named Weishan. When not residing with homestay families, they stayed in local hotels and hostels provided by the Yunnan Program.

Participants

The participants were American citizens enrolled in a Pacific Northwest public school district high school and had spent most of their lives on the US West Coast. I

received informed consent from 17 students and collected data about each of the students' race, ethnicity, gender, age, prior experience, and language ability (see Table 1). The students were 14-18 years old. Twelve of the 17 students were female, and five were male. Zero students identified as transgender. The racial and ethnic backgrounds of the students were mixed. Eleven students (both male and female) had at least one biological parent with Chinese heritage and identified as "Chinese." The remaining six students identified as "White."[3] Based on racial backgrounds and adoptive status, I grouped the students into four distinct categories, and only the first group is comprised of adoptees:

- Chinese American adoptee (CAA)
- Second Generation Chinese American non-adoptee (2GCA)
- Biracial ½ Chinese (2nd Generation) and ½ White American non-adoptee (Biracial)
- White American[4] non-adoptee (WA)

One requirement of the Yunnan program was that the participants had Mandarin language instruction before the program began. According to the NSLY-I Reading and Listening test administered before and after the program, their language abilities were at various levels from beginning to advanced (Table 1). Some students placed in more than one level depending on their reading or listening score. Despite their test results,

[3] One student described himself as having ¼ Chinese heritage but identified his race as "White." Therefore, I grouped him with the other White American students. For a description of White American, see below.

[4]At one point, it was suggested that I refer to the White Americans as European Americans; however, data collection revealed that European American does not accurately describe the heritage for these students. One student was ¼ Japanese, one student was ¼ Chinese, and one student was ½ Hispanic, yet they self-identified their race as "White." Therefore, I used the racial term White American because they all identified "White" as being the predominant racial description for themselves.

Table 1. Student Information

	Name	Group Code	Group Name	Gender	Age	Listening Level*	Reading Level*	Times Travelled **
Adoptees								
	Sarah	CAA	Chinese American Adoptee	female	16	intermediate	beg-intermed	1
	Ann	CAA	Chinese American Adoptee	female	18	beginning	beginning	2
	Elise	CAA	Chinese American Adoptee	female	16	intermediate	beg-intermed	4
	Gina	CAA	Chinese American Adoptee	female	15	advanced	intermediate	3
	Emily	CAA	Chinese American Adoptee	female	16	intermediate	beginning	3
	Trisha	CAA	Chinese American Adoptee	female	17	intermediate	beginning	2
Non-adoptees								
White Americans								
	Rachelle	WA	White American	female	16	advanced	intermediate	2
	Holly	WA	White American	female	14	intermediate	beginning	2
	Regan	WA	White American	female	17	intermediate	beginning	3
	Angie	WA	White American	female	15	intermed-adv	advanced	2
	Larry	WA	White American	male	16	intermed-adv	intermediate	3
	Craig	WA	White American	male	18	beg-intermed	beginning	1
Biracial								
	Jessica	Biracial	1/2 Chinese 1/2 White American	female	17	intermediate	beg-intermed	3
	Matt	Biracial	1/2 Chinese 1/2 White American	male	15	advanced	intermediate	5 (4 yr resident)
	Jon	Biracial	1/2 Chinese 1/2 White American	male	16	intermediate	beginning	2
	Erik	Biracial	1/2 Chinese 1/2 White American	male	18	intermed-adv	intermediate	5 (4 yr resident)
Chinese American								
	Sophie	2GCA	Second Generation Chinese American Non-adoptee (both parents are Chinese)	female	17	advanced	advanced	2

*Language levels are based on the NSLI-Y Reading and Listening test results

**Number of times travelled to China after age 2 and including this trip (i.e. Yunnan Program only = 1).

levels, all the students had studied Chinese for at least three years, but the majority of them had studied Chinese since kindergarten. In order to protect the participants' confidentiality, I used pseudonyms as a naming convention in combination with group code to reference the participants. Most of the students had been to China at least once before. Two of the biracial students had previously lived in China for approximately four years. All of the adoptees were born in China, moved to the US as a baby, and did not remember their time in China as a baby; therefore, I did not count travel below the age of two years old as one of the number of times traveled to China. This study focused mostly on Chinese American adoptees, but insights from the other students in the group were important for understanding similarities and differences among adoptees' and non-adoptees' experiences.

My Role

My role involved being a volunteer chaperon to assist the two American teachers with managing 20+ total students in the program. As a volunteer chaperon, I was responsible for my own personal living and travel expenses. I attended an orientation meeting two weeks before the trip in the US and a student capstone presentation three months after their return. During the Yunnan Program, I accompanied students during the entire program except for the first two days and last three days of the program. As a part of my responsibilities, I accompanied students to their NGO sites, assisted with developing language and cultural activities, offered emotional support, and provided safety for minors. My volunteer duties gave me the opportunity to build rapport with students, observe their experiences, and conduct one-on-one interviews with them.

My Limitations

My own cultural background, my experience within the Yunnan Program as a chaperon, and my Mandarin language level influenced how some of the data was interpreted. Many scholars have warned researchers about being aware of their internal biases, intersectional identities, and social location when conducting research and interpreting meanings (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Booth, Colomb, & Williams, 2008; Tanno, 2008; Lorde, 1984; Zinn & Dill, 1996). As a White American non-adoptee, I felt I needed to carefully frame my questions regarding race and family background. I feared offending students and ruining rapport. In my upbringing and in American society, race was a sensitive topic as people experience both positive and negative encounters with diverse groups. As a chaperon, I was an adult with overt power among the teenagers. Although I felt their answers were honest and reflective, I was aware that my position may have influenced students to feel that they needed to answer my questions regardless of whether it made them feel comfortable or uncomfortable. However, I felt I received accurate information. Since I have no influence on evaluating educational performance, there was no incentive for the students to falsify their responses. My Mandarin language level was a limitation because most students' Mandarin language levels were higher than mine. It was likely that I misinterpreted or did not understand dialogs between Chinese locals and the students when conducting participant observation in the field. Before the Yunnan Program, I have previously been to Yunnan Province once before and was familiar with some aspects of Chinese culture, but my background was predominantly from a White Western perspective on Chinese society. My interpretations offered insights related to the research, but at the same time might include some natural biases.

Data Collection & Instrument Design

This study was exploratory in nature and used a multi-method approach, combining elements of quantitative and qualitative research both designed either by the Yunnan Program or myself. I obtained Human Subjects approval from the University of Oregon and from the public school district hosting the Yunnan Program approximately one month before the program began. Data collection methods include a pre-departure survey, participant-observation methods, one-on-one semi-structured interviews, returnee survey, and access to the NSLI-Y Reading and Listing test scores report. The Yunnan Program designed the NSLY-I tests, and I designed the two surveys and interview questions.

The pre-departure survey and interview questions were designed approximately two months before the Yunnan Program began. The pre-departure survey was based on a study abroad survey I found online through the George Washington University's (GWU) Graduate School of Education and Human Development (2011). Questions were modified and added to fit with the context of this study. Overall, it was designed to access students' perceptions and expectations before studying abroad. In order for the survey to be versatile, efficient, and generalizable to collect data from the sample population, I designed the questions in accordance with Russell Schutt's (1998) five principles for question writing (Patton, 2010). After Human Subject's approval, the pre-departure survey was piloted on classmates and friends to test for clarity of questions, length control, and relevance of the research questions. Only seven pilot subjects completed the survey; therefore, I made few modifications prior to the start of the actual data collection. Paper-based pre-departure surveys were distributed to participants

approximately two weeks before the program start date. The majority of the interview questions were based on a combination of Mia Tuan's (1998) and Elizabeth Lostetter's (2010) interview questions. I altered the wording and added questions to focus on Chinese American students. For example, I included more questions about racialized experiences both in the US and in China, instead of just focusing on one country or the other. The questions inquiring about gender came directly from Lostetter's study. The interviews were audio recorded for accuracy, conducted during the fourth week abroad, and lasted approximately one hour. Most interviews occurred in one setting, but due to time constraints, two interviews were broken up into two parts and held different days within a week.

During the participant-observation stage, I attended day-to-day activities with the participants and took notes while in the field and at the end of the day. My field notes were helpful for me to confirm students' accounts of experiences; however, most of the qualitative data presented in Chapter IV was from the student interviews.

The NSLI-Y Reading and Listening tests were computer-based tests administered by Yunnan Program staff approximately two weeks before and one week after the program. I obtained this information through Human Subject's clearance and received a copy of the test results approximately two weeks after the students' return to the US.

The returnee survey was designed and collected after the students returned to the US. A few of the questions were the same as the pre-departure survey questions, but most of the questions were changed to fit with themes that emerged after I coded the interview data. For example, I added more questions about how they felt they fit in and belonged in Chinese society. Both surveys collected demographic data to access if any

identifying factors changed as a result of the study abroad experience. The online returnee survey was created with Qualtrics software and was emailed to students approximately five months after their return.

Data Analysis

By combining both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection, I was able to identify and cross analyze themes that emerged from the data. Audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed by using grounded theory. Grounded theory is a coding and analyzing method used to verify that the findings are grounded in the data by stopping and asking analytical questions of the data throughout the coding process (Charmaz, 2006). Data is coded in two phases: initial and focus coding. I first performed initial coding for a sample of the interview transcripts and then used focused coding for both the sample and the rest of the interview data. During the coding process, I wrote analytic memos and used the most applicable initial codes to test them against extensive data. Initially, I started coding the data in Atlas.TI software, but after some technical difficulties, I switched software and used a combination of MS Excel and Word.

After analyzing the interview transcripts and searching for emerging themes, I went back through the pre-departure survey results to confirm my findings. The 17 completed pre-departure surveys were first divided into two groups based on Chinese heritage and then divided into two subgroups: adoptees and non-adoptees. After careful consideration, I regrouped the pre-departure surveys according to the four categories listed above. Gender was also considered a component of the study, but since males were

significantly underrepresented in the Chinese heritage group (n=3), I did not separate the four categories by gender.

The returnee survey results were tabulated into three reports for review. The first report separated the results into the four categories based on race and adoptive status mentioned above (i.e. CAA, 2GCA, Biracial, and WA); the second report separated results by gender; and the third report was a composite of all groups. Unfortunately, I was only able to gather 12 returnee surveys out of the 17 total from the participants; however, all six of the adoptees completed the returnee survey.

Three Assumptions

Before data collection, I planned to explore how the intersectional identities of gender combined with race and ethnicity affected identity development for Chinese American heritage-seeking students. During data analysis I found that the intersectional components of nationality, adoptivity, and race were becoming more significant than gender. I use the term *adoptivity* to describe the adoptive status of a person in regards to their identity. By using grounded theory for coding and analyzing, I learned that my initial assumptions about the participants' gender, heritage, and prior travel experiences were not accurate. Therefore, I highlighted below why these three assumptions were not accurate.

I marked a few areas in which gender was significant in Chapter IV, but I found that gender was difficult to analyze in this study. By gender, I mean the social categories of gender performances that mark differences and similarities among female-identified and male-identified participants. By not having any Chinese American males whose birth mother and father were Chinese, and few male-identified students overall, the

instruments and strategies used for highlighting differences within gender were limited. Both males and females acknowledged that Chinese society placed males higher than females but struggled with providing specific examples of how this might have influenced their study abroad experience. I found that the teenagers were still exploring their gender performances as part of growing up in America; therefore, they were still learning how to "do gender" in China, too.[5] For example, when I asked students if they had different tips for females other than males, most said that their advice would remain the same. Through my participant-observation methods, I did not find any significant differences for males and females in public spaces.

My second assumption about family backgrounds was changed because I did not initially plan for biracial experiences. Although I was informed that most of the students had Chinese heritage, I quickly learned in the field that I needed to adapt my study to include the variances of what Chinese heritage means. As a result, I placed the participants within the four groups of students (i.e., CAA, 2GCA, Biracial, and WA). Although I separated these students into four groups, the results reflected the complexity within group dynamics and how there are similarities and differences within members of all groups, regardless of Chinese heritage. The complexity of intermingling factors (home culture, language skills, age, relationships with others) complicated the notion of a one-size-fits-all approach for interpreting student experiences.

Third, I assumed that I would measure how study abroad affected heritage students' ethnic identities to be more or less American or Chinese based on their first time traveling to China. After reviewing the pre-departure survey results, I quickly

[5] For a further discussion about gender performance and "doing" gender, see West & Zimmerman (1987) and Pyke & Johnson (2003).

learned that most students had previously travelled to China at least once before. Since all Chinese heritage students, except Sarah (CAA), could remember their previous trips to China, I adapted the study to include senses of belonging in public spaces.

If I had the opportunity to do this study again I would change the methodological approach to gather more qualitative data from both the participants as well as from the language teachers, host families, and Chinese locals. Interviews with the participants were mostly conducted in English, and I would have included more questions in Chinese to understand what type of language is being used when they describe their race, nationality, and adoptive status. This would have clarified some questions I had regarding locals' confusion surrounding adoptive status. I would have also performed interviews with the two American teachers and the seven Chinese language teachers in the field. Interviews with the teachers would have given me a better understanding of their experiences with adolescents studying abroad in China as well as their interpretation of the terminology being taught to students about race, nationality, and adoptive status. In addition, I would have tried to spend time with individual host families. For example, it was one teacher's job to check on the safety of the students by visiting each host family, and I could have accompanied her on visits to gain a better understanding of host family influences on student experiences and on their views about race, nationality, and adoptive status. Finally, I would have conducted informal interviews with Chinese locals in public spaces about perceptions on adoption. By interviewing people in public spaces, such as shop keepers and taxi drivers, I would have gained a better understanding about regional differences and similarities on adoption in both the rural and urban areas. These "would have" interviews were not conducted due to constraints with human subjects approval

and time factors allowed to fit such interviews into the program schedule on top of my chaperon duties.

After finding the themes that emerged from the data through grounded theory, I searched out additional sources about adoption after the data collection had already occurred. I read more literature about Chinese and Korean adoption and I noticed that the theme of belonging was emerging from the data. I would have liked to have explored in more detail how adoptive families acknowledge racial or adoptive differences. For example, it would be particularly insightful to use Tuan and Shiao's (2011) study as a model for measuring adoptees' sense of *shared fate*, a theory developed by H. David Kirk. The theory of shared fate investigated how adoptees and families cope with their racial and adoptive differences in society. This could add some depth as to the adoptees' senses of belonging or not belonging in China based on how their families dealt with racism or discrimination in the US. Although there were many ways in which this study could be improved, the data acquired for this study was adequate enough to focus on student accounts of their personal experiences of belonging in Chinese public spaces.

Use of Quantitative Data

Due to the small number of respondents in this case study, the quantitative data could not accurately be used to represent the general population. This was particularly true for the Second Generation Chinese American non-adoptee, Sophie, who was the only non-adoptee with two Chinese parents. The same caution should be applied to the other subgroups compromised of only six Chinese American adoptees, four biracial students, and six White Americans. Larger-scale studies were needed to confirm the preliminary conclusions made from such data. Since the quantitative data for this study was drawn

from a small sample, I found that the interviews allowed me to explore more in-depth connections between identity and senses of belonging. Therefore, the quantitative information was more useful as supplementary data that explored relevant issues for confirming or denying themes that arose with the qualitative data.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

Study abroad students have the ability to see both their home country and host country differently than people who are embedded in only one context. These students' sense of belonging in society shapes how they feel accepted or included as well as excluded, confused, or isolated in the world. Although all study abroad students experience different senses of belonging across contexts, this study focuses on how Chinese American adoptees position themselves inside, outside, and in-between belonging in Chinese society and culture. It highlights themes that emerged in relation to their interactions with Chinese locals in public spaces. The data suggest that adoptees felt like insiders in public when they were able to blend in as locals; however, their status as insiders changed when their language, behavior, or appearance did not meet general expectations for Chinese norms. Frequently adoptees hovered in-between both belonging and not belonging when they tried to pass as locals, when their identity was questioned, or when people were confused about their race, nationality, and adoptive status.

Insiders

Blending In

The data reflect that all six adoptees thought they blended in with the racial majority during their time abroad and after they returned to the US. On each of the two surveys, students were asked if they thought they would (or did) blend in with Chinese society *not at all, a little, a lot* or *totally*. Four adoptees answered this question differently before and after the Yunnan Program. According to the pre-departure survey,

five adoptees expected that they would blend in *a lot*. Only one student thought she would not blend in at all (Figure 2. Pre-departure Survey - Blending In). On the returnee survey, the adoptees indicated that they blended into Chinese society to some extent: *a little*, *a lot*, or *totally* (Figure 3).

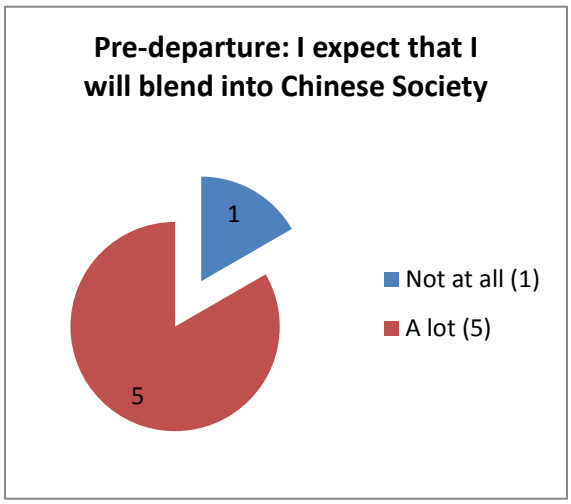

Figure 2. Pre-departure Survey - Blending In

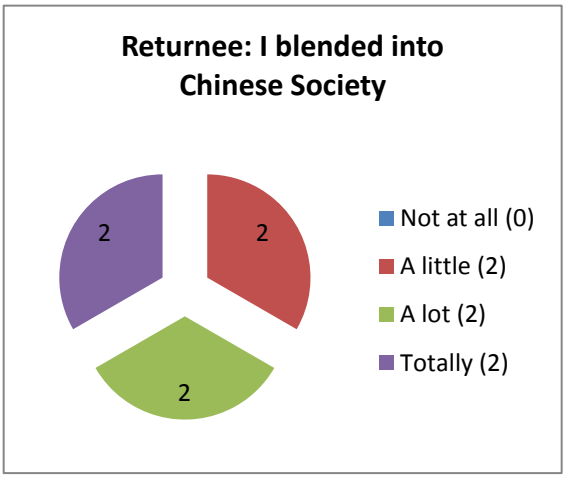

Figure 3. Returnee Survey - Blending In

The Chinese Americans adoptees' accounts during the interviews indicated that Chinese locals assumed they were Chinese nationals when they first met in public

spaces.[6] For example, Ann (CAA) explained how she thought people on the street saw her.

> Ann: They just think I've lived here my whole life or just moved here.

Most adoptees' felt that their race helped them generally blend in or fit in Chinese public spaces, which, in turn, made them feel like insiders for racial belonging in China. For example, Sarah (CAA) said:

> Sarah: I feel like in this culture if you're Asian you're a little bit more welcome, like acceptable.

When I asked if race or ethnicity was ever a handicap to fully participating in Chinese society, Emily (CAA) stated:

> Emily: I don't think I'm really treated differently because I look the same.

Besides being treated as a local or the same as other Chinese people, Sarah (CAA) explained how her racial identity influenced her experience with culture shock.

> Sarah: It's [Craig's] first time out of the country, too, and he was really homesick to the point of like he wanted to go home…but it wasn't like that for me at all…I think about home but it's not like I'm dying to go home, like maybe it's because I'm Asian so I'm okay with it but he's white so…it's his first time out of the country and it's my first time out of the country, but like he wasn't eating, he couldn't sleep, it was like for days. And that lasted I'd say for like 3 weeks and it just hasn't affected me yet.

She thought that her race might be one of the reasons why she was not homesick compared to Craig (WA) who was white. Sarah (CAA) and Craig (WA) were the only students on the trip who had not been to China at least once before. Ann (CAA) also

[6] The terms Chinese locals and Chinese nationals are not interchangeable. *Chinese locals* means Chinese people who live in the local region where the students visited in Yunnan Province. *Chinese nationals* means Chinese people who live within the national borders of China, but their residential region is unknown.

mentioned that her race influenced her to feel welcomed or accepted as an insider in China and stated:

> Ann: I feel like in this culture if you're Asian you're a little bit more welcome, like acceptable.

Most adoptees felt that their race and ethnicity helped them blend in or fit in public spaces in Chinese society which, in turn, made them feel like insiders for racial belonging in China. Similar to Tuan and Shiao's (2011) study about Korean adoptees, most of the adoptees had more of a connection with being Chinese because it was where they were born and how they looked rather than because it was where they culturally or ethnically belonged. For example, when I asked Elise (CAA) what she considered to be her cultural or ethnic heritage, she said, "Um, American, I think," and explained what that meant to her:

> Elise: Like more independent, more free to be able to do what you want to do, more so, because here it's very controlled, and being an American you can kind of do what you want to at a certain level… that's just more choices are given than here, because like here it's like you can't have more than one kid, you have to find a job cuz if you if you don't have a job you don't make money, and there just aren't as many options for people.

When I asked Sarah (CAA) why she participated in this program, she emphasized that she was connected to China because it was her birthplace.

> Sarah: Well, it's my first time like in a different county and China is where I was born, and I thought it would be a really great experience to see like what my birth country is like.

The adoptees were not the only students in the program who thought their racial features helped them blend in with the majority in China. For example, Jon (Biracial) thought that he did not easily blend in with Chinese society, but made an observation about other students in the group:

> Jon: Some people that look full Asian can blend in so that they're like local.

Other studies found that Korean adoptees and heritage students felt like insiders in their ancestral homeland because they racially belonged. For example, Tuan and Shiao's (2010) research notes that most of the Korean adoptees that spent time in Korea felt they racially blended in with Korea.

Language

According to the returnee survey, a range of factors affected how adoptees' thought they were treated by people in China. Language was ranked as the top factor by five of the adoptees, as indicated by *Mandarin skills* (Figure 4) below. *Skin color* was ranked as second. *Personality*, *height/weight*, and *American nationality* were also ranked as one of the top two factors, but their numbers are not as significant as language.

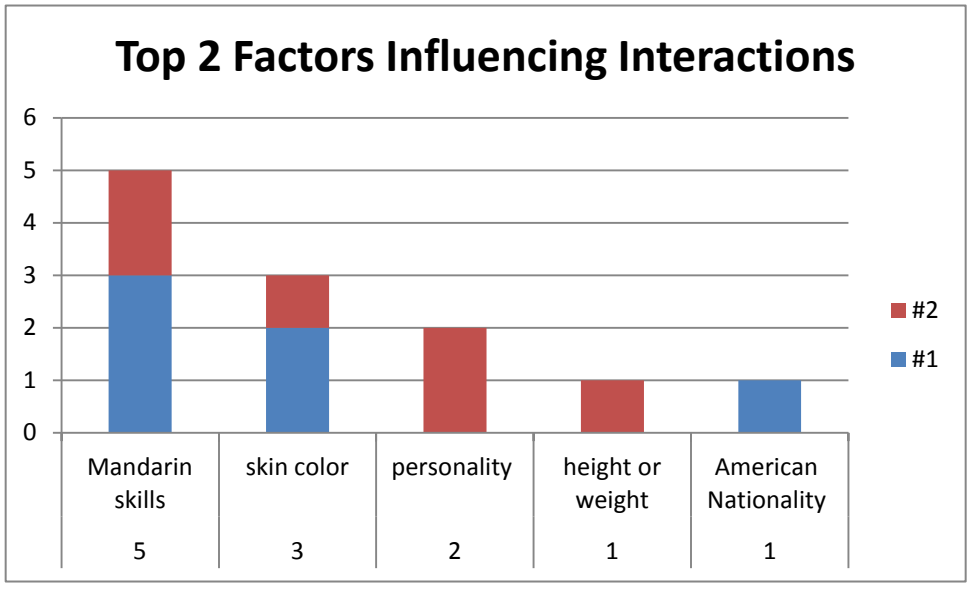

Figure 4. Returnee Survey - Top 2 Factors

Linguistic ability correlated with adoptees' senses of belonging as insiders. According to the returnee survey (Figure 3), both Gina (CAA) and Elise (CAA) felt they

totally blended in with Chinese society. Gina's language level was one of the highest in the entire group of 17 students (Table 1). Her advanced linguistic ability was one of the reasons why she was able to claim insider status more often than other adoptees. She explained that Chinese locals would often speak to her first when she was with her friends because they thought she was a Chinese national helping them:

> Gina: When I'm not talking [in English], they point at the white people and say they are white and that I'm just the Chinese person that's helping them.

Elise, however, was at the intermediate level and received the sixth lowest listening score among the 17 students. Upon her return to the US, her Listening score dropped 23 points lower than it was before the trip began. Despite her test score, Elise rated herself on the returnee survey as having an *Advanced* level of Mandarin. She marked that she was *Very Satisfied* with the amount of Chinese she spoke with Chinese people and wrote:

> Elise: People all through China thought of me as a local in any area we traveled to, which was pretty interesting considering I have grown up in Oregon. My language ability really stood out when I talked to people, because once I told them I was not a local, they would tell me that my Chinese sounds natural, which made me feel very good…I was switching between Chinese and English all the time fluently.

Elise claimed that she didn't have an accent when speaking Mandarin. When I asked her what was the most influential reason for her to participate in the program, she stated:

> Elise: Probably the years I've already had with the language, cuz I don't, if I only had one or two years, I wouldn't be very confident in myself to like go, not against, but to compete for a spot to be able to travel if I knew my Chinese wasn't to the T where I wanted it to be.

Because of this experience, she became more confident in speaking Mandarin and felt that she was improving. Elise also felt that she was able to "switch over" to Chinese

culture while she was here. When I asked her whether she thought her host family saw her as more Chinese or more American, she responded:

> Elise: Oh, I'm actually not very sure, it's because you kind of switch over when you're here. You kind of switch over to their culture like what they like. You just kind of adjust to everything like people on the streets that my host families know though they're like they always talk about me they're like, "She looks so Chinese," like "There's no way, I don't believe you." Like yesterday a couple of my host-stay family's neighbors were just like, "There's no way she's American. You're kidding, no." And I was just like, "Yeah I am," and he was just like, "I don't believe you," and I was just like "okay." It's just kind of funny.

Although her language ability was lower than the other 11 students in the program, she indicated that her language ability gave her insider status more often than the other adoptees. The discrepancy of her score and her self-evaluation for language indicated that the NSLI-Y standardized test did not accurately capture what happened with her language proficiency. One reason for this was because the NSLI-Y test did not measure speaking ability. A second reason was because the students were mostly in a region where the locals spoke regional dialects. Therefore, Elise's Chinese language skills might be improving in ways differently than what the Mandarin language test measured. Thus, the test did not tell the whole story for measuring linguistic ability.

Although some adoptees found it easy to blend in because of their race and linguistic ability, others felt that language was a prominent indicator that marked them as outsiders. For example, Trisha scored higher than Elise on the NSLI-Y test and felt that she blended in with Chinese society *a lot*, but her accounts for blending in told a different story.

Outsiders

Not belonging or feeling like outsiders included feelings, actions, or situations when adoptees did not fit in or blend in but rather when they stood out as foreigners. Most adoptees felt that they did not belong when people stared at them, talked about them behind their backs, or treated them differently due to stereotypes and assumptions about their race and nationality.

Staring

On the outside, adoptees could look like insiders, but on the inside, they often felt like outsiders. When performing differently than how the locals expected, adoptees were often stared at in public, which made them feel uncomfortable, out of place, frustrated, or annoyed. For example, when I asked Sarah (CAA) if there was anything else she wanted to tell me at the end of the interview and she stated:

Sarah: I've definitely gotten sick of all the staring. It's just so annoying.

Adoptees were started at in public when their language, behavior, or appearance set them apart from the crowd. Receiving stares from strangers in public quickly taught the adoptees what was or was not expected from them in Chinese culture. Speaking English, smiling at strangers, or hanging out with racial others were common behaviors that earned them stares in public.

Students often spoke English with other students in the group, program chaperons, and sometimes with their host families. When the adoptees spoke English, they noticed that Chinese locals stared at them. When I asked Ann (CAA) if she was stared at often, she replied, "Yeah, because I speak English." Speaking English was an indicator that marked the adoptees as outsiders from the local community because Chinese locals did

not expect English to be spoken by someone who looks Chinese or Asian. Emily (CAA) said that she felt she stuck out like a sore thumb when she spoke to people.

> Q: Do you feel you blend in to Chinese society at all?
> Emily: I feel like I blend in if I walk down the street or am not doing anything and not talking at all, but other than that I'm like no, I feel like I stick out like a sore thumb, kind of.

Emily's status changed from blending in as an insider to sticking out as an outsider. Sarah (CAA) indicated that she felt uncomfortable when people in China assumed she could not speak English based on her race and ethnicity.

> Q: Have you ever felt uncomfortable or out of place because of your ethnicity here in China?
> Sarah: No, as long as I don't open my mouth, they are okay with it, and think, oh, Asian, or she's possibly Chinese or possibly from a different country in Asia, but like, the minute I start speaking English they are like, okay, something's wrong.

By saying that "something's wrong," Sarah felt like her verbal behavior did not meet Chinese locals' expectations that she should have spoken Chinese because she looked Chinese. However, her desire to blend in as a local was a motivator for her to improve her Mandarin speaking skills. Sarah explained that she could blend in easier if she linguistically performed better:

> Sarah: I think it is definitely easier to like try to blend in if you are Asian here; as long as you don't try to speak English. And your accent, you're Chinese accent is really good, like if you get every tone right, but that's kind of hard.

Sarah would have felt more like an insider if she spoke Mandarin correctly. Besides trying to speak Mandarin better, some students felt that their lack of language knowledge hindered them from belonging. Ann (CAA) felt like her lack of linguistic ability was a handicap in Chinese society:

> Q: Have you ever felt like your race or ethnicity is a handicap here?

> Ann: No, but like the language barrier, well, I guess yeah, because they look at me and think I can speak Chinese perfectly, and then they start talking to me and I look at them with a blank face and the most confused look you've ever seen. I guess in that sense it is like a language barrier because I can't talk.

Regardless of how the adoptees internalized their linguistic ability, they all noticed that they were marked as being different from the majority when they spoke English.

Language level was an indicator for determining how often the adoptees saw themselves as outsiders in Chinese society. According to the NSLI-Y Listening test, Sara, Emily, and Ann tested as three of the four lowest levels for Mandarin language listening ability in the group. Their linguistic ability correlates with senses of belonging as outsiders. During the interviews, they mentioned being stared at more often than the other three adoptees.

Linguistic ability was not the only indicator that marked the adoptees as outsiders; Certain behaviors or appearances also marked them as outsiders when they performed against the expected cultural norms. For example, Emily wrote:

> Emily: Even though I am Chinese, the local people knew I wasn't native because of the way I acted and looked. I smiled and said hi to people in China. I quickly learned that people in China don't say hi to each other as they pass one another walking down the sidewalk. I also learned…that people might think I was a prostitute for smiling at them...I felt like I stood out among the crowd because I did not wear the clothes most people wore.

Ann, Elise, and Sarah also indicated that clothes marked them as outsiders; however, it was rare that they positioned themselves as not belonging solely because of their clothes.

Adoptees noticed that they were stared at when they hung out with other students in the group who did not look Chinese. For example, Trisha (CAA) noticed now she was stared at when she went shopping with her White American friend.

> Trisha: One time I went [shopping] with [Rachelle], and it felt like we were in *Inception* [movie] and everyone was staring at us.

Different than the biracial or White students, adoptees looked like they fit into to Chinese society, yet when their language, behavior, or appearance did not fit in with Chinese expectations they felt like outsiders.

Talking Behind Their Backs

During the interviews, only one adoptee did not say that strangers stared at her. As mentioned earlier, Gina's (CAA) Mandarin level was significantly higher than the other adoptees' as one of the top testers on the NSLI-Y Listening and Reading test. All of the other adoptees tested in the lower 50% of the group for test results. Gina was able to understand Chinese people in public spaces, and she mentioned that she heard people make comments about foreigners in the program:

> Gina: I guess the Chinese people kind of are racist against other foreigners, they just like seem to think they can only speak English and stuff and they all speak Chinese like you can hear them saying mean stuff about them sometimes about the foreigners but it's really just about extent of the racism.

Because she looked Chinese and had a high linguistic level, she stood out less as a foreigner. Her ability to blend in and understand Mandarin gave her opportunities to hear local perceptions about foreigners. Three other students also noticed that they were talked about behind their backs. These four students were each a member of one of the four groups; therefore, race was not an indicator of overhearing conversations about themselves. Specifically, Gina (CAA), Sophie (2GCA), and Angie (WA) had intermediate to advanced levels of Mandarin; Jon (Biracial) was in the beginning-

intermediate level. Therefore, race and language levels were not significant identity factors for noticing when people spoke about them behind their backs.

Exotifying Foreigners

Race was one of the primary organizing factors that caused Chinese American adoptees to be treated differently than the White Americans in the Yunnan Program. The adoptees noticed how Chinese locals gave White American special treatment as exotic foreigners.

> Ann: I feel like Chinese people are treated differently than the people of other ethnicities…they are treated more like foreigners, like cushioned and coddled---
> Q: So do you think that Chinese people coddle the white Americans more than the Chinese Americans?
> Ann: Yeah…they get more money out of them.

Ann's statement indicated that people thought white foreigners were not only exotic, but also rich. Gina (CAA) believed that racial discrimination occurred for people who looked like foreigners:

> Q: Do you believe there is racial discrimination in China?
> Gina: Yeah they mostly just love foreigners here, that's about it.
> Q: They love foreigners here?
> Gina: Yeah, they love them. They love taking pictures of them and coming up and saying hello [laugh].
> Q: And when you say foreigners do you mean anyone who's not Chinese?
> Gina: Anyone who looks foreign. If you don't look foreign then they don't really care, but if you look foreign then they love you.

Gina's description of how Chinese people "love" foreigners but "don't really care" about her implied that she also felt like an outsider when her friends were exotified. In the field, Gina explained to me how people treated her differently than her White American friend when they worked at their NGO site passing out fliers. Most Chinese locals ignored her when she tried to pass out fliers on the street to strangers; however, they flocked to Holly

(WA) who had pale skin, long brown hair and blue eyes. At the end of the day, Gina was disappointed that she was not able to pass out all her fliers compared to Holly. Although Gina was being treated like an insider, she felt like an outsider because her White American friend was receiving more attention than her as an exotic foreigner from Chinese locals.

Group Differences

Since students were treated differently based on race, each group developed different ways to cope and react to the ways in which they were or were not exotified. The White American and biracial students were stared at often because they looked different than the racial majority. During the interviews, the White American students talked about staring more often than the other groups of students. They indicated that they were stared at "every time I walk[ed] outside" (Larry) or "1,000 times a day" (Regan). As a racial and ethnic outsider, Angie (WA) stated that she could never fully fit in to Chinese society because "Chinese people do not give up their secrets to white people."

It was common for White Americans to smile, wave, or say hello to the people who stared at them or tried to take pictures of them. For example, Craig (WA) said that he responded to those who stared at him by stating a fairly complex sentence in Chinese. Most White Americans and biracial students thought that the staring was funny at first, but that it became annoying after a while. However, they seemed to accept their racial difference as a part of being a foreigner. The adoptees, however, reacted to staring differently than the White Americans and by trying to reject it. For example, when Chinese locals stared at them or at their friends, they used avoidance or blocking tactics.

Trisha (CAA) and Sarah (CAA) both helped their friends by blocking the person who was taking the picture or doing the staring. When I was interviewing Sarah, a Chinese man came up to us and tried to take our picture. I ignored the man, but Sarah said:

Sarah: Gosh, I hate that! It must happen to you a lot because you're white.

Next she used a piece of paper to block the man from taking our picture. Trisha (CAA) recalled that one of her funniest moments was when she blocked a man trying to take a picture of her White American friend while shopping. These students shared their experiences together to help each other not have their pictures taken. Racial difference marked how the students reacted, because White Americans tended to normalize staring as part of their everyday lives, whereas the adoptees tried to resist it. I suggest that this was because it happened to the adoptees less often than it did for the adoptees. Their experiences being treated as foreigners were racialized. In terms of being exotified as foreigners, Chinese Americans were treated like insiders; White Americans were treated like outsiders; however, if they worked together they could negotiate their insider-outsider status for creating a third space of belonging.

Being stared at in public spaces occurred with all students in the group, regardless of race, gender, or ethnicity, and no one implied that was done maliciously. In fact, Regan (WA) offered some advice to someone if they were going on this trip the following year:

> Regan: In general I would say bring a camera, plan to spend 100 yuan on water while there, leave room in your suitcase for stuff, don't be weirded out if someone stares and takes a picture of you…I guess cuz don't be weirded out if someone is taking a picture of you but for the Chinese Americans I'd say don't be weirded out if someone is taking a picture of the White American and not you and if you try to say your adopted, they don't get it, like it takes them a while to understand and I guess that's the biggest difference.

Stereotypes

Students in this study were surprised to learn about general stereotypes of race, nationality, and adoptivity in China. More specifically, they were surprised about stereotypes of white parents who adopt Chinese children. For example, two White American students, Regan and Craig, were told that little children were crying because they thought that the white people were there to take them away from their home and family.

> Regan (WA): The weirdest thing is that we were having dinner with our family and a little girl came up and stared and the mom was like you say hi and she started bawling and we were like what's going on and our host family was like don't worry, little Chinese kids think that white people come here to take them. And I was like what!? It's so weird but if you think about it there are so many white parents who have Chinese children that are adopted, and it's like that's so sad.

Regan reflected on cultural differences between the US and China. She realized that Chinese adoptions in the US are prevalent but thought about it from a Chinese perspective rather than from a Western perspective.

Adoptees were influenced by these stereotypes when they discovered that some people thought negatively about their parents. Gina (CAA) told me in the field about her encounter with a taxi driver. When she told him that she was adopted, he asked her if her parents were "good white people" or "bad white people." In a follow-up email, I asked her what this meant. She wrote:

> Gina: Good white parents were ones who raise their children to be involved in Chinese culture and bad ones were those who do not tell their children about Chinese culture.

The fact that the driver asked her this question revealed one perspective about transnational adoption in China. One of the Chinese teachers in the program explained another perspective of adoption in China:

> Since blood ties are so important for building relationships, many people will keep adoption a secret forever if possible. The traditional ways of thinking is that "blood is thicker than water," which means blood connections are the most important relationships in the world. Once the child knows that she is not your biological child, she will not be close to you.

Her perspective about blood ties and adoption reflected traditional Confucian beliefs of blood ties as being prime importance in the Five Cardinal Relationships. These accounts showed that it was not just scholars who critique transnational adoptions as impacting a child's loss of culture, racial identification, and developing a secure sense of identity (Andrew, 2007), but that the general public as well as adoptees might think this, too. For example, Sarah (CAA) felt like she had a special relationship to other adoptees because of this sense of loss.

> Q: How about like do you feel a special relationship with other people who are adopted?
> Sarah: Yeah. It's kind of like if they are just adopted from the US it's not as special, but if they are from a different country it's kind of like do you feel the same way I do, kind of like you've lost your country, kind of, like, it's kind of abandoned you or whatever. It's like a love hate relationship. It's like do you feel the same way or do you not even think about it.

Sarah's relationship with other adoptees indicated the idea of *contingent essentialism* (Kim, E. 2007b). Contingent essentialism means that adoptees relate to one another because they share an essential component that their origins are uncertain and that they involuntarily forfeited their historical and cultural connections to the birth country at young ages. Emily (CAA) also expressed notions of contingent essentialism when she talked about her close friends who had also been adopted from China. Thus, their

adoptivity developed new forms of kinship not based on blood, but rather on their adoptive status.

Whether it was a lack of understanding, confusion about adoptivity, and/or negative stereotypes about white people, some adoptees eventually changed the way they described themselves to locals. Gina (CAA) discussed how it was easier to not tell others about her adopted history.

> Q: Do you tell people (in China) that you're adopted?
> Gina: I tell them when they ask but I usually don't tell them because it really confuses them and they think white people are bad sometimes. It's easier just to not to.

Gina did not disclose her adoptive status often because she might receive negative responses. Elise (CAA) also said that she often did not tell Chinese locals about her adoption history. When they asked her about her American background, she explained:

> Elise: When I was young, my parents came over to China and brought me back with them to America.[7]

Since she did not use any of the vocabulary for adoption or adoption practices, her response was ambiguous about her adoptivity. Certain stereotypes existed that marked adoptees as outsiders who did not fit within the notion that blood ties connect families; therefore, many adoptees changed their responses to conceal their adoptive history. The ways in which they negotiated their adoptivity did not neatly match the binary construction of the insider-outsider dichotomy. Instead, they lingered in-between as both insiders and outsiders.

[7] Elise replied in Chinese, *Wo xiao de shihou, wo mama baba dai wo Meiguo* [我小的时候我妈妈爸爸带我美国]. Note how she uses the term "dai" which translates to "bring."

In-Between

Adoptees' multiple facets of identity do not neatly fit into either/or patterns of belonging. Instead, there are many moments when students fit in-between belonging and not belonging based on their race, nationality, and adoptivity. These intersectional identities reflect three main themes: passing as locals, questioning identity and adoption confusion. Chinese American adoptees are not the only students who express moments of in-betweeness, but they are the only group whose identity intertwined with local assumptions of race, nationality, and adoptivity.

Passing as Locals

As mentioned above, passing is the ability of a person to be regarded as a member of a social group other than her own for the purpose of gaining social acceptance. Thus, passing involves actively trying to achieve belonging. Passing is not to be confused with "blending in." Blending in is different than passing because the adoptees do not need to do anything since their heritage is Chinese. Besides passively blending in as the racial majority, some students take action to blend in more with the Chinese majority and attempt to pass as locals in public spaces.

When passing, adoptees are able to choose what factors of their identity they want to disclose. Different strategies for passing include times when an adoptee changed her appearance, behavior, or language. By using a variety of strategies for actively changing one's appearance, behavior, or language, many of the adoptees can choose to pass as locals and hide a part of their identity, such as nationality or adoptive status. Passing positions adoptees in-between belonging and not belonging, because there is always some

part of one's identity that is lost or remains hidden from the majority. This positions them in the third space hovering both as insiders and as outsiders in that space. I ask Gina (CAA) if she ever tried to pass as a "Chinese person from China:"

> Gina: Oh, yeah, here, because it's complicated. And it's kind of funny when you're with an American person.

Gina points out that her desires to belong are complicated. She thinks it is humorous when Chinese nationals think she is Chinese when she is with a white "American" person, because in fact is she is *both* Chinese *and* American and fits in with both identities. Even though she is American, she says "American person" meaning White American person, thus, reflecting global stereotypes that "American" means white. Her own intersecting identities place her somewhere in-between belonging and not belonging. In this section I do not intend to simplify the myriad of reasons why a person may or may not try to pass as the majority into only a few reasons; however, the data I collected show patterns that emerge among six Chinese American adoptees.

Behavior and Appearance

Adoptees try to pass as locals at times when they changed their behaviors and/or appearances. The use of accessories to hide one's face or eyes is a common strategy for adoptees to change their behavior or appearance to pass as locals. In the post-departure survey, some adoptees answer "no" for the question, "Have you ever changed your general appearance to blend in with Chinese culture?" During the interview, however, Sarah (CAA) describes ways in which she changes her behavior and appearance so that

she can pass as a local and not stand out as a foreigner. For example, Sarah (CAA) does not use a sun umbrella in the US, but she purchases one in China:

> Q: Have you done anything, like, I've heard people say that they use the sun umbrellas because they look more Asian that way…
> Sarah: Yeah, I have done that. I do that, like, it was raining yesterday and then it got really hot so I was using the umbrella and I was using it to hide my face just because like I was sick of the stares and was just like, hide my face.

Sarah explains that she uses the sun umbrella to hide her face from people staring at her in public. Why does she need to hide her face if she already looks Chinese? The sun umbrella helps her blend in, so she changes both her appearance and behavior to pass as a local. Her desire to "hide her face" indicates that she feels she does not fully belong in China even though she racially blends in. Whitening creams are popular because Chinese mainstream culture values light skin over tan skin; however, White American mainstream culture tends to value tan skin over whiteness. Later in the interview, Sarah tells me that her Chinese host mom "freaked out" the first time she came home with a tan. Sarah's desire to blend in reflects ways in which she adopts the local conceptions of feminine beauty, yet she still feels like she needs to hide a part of herself. Sarah's use of the sun umbrella fits in-between Chinese and American cultural notions of feminine beauty in which she does not use the whitening cream but does hide her face from the sun. By passing as a local with the sun umbrella, she creates a physical third space for belonging under the umbrella where she can blend in with Chinese concepts of beauty.

Besides using accessories, some adoptees also change their behaviors when interacting with strangers, using beauty products, and/or buying clothes to pass as locals. In the returnee survey, Emily answers the question about changing behaviors or appearances to blend into Chinese culture. Emily (CAA) writes:

> Emily: I smiled and said hi to people in China. I quickly learned that people in China don't say hi to each other as they pass one another walking down the side walk. I also learned...that people might think I was a prostitute for smiling at them.

Emily changes her behavior and appearance by not smiling at people on the street so that she blends in with the locals. Ann (CAA) changes her behavior by using a variety of beauty products to blend in. Ann writes:

> Ann: I dyed my hair, did my nails, and used the whitening Olay body soap. Soon my skin was smooth and golden like them. Also I dumped all my clothes and bought outfits like the people around me.

Adoptees are not the only ones who hide their appearance as a strategy for passing. Jessica (Biracial) indicates that she can blend in as the racial majority if she hides her eyes when walking down the street or shopping.

> Jessica: If I put on sunglasses and I put my hair up a little, I looked just straight Asian. So, I don't wanna always feel like a tourist.
> Q: So would you say that you blend in if you wanted to?
> Jessica: Yeah. More easily than like the white people, I guess.

All of the White American students state that they do not blend in with Chinese society and do not change their appearance or behavior to try to blend in better.

Race is not one of the only factors that affect students' desires to pass as locals. The data indicates that gender also plays a role because none of the males indicate times in which they deliberately tried to pass as locals. One student provides some insight about this difference. When I asked Angie (WA) if she had ever "gotten her nails done in China," she describes herself as "not much of a feminine person" but that she got both a pedicure and a manicure. Next she says:

> Angie: It is cheaper to be feminine here than it is in the US.

Regardless of the reasoning, the evidence shows that most of the females who had Chinese heritage in this study tried to pass as locals by changing their appearance or behavior.

Communication Patterns

Besides changing behavior or appearance, adoptees use various communication styles to pass as locals. Their communication patterns change by withholding information, not clarifying assumptions, or distorting the truth. Gina (CAA) and Elise (CAA) admit that they sometimes withhold information from people who assume they are local because of their race or ethnicity. Elise (CAA) explains how she does not tell strangers her nationality unless someone else tells them first:

> Q: How often do people ask about your racial or ethnic background?
> Elise: They don't.
> Q: They don't?
> Elise: No, unless somebody else tells them that I'm American, they don't ask cuz I look, like, I've been told when I shop that I look like a local. Er, I am like a local and all that.

She admits that she does not correct people's assumptions that she is local if not directly asked where she is from, thus, she tries to pass as a local. Gina (CAA) also withholds information from locals and does not correct the assumption that she is local if they don't directly ask. She states:

> Gina: If they ask, I say I'm American. If they don't ask, then I just pretend I'm Chinese.

She adds a new layer to her communication pattern by distorting the truth and "pretending" to be a Chinese citizen. During the interview, she explains that her desire to belong is not intended to be malicious but rather humorous. She treats her racial and nationalities more like a game to explore if she does or does not successfully pass as a

local. Another adoptee shares how she uses humor to distort the truth so that she can pass as a local in public. For example, if strangers hear her speaking English, Ann (CAA) states:

> Ann: I just tell them that I practice my English more, and they just laugh and walk away.

She later justifies her answer by saying that she is not lying because she does not want to forget how to speak English while she is in China. Her answer fits in-between lying and not lying, because speaking English is a form of linguistic practice when she often speaks Chinese, but she is also not practicing English because she is already fluent in the language and will not forget how to speak English. Thus, she creates a third space for communicating her identity with strangers.

Adoptees are not the only students to change their communication patterns to pass as locals. Matt (Biracial) indicates that he switches from speaking Mandarin to speaking the local dialect as a method to pass more as a local since his light skin color and physical features set him apart as not fully Chinese. None of the White Americans in this study claimed that they tried to pass as locals in China based on their race, ethnicity, or language skills.

The ways in which the adoptees in this study change their communication patterns to pass as locals is not much different than what other studies have found. In *Rethinking Japanese American "Heritage" in the Homeland*, Takamori (2010) writes about how Japanese Americans in Japan change their communication styles strategically and creatively to negotiate various kinds of relationships, increase or decrease belonging, and pass as insiders in Japanese public spaces.

Advantages and Disadvantages

In general, the adoptees in this study thought that their Chinese ethnicity was neither an overall advantage nor disadvantage for passing in Chinese society, except when shopping or bargaining. For example, Emily (CAA) is not sure if her Chinese ethnicity is an advantage or disadvantage when walking down the street and talking with locals compared to her friend's experience.

> Q. Can you think of any specific times in your life that being Chinese has been more or less important to you in the in China?
>
> Emily: Well, I guess, like walking down the streets my friend…says she gets stared at a lot cuz she's half [Chinese], and I don't so she says that I'm lucky for that and I'm like yeah, but then they try to talk to me and I can't talk so then they really stare and try to find out why I can't talk so I don't know, maybe.

Although her friend may see Emily's Chinese heritage as an advantage, Emily does not. Emily relates her disadvantage of being stared at when she communicates with her friend's disadvantage of being stared at when walking down the street. Ann (CAA) also does not see her Chinese ethnic background as an advantage for passing as Chinese.

> Ann: I don't think it's an advantage [being Chinese American]; they just think I've lived here my whole life or just moved here from another part of the city.

Ann does not think it is an advantage or a disadvantage regarding one's overall experience. Trisha (CAA), however, notices that having a combination of both racial similarities and high language skills was helpful for purchasing items at a low price.

> Trisha: But the best advantage is when I go shopping and I make myself sound like I was raised in China, then they don't try to rip me off as much.

Trisha points out that passing as someone raised in China is an advantage for purchasing items at a low cost.

Although most students do not explicitly state that passing as a local is an overall advantage or disadvantage for situations other than shopping, some of the Biracials and White Americans have mixed feelings about race being a factor for belonging in China. For example, Erik (Biracial) who had lived in China for four years of his life feels that he can never fully belong in Chinese Society.

> Erik: I don't think I could ever be in place and be a local…I guess there's no way I could ever fit in, quite 100% fit in, unless I became a Chinese citizen and lived here forever, and even then…

Yet his brother, Matt, has a different perception about his dual identity being an advantage for belonging in China. When I ask him what it means to be biracial, he gestures with two thumbs up and replies:

> Matt: I can belong, that's what it means. I can go and be who I am, and I'm still apart of that section [of] world heritage thing…I can go into a white guy's house and be white. Yeah! I can go into a [Chinese] house and be [Chinese].

Most of the White Americans do not see their race as an overall advantage or disadvantage. They notice that they are stared at often and that more people come up to talk with them on the street, which can be either a positive or negative experience. For example, one student says that his whiteness gives him access to certain activities or spaces, such as walking into a school without a pass. On the negative side, the White American students are also more likely to be assumed to not speak Chinese, to be charged higher prices when shopping, and to be stereotyped as less intelligent than their Chinese counterparts.

Overall, I found that passing as a local has both advantages and disadvantages depending on contexts, relationships, and situations; however, adoptees had a racial advantage in that they could choose when, where, and how they wanted to pass.

Questioning Identity

All of the Chinese American adoptees state that people are generally surprised or shocked to find out they are from the US or that they speak English. Adoptees are often questioned about their personal identities and are expected to clarify others' assumptions and answer their questions. When Chinese nationals ask questions to clarify their assumptions, they tend to ask in one of three ways: (a) ask the adoptees directly, (b) ask someone who is with the student, or (c) ask the student and ask the person who is with the student. Some people are surprised that the adoptees are from the US because they assume that they are from a different Asian country based on race. Sarah (CAA) describes a general interaction she has with people when they ask her where she is from:

> Q: What do you tell people here when they ask you, like if they ask you where you are from, how do you respond?
> Sarah (CAA): Well, they ask me where I'm from and I say America and they look super shocked and say, "You? You are from America?" I'm like, yeah, and then they say are you sure you're not from Korea or Japan or something and I'm like I'm pretty sure.

In this scenario, many components of Sarah's identity are questioned. First her American nationality is questioned, second her Chinese heritage is questioned, and third her honesty is questioned. Her Asian heritage is recognized but presumptions are made about her nationality not being American or Chinese. I ask Sarah if she ever says she is not from the US, and she replies:

> Sarah: No way [because] they would know I was lying.

The adoptees respond differently when people make assumptions about their race, ethnicity, and nationality. Some adoptees feel frustrated or confused when their American identity is erased, yet others take it as a compliment. Elise (CAA) says she never feels uncomfortable or out of place because of her race or ethnicity in China. She

takes it as a complement that her language ability is at a high level when people doubt her American nationality:

> Q: Are people generally surprised to find out you are from America when you tell them?
> Elise: Yes, very.
> Q: How do they react?
> Elise: Um, they react as like, I don't believe you, you're kidding me, and then they'll ask somebody else that might actually know that I'm telling them the truth, supposedly.
> Q: They ask somebody else?
> Elise: Yeah! Yeah, they are just like...they don't really understand what adopted is…
> Q: Does that ever get annoying and frustrating for you…how people are consistently surprised that you are from the US?
> Elise: No, because if anything, it's more flattering because like if I'm speaking to them already, and they still don't believe that I'm from America, than I like, my language is like to the T where they would assume that I am like one of the people that lives there.

Chinese nationals often ask her and/or the person she is with to verify her nationality. She interprets these questions as flattering because it means her Mandarin language skills are improving.

The data show that the adoptees often negotiate their identities differently in China than in the US. I asked Gina (CAA) if she saw herself as more Chinese or more American:

> Gina: Well in China I say I'm American but in America I'd say I'm Chinese. Just because it doesn't matter to me, it's just different; cuz if I say I'm Chinese here they think I'm from here, so you just say you're an American.

She identifies as both, but her response changes depending on where she is and with whom she is speaking. Since the adoptees did not fit the general stereotype for looking Chinese and speaking or acting Chinese, they were questioned about why they were in China and about their family background. This is not uncommon; Chinese locals often

ask questions about foreigners' backgrounds, as they did for all the students regardless of race, ethnicity, and gender. What is unique to adoptees is how they explained their personal history of their race, nationality, and adoptive status as a response to local's reactions.

Chinese Locals react differently depending on racial differences among the students. All the biracial students mention that they do not look fully Chinese because of their physical differences. Erik (Biracial) mentions how he and Jessica (Biracial) look different than most Chinese people because their feet are too big, they are too tall, or their facial features are slightly different. The biracial students indicate that Chinese locals can tell that they are part Asian or Chinese. Rather than being asked open-ended questions like, "Where do you come from?" or "What kind of foreigner are you?" they are asked close-ended questions suggesting their heritage. Examples of close-ended questions are translated as "Are you Chinese?" or "You're Asian, right?" White Americans are asked both types of questions, but the open-ended questions occur more often. Furthermore, all of the White Americans state that people were not surprised when they said they were from the US. White Americans mention more often that Chinese nationals are surprised that they can even speak Chinese at all.

Adoption Confusion

Often adoptees express that many of the host nationals are confused or do not understand the combinations of their racial, national, and adoptive identities. Sarah (CAA) feels that the American aspects of her identity were confusing to her host families.

> Sarah: I think they are kind of confused like why I look Asian but I'm American. Like that's the thing about China like they don't get the concept that like there are different races that are American, they think it's

> all like blond hair blue eyes, so they were kind of shocked when I was Asian.

Her looks include her as an insider, but her actions are more like an outsider. The intersection of her race, nationality, and culture contradict her host family's assumptions that race and nationality are the same. Ann (CAA) and Emily (CAA) have similar feelings about how their host families saw them:

> Ann (CAA): They see me as Chinese but they say I have a lot of American culture in me. It's pretty much by the way I say thank you all the time and I'm sorry a lot [laugh] that's why they say just my mannerisms they say basically you look, they say I look like I'm from [the village] and that because my face structure and what not but just like how I act is how they know I'm American.

> Emily (CAA): I don't know, I think [my host families] seem surprised because I look Chinese but don't know Chinese very well, so I think they are confused.

The three other adoptees say that their host families know they are American, yet they also express confusion about why their host families expect them to act Chinese just because they look Chinese.

Assumptions about race, ethnicity, and nationality are not the only confusing layers of identity. Many people do not understand adoption status, as discussed earlier with stereotypes. Adoptees say that Chinese locals either did not understand them or became confused when talking about their history of being adopted. Elise questions the knowledge surround the discourse of adoption in China:

> Elise (CAA): They just like, [Chinese locals] don't really understand what adopted [means] ---

Many adoptees express frustration when they try to explain their situation to a local and the locals still do not understand:

> Gina (CAA): And definitely [frustrating] when you tell them you're Chinese American and they walk away thinking that you just moved to China when you're young and your parents are Chinese and they just can't understand the fact that you are adopted from china, they are kind of oblivious to that. It's kind of strange cuz there's a lot of people who are adopted from China.

The White American students also notice the confusion surrounding adoptivity for their friends. Regan (WA) suggests that she would tell a friend to expect that people would not understand that she is adopted if she were going on this program next year.

> I: What advice would you give a girl going on this trip next year?
> Regan (WA): …Don't be weirded out… if you try to say you're adopted, they don't get it like it takes them a while to understand…"

Another student suggests that adoptees are treated differently because people may be confused about their adoption status.

> Rachelle (WA): …I feel like a lot of the students that were adopted get treated more like they are…they get treated differently because a lot of the host families are a little confused because they see a Chinese person but like they know in their mind that they are from America but I feel like those students get treated more like they are from China and I get treated more like I'm an exchange student but I don't get treated like I'm an outsider or anything.

Rachelle (WA) mentions how assumptions about race, nationality, and adoptivity can be confusing. She mentions this for Chinese American adoptees, but it is unclear if she thinks this is the same for Chinese American non-adoptees. The fact that she recognizes that adoptees may be treated differently is not an isolated thought. One student suggests that host families be made aware that the American student they are hosting is a Chinese born adopted American.

Since adoptivity can be confusing, many adoptees found different ways to explain their situation to Chinese locals:

> Ann (CAA): They think I'm Chinese. They don't believe me when I say I'm from America. Whenever I say I'm from America they say but you look Chinese. So that's exactly what they say all the time so I have to tell them like why.
> Q: What do you tell them?
> Ann (CAA): Well, I say I'm from Changzhou but I moved to the US when I was two and now I'm back---and they, they go ohhh and then they get it.

Ann (CAA) does not explain that she is adopted, but leaves that part out to explain herself. Elise (CAA) also states in Mandarin that she tells people that when she was young, her parents came to China and brought her back to America (see Stereotypes). Thus, the Chinese word for "adoption" is absent from her statement.

Because I did not notice this pattern until after the data was collected, I can only speculate on the reasons why this was perceived to be "confusing" for the locals. I speculate that it is a combination of four intertwining reasons.

Assumptions about Race, Nationality, and Adoptivity

In general, one of the first assumptions that Chinese locals make about CAAs is about their nationality based on race. They assume that adoptees have Chinese nationality, not American nationality. The second assumption is that they grew up with Chinese parents and have familial knowledge about Chinese culture. These assumptions lead to participants' feeling like their authenticity is questioned, particularly when the person doing the asking turns to the host family member or other people in the group to ask the same question. After four weeks of being asked the same questions, most adoptees simplify their responses or stop telling people that they are adopted like Gina (CAA) and Elise (CAA). The confusion surrounding assumptions about one's identity reflects general assumptions that race is an indicator of nationality and adoptivity.

Saving Face

There is a general stigma in China about the shame in being abandoned, orphaned, and then adopted. Also, there are traditional views about bloodlines being stronger than adoptive families, so people may have been acting polite to save face and not address the shame of adoption or broken bloodlines. In addition, rural areas tend to carry more traditional ways of thinking, so traditional values about adoption may persist.

Adoption as a Private Matter

In China, adoption carries a stigma involved with having a sense of shame for birth families and their children as well as for the political and economic status of the adoptees' birth country. Abandoned babies are an internal social problem that the government does not want to highlight. The One Child Policy has been active for 34 years but in many ways it is not successful. Many people dislike the idea that the government is making money from abandoned children because parents cannot afford to pay the fee or do not want to lose their jobs. These topics are not openly talked about in Chinese society, so when an adoptee says she is adopted, there is confusion because Chinese nationals may not be used to talking about this taboo topic with strangers.

Lost in Translation

The term "adoption" is lost in translation between English and Chinese. There are different words and meanings for orphan, adoptee, and foster child, and if someone uses the wrong word, it can cause much confusion. For example, Elise (CAA) uses the term "dai" to explain that her parents came to China and brought her back to the US. This simplified explanation can cause more confusion than explanation, as the word *dai* translates to *taking* something away from somewhere, possibly by force. Using

inappropriate words to explain one's status and simplifying the explanation may have been confusing for many Chinese locals.

Chinese American Non-adoptee

I collected data from only one Chinese American non-adoptee who had two Chinese parents. Sophie (2GCA) described instances when her race and cultural heritage influenced her sense of belonging as an insider. Similar to the adoptees, she also felt that she racially blended in with Chinese society, yet her sense of belonging indicated an additional connection with her cultural identity rather than just racial identity. When asked how she thinks others see her, she stated:

> Sophie: They perceive me as an Americ-Chinese American that's relatively close to her roots.

Because both of her parents are first generation Chinese Americans, Sophie was able to learn about Chinese culture and language from her family as well as from school. For example, Sophie was the only student who mentioned that her arrival in China was connected to a Chinese adage.

> Sophie: I've heard of times cuz…if I were to actually find a job in China it'd be easier or because it's called, it's something along the lines of *nu'er hui lai le* [daughter came back], cuz it's like you left but then you're coming back to your motherland.

She explained the adage to me:

> Sophie: Like I was saying earlier when I would come back to find a job it's like a daughter that's come home.

When I ask Sophie if she thought there were specific times in China that it is more or less important to her to be Chinese, she responds:

> Sophie: I overheard my host dad talking to his friends, and they were like, his friends were like she doesn't look American at all, she looks like she's

> from China and then he goes, yeah, but I'd rather her look like she is now cuz it's easier to trust her.

Sophie was the only participant who overheard that she was perceived to be more trustworthy because of her race. Her experience showed how race could affect one's perception of belonging or not belonging in China.

Sophie was able to achieved insider status with her host family, but she also described how confusing it was when people placed her as either an insider or an outsider when I asked her about exploring her identity.

> Sophie: I'm exploring and it's confusing me more because when people look at me they either say I'm really American or that I look really Asian, like some people think I'm a local until they ear me speak then after that they think I'm from Beijing...They don't think I'm from America. I talk to my classmates and they say I look American, so I'm not sure and then it's just confusing because then even other locals look at me and they are like she's not from around here at all, she's like from a different, she's definitely a foreigner, so I don't know, it's confusing.

Another factor that marked difference for Sophie and the adoptees were rural and urban differences. All the adoptees except Trisha (CAA) felt more accepted in the urban city, whereas Sophie felt more accepted in the rural village of Weishan.

> Sophie: Weishan people are nicer, I remember if I, I tend to smile at people when I make eye contact with them, and when I did that in Kunming people stared at me like I was crazy. I, people still do that here but less frequently, like they'll still smile back unless they are really caught up in something.

Sophie's feelings of belonging indicated that regional differences exist for achieving insider and outsider status. Therefore, she also fits in-between belonging and not belonging in Chinese public spaces.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This chapter examines significant issues raised by this research. First, I provide a brief summary of how the findings and discussion in Chapter IV address the research questions in Chapter I. The second part starts with implications for future research. Finally, it ends with recommendations for practical application of the information gathered from the study.

Research Questions Revisited

Identity

The results of this study showed that the Chinese American adoptees continuously negotiate their racial and ethnic identities in Chinese public spaces in different ways depending on context and language ability. Most of the adoptees used multiple terms to express their racial and ethnic identities as Chinese, Asian, Asian American, American, or Chinese American; yet when asked how they identify, most included "Chinese" when they described themselves. Only Anne (CAA) stated that she specifically saw herself as Chinese American. For example, when I asked her if she would ever call herself an American, plain and simple, she said:

> Ann: No…because I feel like where I was born comes first and then where I grew up comes second. That's why I say Chinese American.

Being born in China was a major part of her identity. Sarah (CAA) was the only adoptee that answered "Asian" when asked, "What is your race and ethnicity?" During the interview, she used the term "Asian" more than any other term for describing herself, but

later in the interview she also referred to herself as an American. When I asked her about her ethnic heritage, she stated:

> Sarah: Since I grew up in American I'm kind of like a combination of like American and Chinese…I don't know… like I don't act how people here [in China] act, I act like an American, cuz I am.

As an adoptee, Sarah's biological family background remained a mystery to her; therefore, she identified as Asian or Asian American rather than as Chinese or Chinese American, as shown in her statement below:

> Sarah: I have been called Cambodian, Japanese, Thai, and like, I don't know all sorts of different Asian but never really Chinese so it makes me wonder if I'm like half or something. Like people here, they keep asking me if I'm Korean so I wonder if I'm like half Korean or something.

The data revealed that identity is not fixed but can vary upon context. For example, Gina (CAA) mentioned that she told people she was "Chinese" in the US and "American" in China. She stated:

> Gina: Well, in China I say I'm American but in America I'd say I'm Chinese. Just because it doesn't matter to me, it's just different, cuz if I say I'm Chinese here they think I'm from here, so you just say you're an American.

Most adoptees identified as *both* Chinese *and* American rather than as an either/or relationship for identity, but they were often asked either/or questions about their identity. They felt that Chinese locals had a hard time understanding and accepting their dual identities. This was contrary to my hypothesis and different also from Doan's (2002) study. Her study revealed that most Asian American students who studied abroad were more likely to identify as "American" than "Asian" when not using a hyphenated ethnicity or race category. I suspected that the combination of age, prior experience in China, and a fundamental confusion between race and ethnicity were factors that shaped

these differences. Upon return, the survey did not show significant identity changes for the adoptees (Figure 5). Instead, they learned that they are still exploring their place in the world.

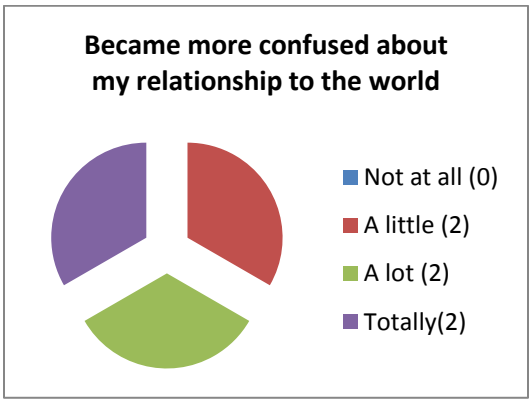

Figure 5. Returnee Survey - World Relationship

Overall, many of the participants in this study said that they learned more about how people in China generally think about American culture or America than they learned about their own identity. This newfound knowledge reflected other studies about American national identity and study abroad. For example, Nadine Dolby (2004) revealed that students return from study abroad less with a new sense of identity and more with an understanding about how other cultures view Americans.

Belonging & Passing

Because intersecting identities were complex and not fixed, I found that every student's personal experience was unique to them; however, similarities did exist in how race, nationality, and adoptive status affected the Chinese American adoptees' sense of belonging when returning to the country of their birth. This research revealed that:

- Chinese American adoptees will blend in with the racial majority;
- Language, behaviors, and appearances will
    - mark them as foreigners or

    - strategically help them pass as Chinese nationals;
- Many Chinese locals will seem to be confused or act like they do not understand if adoptees say they are adopted.

Racialized experiences were similar for the Chinese American adoptees and non-adoptees, but their experiences were different than the White Americans and biracial Americans. Based on race, Chinese locals assumed that the Chinese American adoptees and non-adoptees were Chinese nationals and initially treated them as part of the racial majority. Chinese locals expected them to speak Chinese and live in China rather than speak English and live in America. Chinese locals generally expected White Americans to be the opposite. They expected White Americans to not speak Chinese and not live in China. Furthermore, most Chinese locals expected the White Americans to speak English and be foreigners from the US, Europe, or Australia. Contrary to my initial hypothesis, this study showed that Chinese locals were more likely to initially treat biracial students like foreigners rather than Chinese nationals in public spaces. Similar to the White Americans, the locals expected them to not speak Chinese and not live in China.

Language, behavior, and appearance sometimes marked Chinese American adoptees as foreigners. If adoptees did not speak Mandarin well, they received funny looks or were asked questions about their backgrounds. However, if Chinese American adoptees spoke Mandarin well, they could pass as Chinese citizens in public spaces if they wanted to pass. Behaviors or appearances marked adoptees as outsiders when they performed against the expected cultural norms in China; however, they could change their behaviors or appearances to fit in with the Chinese culture. White American students felt like they did not blend in and could not pass as locals, so they almost always

stood out as foreigners. The biracial students had mixed feelings about sticking out as foreigners or passing. Students with Chinese heritage (CAA, 2GCA, Biracial) had moments of in-betweenness that created third spaces of belonging.

Although there could be many more reasons why adoptees might have wanted to pass as locals, I found that many tried to pass because they did not want to stand out as foreigners, did not want to be treated as tourists, or because they wanted to test how well their Mandarin skills were. By passing as locals, they found that one advantage was to buy items at a lower cost than if the shopkeeper thought they were American. In addition, some adoptees felt that if the Chinese locals thought that she was a Chinese national, then she was speaking perfect Mandarin. Although the test scores did not result in an overall improvement for some of the adoptees' Mandarin skills, their accounts about how well they were performing linguistically indicated that the test might not have accurately reflected linguistic improvement, especially since it did not measure their speaking abilities.

Adoptive status was unique for adoptees when talking about their family background with Chinese locals. The Chinese American adoptees, White Americans, and biracial students thought that Chinese locals seemed to be confused or acted as if they did not understand what the adoptees meant when they said they were adopted. In general, adoptees were asked open-ended questions about their family backgrounds from Chinese locals. When they responded that they were adopted, they thought the locals were confused or assumed that their parents were also Chinese. The biracial students were asked fewer open-ended questions and more closed-ended questions from Chinese locals. For example, closed-ended questions assumed that they had some Chinese heritage and

were phrased, "You're Chinese, right?" rather than asking, "Where are you from?" The White Americans were asked both closed-ended and open-ended questions about their nationality but not generally asked about their family's heritage by Chinese locals.

Although there are a myriad of reasons (discussed in Chapter IV) why Chinese locals are confused about adoption status, language played a pivotal role in understanding difference. For example, the term *American-born Chinese* (ABC) is used to describe Chinese Americans living in the US; however, this term does not accurately describe Chinese American adoptees. When I asked Chinese nationals if there was a term for adoptees, they told me that the Chinese language does not have a term for Chinese American adoptees who return to China as it does for ABCs. The fact that there is no common term used for Chinese American adoptees does not mean that they do not exist in Chinese society, but that they fit in the third space for belonging. In this context, the third space is currently being used as "a name for that which has no name" when speaking with a dialectic either/or relationship for naming conventions. However, I suggest that it is because their situation is not yet well known in Chinese society. I predict that as more generations of Chinese American adoptees go back to China, new terms will emerge that will try to position Chinese American adoptees as either insiders or outsiders for belonging in Chinese society. The concept of the third space is important for adoptees to be aware that a space for them does exist that positions them in-between belonging and not belonging across cultures.

Cultural Socialization and Authenticity

Contemporary Chinese adoption literature demonstrates that new kinds of social constructions are happening with adoptive families consisting of Chinese and American

identities. They are unlike the Chinese American families who might try to claim cultural "authenticity" a little more firmly, yet it is difficult to measure who and what is considered to be "authentic" in the melting pot of America. The many layers of race, ethnicity, nationality, and culture demonstrate the complexities and contradictions that arise within and across concepts of identity. Discussions about how much parents should pursue their daughters' Chineseness are still being debated. The data for this research implies that cultural socialization activities involving language and cultural education programs influences Chinese American adoptees to cope well with their feelings of belonging in their birth country.

On the returnee survey, adoptees rated the factors that were very helpful for them to prepare for their journey abroad. The three top factors were their parents, prior experience in China, and Chinese classes (Figure 6).

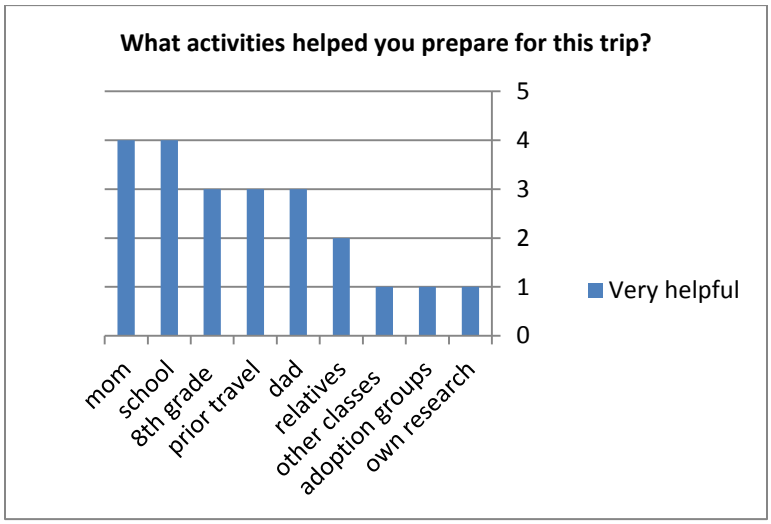

Figure 6: Top Helpful Activities

On the survey, students could pick more than one category as a response for the question, "What activities helped you prepare for this trip?" Four adoptees ranked *my mom* and *Chinese classes in school* as very helpful for preparing them for this trip. Three adoptees

ranked the *8th grade Chinese trip*, *prior travel in Asia other than the 8th grade trip*, and *my dad* as very helpful. Five adoptees had been to China before, and four of them ranked prior travel to China as a top factor for being very helpful. Two adoptees ranked *my relatives* as very helpful. One adoptee ranked each of following three categories as very helpful: *Chinese classes outside of school (weekend or evening classes for language, calligraphy, etc.); Adoption groups, such as Children with Families from China;* and *research on my own*.

Implications for Future Research

When I chose to embark on this study, I assumed that there were many studies in academia about study abroad for heritage student adoptees, but in reality there are few. Much of the research involving both these areas is shared mostly within the study abroad professional community or within transnational adoption literature, but few studies intertwine both areas together for Chinese American adoptees. As study abroad professionals and scholars are looking at ways to understand identity and belonging, many factors will need to be examined more closely. By examining race, nationality, and adoptive status more closely, we can better address the barriers that adoptees encounter when studying abroad in the country of their birth.

Although this study is able to highlight some of the issues for Chinese American adoptees regarding study abroad in their birth country, there needs to be more similar studies in order to make meaningful comparisons and to gain a more well-rounded perspective of these issues. Future studies should to go beyond the case study model and include large-scale studies for Chinese American adoptees. Studies similar to that of

Korean adoptees (Tuan and Shiao, 2010; Kim, 2007b; Higgins and Stoker, 2011), would be extremely helpful in making more accurate comparisons within adoptees' perspectives. Gathering data from multiple study abroad programs from adoptees that are studying abroad in China for longer periods of time would enrich the scholarly findings. In addition, future studies should address the regional differences for Mandarin language learners in dialect regions, since many of the students in this study felt frustrated that they were not able to communicate well with the locals in the regional dialect. This study is only part of a beginning for understanding the subtle differences among Chinese American adoptees going back to China and uncovers only some of the issues with which adoptees may struggle with while overseas.

As with most research, many questions are answered through this study, but many more are raised. How do adoptive parents' family values influence adoptee's senses of belonging in China? How do Chinese American adoptees negotiate their identities in private spaces, such as with host families? When do adoptees want to be seen as outsiders and not insiders in the country of their birth? How do Chinese American adoptees describe their adoptive status to Chinese nationals? What do Chinese citizens think about Chinese American adoptees in different regions in China? What kinds of Chinese cultural socialization activities affect adoptees' senses of belonging in China? These questions address only a few of the unanswered issues within Chinese American adoptees' heritage-seeking study abroad experiences. In addition, future studies would benefit from understanding how cultural socialization activities affect these study abroad students.

Recommendations

The recommendations for this study are directed towards language teachers, professionals in international education, study abroad students, parents, and adoptees. Based on the findings and in regards to study abroad programs, I recommend the following:

1. Race, nationality and adoption status be recognized in orientation programs;
2. Chinese partner programs and host families be informed of host students' demographics;
3. Parents and adoptees engage in language and culture education before travelling abroad;
4. Professionals, parents, and adoptees prepare to have conversations about adoptive family backgrounds.

I recommend that US study abroad programs include discussions about identity in regards to race, ethnicity, nationality, and adoption status in their orientation programs. Most study abroad students are foreigners in the host country they visit, but general expectations regarding race and language will vary across cultures. In China, for example, heritage students may not initially stand out as foreigners. Their behavior, appearance, and language may mark them as foreigners; however, they may also be able to pass as locals if they want to pass. Non-heritage students will be marked as foreigners and will be stared at or talked about in Chinese public spaces. Therefore, study abroad students should be made aware of how host nationals generally react to foreigners in the host country as part of the orientation program. Furthermore, study abroad coordinators, advisors, and language teachers should be well-trained to discuss the possibility of discrimination abroad.

I suggest that partner programs in China and host families be made aware of the various races and ethnicities for the potential students they plan to host. This will lessen

the element of surprise if the study abroad student is not white. Host families should also be made aware of the rising number of heritage students who come from adopted families and be encouraged to have conversations with students who are interested in talking about adoption. This can be tricky depending on the students and whether they want to have these conversations. Given the stigma and shame that is associated with adoption in China, such dialogs will help to diminish stereotypes and assumptions across cultures.

I recommend that parents and adoptees engage in language or cultural education activities before travelling abroad to China. Actually, all study abroad students going to China would benefit from having a better understanding of Chinese language and culture; however, parents and Chinese American adoptees tend to access these types of activities more often or sooner than non-heritage study abroad students because it is a part of their adoptive family history. It is important for them to be aware that these cultural bites of Chinese culture are not the same as they are in China. For example, all the students in this case study speak Mandarin; however, there are many situations in which they have trouble communicating with Chinese locals because of the regional dialect. China is not a homogeneous society, and language and cultural traditions are different depending upon regional and economic differences, such as urban and rural environments. Certain cultural socialization activities, such as language and culture classes will prepare parents and adoptees for these differences and will likely reduce the levels of culture shock for Chinese American adoptees.

Finally, I suggest that professionals, parents, and adoptees prepare to have conversations with host nationals about their adoptive family backgrounds and adoptive statuses. In many cultures, it is common for people to ask about family backgrounds;

therefore, all study abroad students will benefit by being prepared to answer questions about their families. Since more Chinese Americans adoptees are going back to China than ever before, it is important for them to be aware that many people in China might not understand what they mean when they say they are adopted. Informing students about the appropriate terms to use (e.g. orphan/orphanage, adoptee/adopted) will help foster a better understanding across cultures. Language teachers and other professionals in international education can role-play scenarios with adoptees about how to answer questions regarding their family background and adoptive status. Parents and children can talk about their experiences of adoption as a family and discuss how they want to describe their family to others. By providing professionals, parents, and adoptees the tools to communicate effectively before adoptees study abroad, they will be better prepared to respond to questions about their family background and discuss any misconceptions that may arise.

This study is by no means intended to toolbox Chinese American adoptees' experiences, but rather to highlight patterns that emerge from their accounts. Soon, the first generation of Chinese American adoptees will grow into adulthood and much of this information may no longer be easily accessible. My hope is that the information gathered from this study will encourage more reflection upon how to prepare and support both adopted and non-adopted heritage students for study abroad by highlighting themes that exist for Chinese American adoptees. These adoptees are living proof that Chinese and American identities are not mutually exclusive categories, since they are not one or the other, but an intersection that disrupts the dialects of duality of inside/outside. As more adoptees go back to China, their position causes them to negotiate their belonging and

identities in-between both worlds and in third spaces. Whether they will merge their identities with others or create their own unique identities, their presence in this world is important to understating how race, nationality, and adoptive status intertwine with identity and belonging.

APPENDIX A

COVER LETTER TO PARENTS

Dear Parents,

My name is Genevieve Beecher and I am a graduate student from the International Studies Department at the University of Oregon (UO). **I am writing to invite your son or daughter to participate in my research study about identity development students studying abroad in China**. This study collects data from students participating in a work-study abroad program in China. By conducting research with all students who consent to this study, it seeks to understand how international experiences affect identity development for high school students. The data collected will be used for my master's thesis.

Your child is eligible to be in this study because he or she is participating in the [program name]. If you decide to participate in this study, your child will be asked to:

- Complete a pre-departure survey (approximately 20 minutes);
- Complete a post-departure survey (approximately 20 minutes);
- Participate in an individual or group interview (approximately 1 hour).

I would like to audio record the interviews and transcribe the information for accuracy. Your child's participation in this study will remain confidential, and only I will have access to the data. Remember, your participation is completely voluntary. You and your child can choose to be in the study or not. If you choose to participate in the study, you can withdraw with no penalty at anytime.

If you'd like to participate or have any questions about the study, please email or contact me at gbeecher@uoregon.edu or at (541) 343-0708 or contact my advisor Dr. Kathie Carpenter at (541) 346-3898. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research subject, please contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects at the University of Oregon, (541) 346-2510. This office oversees the review of the research to protect your rights and is not involved with this study.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

Genevieve Roesler Beecher
Graduate Student in International Studies
175 PLC - University of Oregon
Eugene, OR 97402

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This form will tell you about a research study in which your child has the opportunity to participate. It will also ask you for permission for your child to participate in the study.

Purpose of the Study
The purpose of this study is to understand identity development for high school students studying abroad in China, thereby bettering these experiences for all students who partake in of this kind of international exchange. This project collects data from students and staff involved in a Chinese language work-study abroad program to learn how Americans see themselves in Chinese society. This study will begin in June 2011 and end in May 2012.

The following research questions are addressed:

- How does a study abroad experience in China affect students' racial and ethnic identity?
- How do American students shift their gender performances in response to expected gender norms in China?
- Do Chinese American students experience their race, ethnicity, and gender as dominate or subordinate to white European Americans in China? If so, how?

What Your Child Will Be Doing
Your child will be asked to do the following things:

- Complete two (2) surveys: one before and one after the 6-week international experience. The anonymous surveys will collect demographic information and ask questions about why your child chose to participate in the international experience, your child's past experience with China and Chinese culture, what your child's expectations are or were, and how his/her expectations were or were not met. Each survey should take 20-25 minutes to complete.
- Participate in a group or individual interview (approximately 1 hour). Interviews will be conducted at the end of the international experience or after your child has returned from China. The interviews will be audio recorded for content accuracy.

Informational interviews will also be conducted with the two program coordinators after the international experience is complete. All data collected will be kept confidential and destroyed after this study has ended, expected July 1, 2012.

Risks and Benefits
The study has the following risks:

- First, the psychological risks are minimal and are no more than what your child would experience in everyday life; however, your child may experience embarrassment, confusion, or stress when describing his or her personal experiences. This risk will be minimized by focusing on questions that are not anticipated to cause embarrassment, confusion, or stress, as well as sensitivity on

the part of the researcher. Please be aware that your child is not required to answer all (or any) questions.

- Second, the social/economic risks are minimal and are no more that what your child would experience in everyday life: however, your child may experience embarrassment when recounting your personal experiences. This risk will be minimized by focusing on questions that are not anticipated to cause embarrassment, as well as sensitivity on the part of the researcher. Your child is not required to answer all (or any) questions.
- Third, the legal risks are minimal and are no more that what your child would experience in everyday life. This risk is minimized by the nature of the questions, which will not focus on illegal activity, and your child is not required to answer all (or any) questions.
- Fourth, the physical risks are minimal and are no more than what you would experience in everyday life; however, you may experience physical discomfort during the 1-2 hour interview process. Please be aware that your child is not required to complete the interview in one setting and that your child are free to move around or leave the interview at anytime.

Your child may still participate in the program even if he or she does not participate in this study.

The benefits of participation include: helping future students have a better experience of study abroad, expressing feelings while going through culture shock, better knowledge of self and/or understanding one's identity (individual results which will be provided to subjects upon request), an opportunity to describe study abroad experience, and the opportunity to learn more about international education by attending research presentations and/or the thesis defense.

Right to Withdraw
Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You or your child may stop participating in the study at any time. Even if your child does not participate or chooses to withdraw from the study, he or she can continue to attend all classes and events provided by the [program name].

If You Have Questions
If you have any questions or concerns about this study or this consent form you may contact:

Genevieve Beecher
Graduate Student in International Studies
Department of International Studies
University of Oregon
541.343.0708
gbeecher@uoregon.edu

I understand this study. If I had questions about the study, I have received answers to my questions. I give my permission for my child to participate in this study.

_____

Print your Child's Name

_____

Print your Name

_____ _____

Parent/Legal Guardian's Signature Date

_____ _____

Child's Signature (not required) Date

APPENDIX C

STUDENT ASSENT FORM

Full Name: _____

Your parent (or guardian) has said it is okay for you to take part in a project about identity development and study abroad. If you choose to do it, you will be asked to complete two surveys and conduct a group or individual interview.

If you want to rest, or stop completely at any time, just tell me –you will not get into any trouble! In fact, if you do not want to do it at all, you do not have to. Also, if you have any questions about what you will be doing, just ask me to explain.

If you do want to participate in the project, please sign your name on the line below. Remember, you can stop to rest at any time and if you decide not to take part anymore, let me know.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D

PRE-DEPARTURE SURVEY QUESTIONS

Thank you for volunteering to take part in this study. I am conducting research to examine how students' see themselves before, during, and after studying abroad. Information from students such as yourself would be very helpful in improving study abroad programs and international education. Your perspectives are very important to the success of this study. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the survey.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. The information gathered will be kept confidential and anonymous and will be destroyed after I have completed my thesis (around July 2012). If you choose, you may decline to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. If you have questions at any time about the survey or the procedures, you may contact me at gbeecher@uoregon.edu.

After you complete the survey, please mail it back to me in the self-addressed envelope with your Informed Consent Form and Student Assent Form. Thank you.

Demographics

1. What is your sex?
   - male
   - female
   - write-in _____

2. What is your race?
   - African American
   - Asian American
   - Pacific Islander
   - White
   - Latino/a
   - Middle Eastern
   - Native American
   - Biracial
   - write-in _____

3. What is your ethnic background? (select all that apply)
   - Canadian
   - Japanese
   - Chinese
   - Korean
   - Filipino
   - African (any African country)
   - European (any European country)
   - Latino/a (any Central or South American country)
   - South Asian (India, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc.)
   - Southeast Asian (Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, etc.)
   - Native American
   - Canadian American
   - East Asian American
   - European American
   - African American
   - Latino/a American
   - South Asian American
   - Southeast Asian American
   - American

a. If you picked more than one or none, please write-in: _____

4. What is your generation?
    - First
    - 1.5
    - Second
    - Third
    - Fourth
    - Don't know
    - Write-in _____

5. Are you adopted?
    - Yes (If yes, please answer question 6a and 6b about your adopted parents)
    - No

6. a. What is your mother's/father's race?
    - African American
    - Asian American
    - Pacific Islander
    - Caucasian
    - White
    - Latino
    - Middle Eastern
    - Native American
    - Biracial
    - Write-in _____

   b. What is your other mother's/father's race?
    - African American
    - Asian American
    - Pacific Islander
    - Caucasian
    - White
    - Latino
    - Middle Eastern
    - Native American
    - Biracial
    - None/Single parent
    - Write-in _____

7. Student status:
    - Freshman
    - Sophomore
    - Junior
    - Senior

8. Do you consider yourself a Chinese heritage student? NOTE: Chinese heritage students are those who study Chinese to learn about one's family background, ethnicity, culture, and/or nationality.
    - yes
    - no
    - not sure

9. What is your current level of Mandarin Chinese?
    - Beginning
    - Intermediate
    - Advanced
    - Superior
    - Bilingual
    - Native speaker
    - Other: write in: _____

Previous Experience

10. Have you ever been to China before?
    - yes
    - no - If no, skip to question #12

11. How many times have you been to China?
    - 1x
    - 2 x
    - 3 x
    - 4 x
    - 5 x
    - 1 x per year
    - 2 x per year or more
    - write-in _____

12. What was your approximate length of stay? (If you have been multiple time, please choose the longest time)
    - 1 week or less
    - 2 weeks
    - 3 weeks
    - 1 month
    - 2-5 months
    - 6 months - 12 months
    - 1-2 years
    - 2 -5 years
    - 5 years or more
    - write-in _____

13. How old were you when you previously traveled to China?
    - 0 - 1years
    - 1 - 5 years
    - 5 - 10 years
    - 10 - 12 years

- 13-14
- 14 -16
- 16 or above

External Influences

14. Where or from whom did you FIRST learn about China and Chinese culture?
    - In school
    - From my family
    - From my friends
    - From media (TV, movies)
    - Newspapers, books, articles
    - Online
    - Other: write in: _____

15. Where or from whom have you learned the MOST about China and Chinese culture?
    - In school
    - From my family
    - From my friends
    - From media (TV, movies)
    - Newspapers, books, articles
    - Online
    - Other: write in:_____

16. I first thought about going to China on a study abroad program:
    - Before I started school
    - In primary school
    - In middle school
    - In high school
    - Other: write in:

17. I was encouraged to study abroad by:
    - My parents
    - My grandparents
    - My friends
    - A teacher
    - Myself, no one else encouraged me
    - Other: write in:

18. Please circle the number and rate each the following:

How important was the following consideration in your decision to go abroad?	Not Important at All	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
Because your friend(s) went	1	2	4	5
Information from previous study abroad students	1	2	4	5
Use for future career/education goals	1	2	4	5
To learn/improve language skills	1	2	4	5
Good programs or available opportunities	1	2	4	5
Encouragement from school or teacher	1	2	4	5
Encouragement from family	1	2	4	5
School/program requirements	1	2	4	5
Desire to travel	1	2	4	5
To learn more about my ethnic heritage	1	2	4	5
To learn about Chinese culture and society	1	2	4	5
To meet new people	1	2	4	5
To help people	1	2	4	5

Expectations

19. What are your goals for studying abroad? (check top four)

- o Greater understanding of different cultures
- o Greater understanding of the US in world affairs and history
- o Greater understanding of my faith
- o Gain a different perspective on American culture
- o Gain a better understanding of my ethnic heritage
- o Growth in self-awareness
- o Growth in maturity and self-confidence
- o Growth in interpersonal skills and ability to adapt
- o Intellectual stimulation and development in the liberal arts
- o Increase ability to communicate in a foreign language
- o Increase my decision-making skills
- o Enhance resume, increase job opportunities
- o Travel and see new places
- o Meet new people
- o Write in_____

20. Please rate the following statements:

	Not at all	Very little	Mostly	Totally
It is important to learn about other countries first hand	1	2	4	5
Americans are respected by people in China	1	2	4	5
This study abroad experience will be a very important contribution to my identity	1	2	4	5
I will feel comfortable with Chinese people and Chinese culture	1	2	4	5
I expect that I will blend into Chinese society	1	2	4	5

21. This study abroad experience will contribute to how I see myself as…	Not at all	Very little	Mostly	Totally
… a member of my ethnic community.	1	2	4	5
… a member of my family.	1	2	4	5
… a member of my racial community.	1	2	4	5
… an American.	1	2	4	5
… a male/female	1	2	4	5

22. I am motivated to study abroad…	Not at all	Very little	Mostly	Totally
… to improve my career prospects	1	2	4	5
… to use/improve a foreign language	1	2	4	5
… to learn about my family/heritage	1	2	4	5
… to be with friends	1	2	4	5
… because the program was recommended	1	2	4	5

23. I expect that in China I will spend most of my time with…	Not at all	Very little	Mostly	Totally
… students in my program	1	2	4	5
… Chinese students	1	2	4	5
… Chinese adults	1	2	4	5
… Other	1	2	4	5

24. I expect that my U.S. classmates will treat me…	Not at all	Very little	Mostly	Totally
… the same as all other foreigners	1	2	4	5
… the same as other foreigners of the same gender	1	2	4	5
… the same as all other Americans	1	2	4	5
… the same as other American of the same gender	1	2	4	5
… the same as Chinese people	1	2	4	5
… the same as Chinese of the same gender	1	2	4	5
… differently than all of the above	1	2	4	5
… Write-in _____	1	2	4	5

25. I expect that my Chinese locals will treat me…	Not at all	Very little	Mostly	Totally
… the same as other foreigners	1	2	4	5
… the same as other foreign of the same gender	1	2	4	5
… the same as other Americans	1	2	4	5
… the same as other American of the same gender	1	2	4	5
… the same as other Chinese people	1	2	4	5
… the same as other Chinese of the same gender	1	2	4	5
… differently than all of the above	1	2	4	5
… Write-in _____	1	2	4	5

Open Ended Questions

26. What do you imagine will be the most rewarding aspects of your study abroad experience (please be as specific as possible)?

27. What do you imagine will be the most challenging aspect of your study abroad experience (be as specific as possible)?

This is the end of the survey. Thank you for your time and attention. If you have any additional comments/suggestions for improvement, please feel free to let me know.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Thank you for volunteering to take part in this study. I am conducting research to examine the factors (i.e. race, ethnicity, and gender) that affect student experiences while studying abroad. I would like to explore the experiences of both heritage and non-heritage students studying abroad in China. Information from students such as yourself would be very helpful in improving study abroad programs to make them more appealing and accessible to a diverse range of students. Your perspectives are very important to the success of this study.

If you prefer, this interview will remain strictly confidential. I will not use your name in any publications. If you choose, you may decline to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. With your permission, this interview will be audio recorded for more accurate transcription. Only I will have access to the audio recordings or any data, and I will destroy them after I have completed my thesis (around June 2012).

- How does the heritage-seeking study abroad experience in one's ancestral homeland affect students' racial and ethnic identity?
- How do Chinese American male and female heritage students shift their gender performances in response to expected gender norms in China?
- Do Chinese American students experience their race, ethnicity, and gender as dominate or subordinate to white European Americans in China? If so, how?

Before we begin, do you have any questions regarding this study's purpose or the interview questions?

International Background

Please tell me about your experiences prior to this program.

1. Why did you choose to participate in this program?
2. How you initially become interested in this study abroad program?
3. How did your family (particularly your parents) react when you informed them you wanted to go to China?
4. Who or what has been the most influential in your choice to participate in the program?
5. In your view, does your community encourage study abroad? Please describe the views held by your culture group regarding study abroad?
6. Have you traveled to Asia before this study abroad program? If so, when? Why? Where did you stay? Was it pleasant or unpleasant? Please describe your experience.
7. Some people say that international travel is a time for exploring one's racial or ethnic identity. Would you say that is true for you?
   a. If yes, what do you think motivates your interest?
   b. Was this a sudden interest or had it been there all along?

Identity

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the ways in which you think about yourself:

8. What is your race?
9. What is your ethnicity?
10. What is your gender?
11. What is your generation?
12. Are you adopted?
13. What do you consider to be your cultural/ethnic heritage?
14. What does that mean to you, to consider yourself [restate gender and race or ethnic response above, i.e. female Chinese American]?
15. Do you consider yourself a Chinese "heritage" student? [Heritage-seeking is study for the purpose of learning about one's family background, ethnicity, culture, and/or nationality, and students who do this are often called "heritage" students].
16. Do you feel that most Americans are able to tell the difference between Chinese Americans and Chinese natives? Why or why not?
17. Have you ever been mistaken for an ethnicity different than your actual ethnicity in the U.S.?
18. Have you ever been mistaken for a foreigner in the U.S.?
    a. By whom?
    b. How did it make you feel?
19. Has anyone in the US ever said to you, "Your English is good"?
    a. What was your response? How did that make you feel?
20. Has anyone ever asked you "where are your from," meaning to ask "what is your ethnicity"?

Occasionally, newspapers or television will run stories on Asian Americans.

21. To what degree do you feel any sense of personal connection with the Asian Americans in the story?
22. In general, would you say you feel any special relationship to other Asians?

Identity Questions for Chinese Americans

23. Would you describe for me how being Chinese is different from being American, if at all?
    a. (If respondent did not answer "American") Would you ever consider calling yourself an "American" plain and simple?
24. How do you think your parents see you, as more Chinese or more American?
    a. (repeat for people in the program)
    b. (repeat for people at high school)
    c. (repeat for closest friends)
    d. (repeat for host families)
    e. (if different for all 3, ask why)
25. Do you think of your father as being particularly Chinese or particularly American or a combination? (Repeat question for mother)
26. Can you think of any specific times in your life that being Chinese has been more or less important to you in the U.S.? In China?

Societal Perceptions and Influences

Questions 48-54 will be asked twice. The first time asked it will refer to "in the U.S." and the second time it will refer to "in China," and is indicated by US/China.

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about how other people see you either in the US or China:

27. How often do people ask or comment on your racial or ethnic background in the US/China?
28. How did you typically respond in the US/China? If these responses are different, why?
29. How do you generally feel when people ask/comment in the US/China?
30. In the US/China have you ever felt out of place or uncomfortable because of your ethnicity? Because of your race? Because of your gender?
31. In the US/China has anybody ever made assumptions about you based on larger stereotypes about your race? Your ethnicity? Your gender?
32. Do you ever feel any social pressure to have a strong ethnic background/identity in the US/China?
33. Do you believe there is racial discrimination in the US?
    f. Who are the victims of racial discrimination?
    g. (repeat question for China)
34. In the past, Asian Americans were subjected to significant amounts of discrimination in the US
    a. In your opinion, do they still experience discrimination today?
    b. In your opinion, do they experience more/less/same amount as blacks? Latinos? Whites?
35. As a study abroad student have you ever experienced what you believe to be racism or prejudice?
    a. What happened?
    b. How often does this occur?
    c. How do you typically respond?
36. Do you know of other study abroad students who have experience what they believed to be discrimination or prejudice?
37. Have you ever personally ever felt that your race or ethnicity was a handicap to fully participating in American society? In Chinese Society?
38. When you have traveled in the past, have you ever felt out of place because of your race or ethnicity?
    a. Where did you feel this?
    b. What made you feel like this?
39. Do you think it means something different to say that you're an American of Irish descent compared to saying you're an American of Chinese descent?

Study Abroad

40. What things stand out about your experiences abroad so far?
    a. What was one of the best experiences you've had?
    b. What was one of the most frustrating experiences you've had?
    c. What was one of the funniest experiences you've had?

d. What was one of the most annoying experiences you've had?

41. How do you think the host country nationals have perceived or described you? Were they surprised to find out you are from America?
42. How do Chinese people relate to you?
    a. Did you feel it was any different from the other students?
    b. How did you deal with these challenges?
43. Have you met many Chinese students? Chinese teachers? How about Chinese people on the street? Other Americans?
    a. How did you meet them- what are they like?
    b. What kinds of interactions did you have?
44. What is your host family like? How do the Kunming and Weishan families differ? How are they the same?
45. Could you tell me more about the major challenges you experience while being abroad?
46. In what ways do you feel your experience abroad has change the way you look at the world? At your identity?
47. Do people treat you differently in different regions (Weishan, Kunming, Beijing)? What are some of these differences?
48. Did you felt like you were learning a lot about your own or other cultures? If so, how?
49. How would you describe Chinese culture to someone who doesn't know anything about it, based on your experiences in China?
50. What tips would you give to other [boys/girls] traveling to China or participating on this program, so they could learn from your experience with the culture? Would your advice change if someone looked Chinese? If they looked White?
51. Did you have any goals about what you wanted to achieve while in China, like learning a language other than Mandarin or even seeing the Great Wall? What did you hope to get out of this experience? Did you achieve your goal? Why or Why not?
52. Would you do anything differently if you could prepare for this study abroad program?
53. Do you feel that your experience is different from what a Chinese American [male/female] would have experienced had they been in your place? How about a White European American? In what ways?
54. Do you think that you received any special treatment because of your status as a [male/female] or because of your race/ethnicity? Do you have an example?
55. Have you experienced any special limitations or privileges because of your gender, race, or ethnicity?
56. Have you experienced any sexual harassment, or did you witness someone else being harassed? What happened?
57. Do you have any thoughts on the difference between Chinese American men's and women's experiences in China, as you saw them in the group? Do you have any thoughts on the difference between White European American men's and women's experiences in China, as you saw them in the group?

58. In what ways has China or Chinese culture turned out to be different that you expected it to be? In what ways were your ideas about China or Chinese culture confirmed?
59. Do [men/women] in China behave differently than [Chinese American men/women] in America? How?
60. Do you think you will travel to China again in the future?
61. How have you changed as a person as a result of your study abroad experience?
62. Is there anything else I should know?

If time allows…

Early Experiences

63. Please tell me about the place or places where you grew up:
    a. Is this where you were born? If not, where were you born?
    b. What kind of people lived in your neighborhood?
    c. Who were your playmates?
64. How about the primary school/middle school you attended. Would you describe it for me:
    a. What kind of people did you go to school with?
    b. What are the ethnicities of your closest friends?
    c. (If Asians were present) did you seek them out? Why/Why not?
    d. Do you think you had a preference?
65. Did you have much contact with Chinese people? Where did this happen?
66. How conscious do you think you were of being Chinese when you were in primary or middle school?
67. Have you taken any Chinese courses? If so, what?
    a. Asian history courses?
    b. Have you learned any other Asian languages besides Chinese Mandarin?
    c. Are you a member of any ethnic clubs?
68. Do you remember ever experiencing any racism or discrimination in school?
    a. What happened?
    b. Where?
    c. Can you describe to me how that made you feel?

Family Influences

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your family and family history:

69. Who in your family were the original immigrants?
70. Where did they come from?
71. When did they come here?
72. Where did they settle?
73. What did they do for work?
74. How do you know this information?
75. And your family now, where are they all located? (parents, siblings, grandparents)
76. What do they do for work?

77. Now I'd like you to think about your family and what they are like for you growing up:
78. Could you describe to me your family living situation in the United States?
79. Would you describe to me your relationship with your parents?
80. How strongly do your parents feel about preserving your cultural heritage?
81. How important do you think it was to your parents that you be familiar with Chinese culture? Any aspects in particular? How did they express this to you?
82. What kinds of cultural information or practices did they teach you?
83. How do you feel about preserving cultural traditions or practices?
84. How would you describe your parents with respect to being more traditional or more modern?
85. Are there ever any Asian languages spoken at home? If so, what? By whom?
86. How often do you see your grandparents?
    b. Mother's side and father's side?
    c. Do you have a close relationship?
    d. Do they teach you about your cultural heritage?
    e. How often do you see them?
87. How often would you say your family eats Chinese meals? Did your parents prepare these meals or did your parent prepare something else for you?
88. Does your family celebrate any Chinese holidays? Which one(s)?
89. Does your family ever talk to you about racism or discrimination?

APPENDIX F

POST DEPARTURE SURVEY

The formatting for this survey has been modified from Qualtrics.com to fit in a document format.

Thank you for volunteering to take part in this study! I am conducting research to examine that affect how students' see themselves before, during, and after studying abroad. Information from you is very helpful in improving study abroad programs and international education. Your perspectives are very important to the success of this study. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the survey.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. The information gathered will be kept confidential and anonymous and will be destroyed after I have completed my thesis (around July 2012). If you choose, you may decline to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. If you have questions at any time about the survey or the procedures, you may contact me at gbeecher@uoregon.edu or 541-221-9862. Thank you very much for your time and support. Please start with the survey now by answering the questions below.

Best,
Genevieve Roesler Beecher
Graduate Student in International Studies
University of Oregon

What is your email address? (Please note: an accurate email address is required. Your email address will NOT be shared without your permission and will only be used for the purposes of this research study.)

What are your initials?

Please provide your phone number if it is okay for me to call you about this study:

What is your gender?
- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female
- ❍ Transgendered

What was your age on July 1, 2011?
- ❍ 14
- ❍ 15
- ❍ 16
- ❍ 17
- ❍ 18
- ❍ 19+

What is your race? (You may choose more than one response)
- ❑ African American (1)
- ❑ Asian American (2)
- ❑ Pacific Islander (3)
- ❑ White (4)
- ❑ Latino/a (5)
- ❑ Middle Eastern (6)
- ❑ Native American (7)
- ❑ Bi-racial (8)
- ❑ Biracial (9)
- ❑ Other (10)

What is your ethnic background (where are your ancestors from)?
- ❑ Chinese (1)
- ❑ Japanese (2)
- ❑ Korean (3)
- ❑ African (4)
- ❑ European (5)
- ❑ Latino/a (6)
- ❑ South Asian or Pacific Islander (India, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc). (7)
- ❑ Southeast Asian (Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, etc.) (8)
- ❑ Native American (9)
- ❑ Other (10)

If you picked more than one ethnicity or race from the question above, please write in your response:

Are you adopted?
- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

Are your parents divorced?
- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

What is your current level of Mandarin Chinese?
- ❍ Novice (1)
- ❍ Intermediate (2)

❍ Advanced (3)
❍ Superior (4)

Do you consider yourself a Chinese heritage learner at all? NOTE: Chinese heritage learners are students who study Chinese to learn more about his/her family background, ethnicity, culture, and or nationality.
❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

Please rate the following statements based on your experiences in the program:

	No way (1)	A little (2)	A lot (3)	Totally! (4)
It is important to learn about other countries first hand (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Americans are respected by people in China (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Visiting China has helped me better understand who I am (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
I felt comfortable with Chinese people and in Chinese culture (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
I felt more comfortable in China than I usually do in the U.S. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍
I blended into Chinese society (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍
I liked being noticed as a foreigner in Chinese culture (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍

I was surprised by how people treated me in China (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍
My Kunming host family was surprised with my appearance (9)	❍	❍	❍	❍
My Weishan host family was surprised with my appearance (10)	❍	❍	❍	❍
I went through culture shock (11)	❍	❍	❍	❍

What type of activities helped prepare you for this trip? (Please pick what applies to you and rank)

Very helpful	A little helpful	I did this but it wasn't helpful at all
_____ Chinese classes in school (1)	_____ Chinese classes in school (1)	_____ Chinese classes in school (1)
_____ Chinese classes outside of school (weekend or evening classes for language, calligraphy, etc.) (2)	_____ Chinese classes outside of school (weekend or evening classes for language, calligraphy, etc.) (2)	_____ Chinese classes outside of school (weekend or evening classes for language, calligraphy, etc.) (2)
_____ The Asian Reporter (3)	_____ The Asian Reporter (3)	_____ The Asian Reporter (3)
_____ Adoption groups, such as Children with Families from China (4)	_____ Adoption groups, such as Children with Families from China (4)	_____ Adoption groups, such as Children with Families from China (4)
_____ Heritage camp (5)	_____ Heritage camp (5)	_____ Heritage camp (5)
_____ 8th Grade Trip to China (6)	_____ 8th Grade Trip to China (6)	_____ 8th Grade Trip to China (6)
_____ My mom (7)	_____ My mom (7)	_____ My mom (7)
_____ My dad (8)	_____ My dad (8)	_____ My dad (8)
_____ My relatives (9)	_____ My relatives (9)	_____ My relatives (9)
_____ Research on my	_____ Research on my	_____ Research on my

own (10) _____ Prior travel in Asia other than the 8th grade trip (11) _____ YUNNAN Orientation (12) _____ Social media websites (blogs, twitter, Facebook) (13) _____ Chinese movies (14) _____ Chinese music (15) _____ Other (16)	own (10) _____ Prior travel in Asia other than the 8th grade trip (11) _____ YUNNAN Orientation (12) _____ Social media websites (blogs, twitter, Facebook) (13) _____ Chinese movies (14) _____ Chinese music (15) _____ Other (16)	own (10) _____ Prior travel in Asia other than the 8th grade trip (11) _____ YUNNAN Orientation (12) _____ Social media websites (blogs, twitter, Facebook) (13) _____ Chinese movies (14) _____ Chinese music (15) _____ Other (16)

Please indicate how satisfied you are with the following:

	Very Dissatisfied (1)	Dissatisfied (2)	Satisfied (3)	Very Satisfied (4)
Your effort to participate in Chinese culture (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your effort to interact with Chinese people (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Depth/quality of contact you had with Chinese people (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
The amount of Chinese you spoke with Chinese people (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
The YUNNAN Program's effort to get me involved in Chinese culture (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍

Suggestions for getting students more involved in Chinese culture while in China:_____
Please rate the amount of growth you experienced from the program in the following areas:

	Not at all (1)	A little (2)	A lot (3)	Totally! (4)
Greater understanding of Chinese culture (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Greater understanding of the US in world affairs and history (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Different perspective on how Chinese people view Americans (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Different perspective on how Chinese people view White people (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Different perspective on how Chinese people view Chinese adoptees (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Different perspective on how Chinese people view adoptive parents (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Became more independence (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Became more self-confident (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Became more prepared for	❍	❍	❍	❍

college (9) Became more confused about my relationship to the world (10)	❍	❍	❍	❍

Do you feel you were a part of a majority or minority group in China?
❍ majority (1)
❍ minority (2)

What factors do you think influenced the way you were treated by local people (in general) in China? (Please rank with most important factor on top)
_____ skin color (1)
_____ sex/gender (2)
_____ eye color (3)
_____ American nationality (4)
_____ Mandarin language ability (5)
_____ personality (6)
_____ height or weight (7)
_____ age (8)
_____ clothes (9)

Discuss the top two factors and provide example of how you were treated. If there is a top factor not listed, please write it below.

Answer If "What is your gender?" Male Is Not Selected

As a female in China, I was expected to...(check as many boxes that apply)
❑ go shopping (1)
❑ do domestic duties like cook or clean (2)
❑ go to a salon for my hair / nails (3)
❑ be shy or quiet (4)
❑ play or talk about sports (5)
❑ smoke / drink (6)
❑ stay out late (7)
❑ go to a massage parlor (8)
❑ only hang out with other females (9)

Answer If "What is your gender?" Female Is Not Selected

As a male in China, I was expected to...(check as many boxes that apply)

- ❑ go shopping (1)
- ❑ do domestic duties like cook or clean (2)
- ❑ go to a salon for my hair / nails (3)
- ❑ be shy or quiet (4)
- ❑ play or talk about sports (5)
- ❑ smoke / drink (6)
- ❑ stay out late (7)
- ❑ go to a massage parlor (8)
- ❑ only hang out with other males (9)

I changed my behavior to act more Chinese (than American) when I was...

	Never (1)	Sometimes (2)	Always (3)
with my Kunming host family (1)	❍	❍	❍
with my Weishan host family (2)	❍	❍	❍
with my friends on the YUNNAN program (3)	❍	❍	❍
with Chinese people (in general) (4)	❍	❍	❍
in restaurants/cafes (5)	❍	❍	❍
on the bus (6)	❍	❍	❍
performing NGO work (7)	❍	❍	❍
in Chinese class (8)	❍	❍	❍
shopping (9)	❍	❍	❍
My behavior stayed the same (10)	❍	❍	❍

While in China, did you ever change your general appearance to blend into Chinese culture? (like wear sunglasses to blend in or change your hair style?)

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To "This experience changed how I see..."

If so, how did you change your appearance to blend in?

This experience changed how I see...

	Not at all (1)	Somewhat (2)	A lot (3)	Totally! (4)
my family (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my ancestors (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my race (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
myself as an American (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
myself as a male / female (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Chinese people in general (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my friends in the program (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my friends not in the program (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍

What was one (or more) of the most rewarding aspects of your experience in China?
What was one (or more) of the most challenging aspects of your experience in China?
Overall, was your experience a positive or negative one?

❍ Positive (1)
❍ Negative (2)

Would you recommend this program to your peers?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

If Yes Is Selected, Then Skip To “End of Block”

Why not recommend this program to your peers?

In the U.S., how often do you talk about your experiences in China?

	Never (1)	Less than Once a Month (2)	Once a Month (3)	2-3 Times a Month (4)	Once a Week (5)	2-3 Times a Week (6)	Daily (7)
How often do you talk about your experiences in China? (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Please rate how comfortable you are discussing your experiences in China with the following people:

	Uncomfortable (1)	Comfortable (2)	Very Comfortable (3)	Not Applicable (4)
my mom (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my dad (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my siblings (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my Chinese teacher (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my other teachers at school (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my closest friends (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my general classmates (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my relatives (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my family's friends (9)	❍	❍	❍	❍
people at work (10)	❍	❍	❍	❍
people from China (11)	❍	❍	❍	❍
social networking websites (12)	❍	❍	❍	❍

Please rate how comfortable you are discussing your race or your ethnic background with the following people:

	Uncomfortable (1)	Comfortable (2)	Very Comfortable (3)	Not Applicable (4)
my mom (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my dad (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my siblings (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my Chinese teacher (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my other teachers at school (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my closest friends (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my general classmates (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my relatives (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍
my family's friends (9)	❍	❍	❍	❍
people at my work (10)	❍	❍	❍	❍
people from China (11)	❍	❍	❍	❍
social networking websites (12)	❍	❍	❍	❍

Are there any behaviors or traditions you learned in China that you continue to do in the U.S.? (For example, use a sun umbrella or always give people gifts with two hands)?
❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To "Would you ever consider living in China..."

If so, what behaviors/traditions do you continue to do?
Would you ever consider living in China for work or school?
❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

If no, why not?

REFERENCES CITED

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso Editions and New Left Books.

Andrew, A. (2007). China's Abandoned Children and Transnational Adoption: Issues and Problems for U.S.-China Relations, Adoption Agencies, and Adoptive Parents. *Journal of Women's History, 19* (1), 123-131.

Anzaldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands la Frontera: The New Mestiza.* San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.

Barefoot Books. (2011). National Association for Multicultural Education. *Oregon Conference.* Eugene, OR.

Bhabha, H. (1990). The Third Space. In J. Rutherford, *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* (pp. 207-221). London: Lawerence & Wishart.

Bolton Tsantir, S. (2010). *Heritage-Seeking and Study Abroad: A Case Study.* Retrieved January 15, 2011, from Institute of International Education: http://www.iienetwork.org/page/97399

Booth, W., Colomb, G., & Williams, J. (2008). *Craft of Research* (3rd Edition). University of Chicago Press.

Brandeis University . (2008). *Fraud and Corruption in International Adoptions* . Retrieved May 15, 2012, from Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism: http://www.brandeis.edu/investigate/adoption/china.html

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Clemetson, L. (2006). Adopted in China, Seeking Identity in America. *New York Times*. March 23.

Comp, D. (2008). U.S. Heritage-Seeking Students Discover Minority Communities in Western Europe. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 12* (1), 29-37.

Dhingra, P. (2007). *Managing Multicultural Lives: Asian American Professionals and the Challenge of Mulitple Identities.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Doan, T. M. (2002). Asian American Students: Study Abroad Participation, Perspectives, and Experiences. *Masters Thesis*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Dolby, N. (2004). Encountering an American Self: Study Abroad and National Identity. *Comparative Education Review, 48* (2), 150-173.

Dorow, S. K. (2006). *Transnational Adoption: A Cultural Economy of Race, Gender, and Kinship.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

Dorow, S. (2006). Racialized Choices: Chinese Adoption and the 'White Noise' of Blackness. *Critical Sociology, 32*, 357.

Falsgraf, C., & Bourgerie, D. S. (2008). The Language Flagship: Multiple Approaches to Creating Global Professionals. *U.S.-China Educational Exchange: Perspectives on a Growing Partnership*, pp. 83-97.

Families with Children from China. (2011). Retreived November 29, 2012. From http://www.fwcc.org/

Fischer, K. (2010). Americans Shy Away From Study in Asia. *Chronicle of Education*. March 14.

Freundlich, M., & Liberthal, J. K. (2000). The Gathering of the First Generation of Adult Korean Adoptees:Adoptees' Perceptions of International Adoption. *Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute*.

George Washington University Graduate School of Education and Human Development. (2011). *Survey Template Library*. Retrieved 2011 April 4 from Question Pro: http://www.questionpro.com/a/showSurveyLibrary.do?surveyID=305170

Gopinath, G. (2005). *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.

Hall, S. (1996). The Question of Cultural Identity? In S. H. Hall, *Modernity* (pp. 596-632). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Herman, E. (2012, February 24). *International Adoption* . Retrieved May 15, 2012, from The Adoption History Project : http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/internationaladoption.htm

Higgins, C. & Stoker, K. (2011). Language Learning as a Site for Belonging: A Narrative analysis of Korean adoptee-returnees. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 14* (4), 399-412.

Institute of International Education. (2010). *Open Doors: American Studying Abroad.* Retrieved March 12, 2011, from http://www.iie.org/en/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors

Johnson, K. (2004). *Wanting a Daughter, Needing a Son: Abandonment, Adoption, and Orphanage Care in China.* St. Paul, MN: Yeong & Yeong Book Company.

Johnston, K., Swim, J., Saltsman, B., Deater-Deckard, K., & Petrill, S. (2007). Mothers' Racial, Ethnic, and Cultural Socialization of Transracially Adopted Asian Children. *Family Relations, 56* (October), 390-402.

Kim, E. (2010). Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptees and the Politics of Belonging. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Kim, E. (2007a). Book Review of Transnational Adoption: A Cultural Economy of Race, Gender, and Kinship. *Anthropological Quarterly, 80* (2), 589-596.

Kim, E. (2007b). Our Adoptee, Our Alien: Transnational Adoptees as Specters of Foreignness and Family in South Korea. *Anthropological Quarterly, 80* (2), 497-431.

Kim, S.-Y. (2003). Narratives of Individual Cultural and Racial Identity Experiences of Korean Adoptees in the United States. *Master's Thesis*. University of Oregon.

Kirk, G., & Okazawa-Rey, M. (2010). *Women's Lives: Multicultural Perspectives.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Kristof, N., & WuDunn, S. (2010). *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide.* New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Le, E. (2008). *Study Abroad Advising for Asian American Students.* Retrieved January 14, 2011, from Project for Learning Abroad, Training, and Outreach (PLATO): http://allabroad.us/advising_asian_americans.pdf

Liu, E. (1998). *The Accidental Asian.* New York, NY: Random House.

Lorber, J. (2010). The Social Construction of Gender. In G. Kirk, & M. Okazawa-Rey, *Women's Lives* (5th Edition ed., pp. 64-67). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Lorde, A. (1984). Age Race Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference. In A. Lorde, *Sister Outsider.* Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.

Lostetter, E. (2010). Gender Differences in Students' Experiences in Study Abroad. *Master's Thesis*. University of Oregon.

Lowe, L. (2000). Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Mulitplicity: Marking Asian American Differences. In J. Y. Wu, & M. Song, *Asian American Studies: A Reader* (pp. 423-442). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Miller-Loessi, K., & Kilic, Z. (2001). A Unique Diaspora? The Case of Adopted Girls from the People's Republic of China. *Diaspora, 10* (2), 243-260.

Neff, A. R. (2001). Discovering Heritage and More by Studying Abroad. *Black Issues in Higher Education , 18* (12), 38.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1986). *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Patton, M. (2010). *Proposing Empirical Research: A Guide to the Fundamentals.* Pyrczak Publishing.

Pyke, K. a. (2003). AmericanWomen and Racialized Femininities: "Doing" Gender aross Cultural Worlds. *Gender & Society, 17* (1), 33-53.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rubin, J. (2004, June). Going Inward by Going Abroad: Understanding Heritage Seeking for Chinese Americans Studying Abroad in China. *Master's Thesis*. Northwestern University.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism.* New York, NY: Random House.

Takamori, A. (2010). Rethinking Japanese Ameican "Heritage" in the Homeland. *Critical Asian Studies, 42* (2), 217-238.

Tanno, D. V. (2008). Ethical Implications of the Ethnic "Test" in Multicultural Communications Studies. In M. K. Asante, Y. Miike, & J. Yin, *The Global Intercultural Communication Reader* (pp. 27-36). New York : Routledge.

Tuan, M. (1998). *Forever Foreigners or Honorary White? An Asian Ethnic Experience Today.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Tuan, M., & Shiao, J. L. (2011). *Choosing Ethnicity, Negotiating Race: Korean Adoptees in America.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2012, March). *Top Total Trade - Trading Partners, Exports, Imports*. Retrieved May 15, 2012, from Foreign Trade: http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/statistics/highlights/top/top1203yr.html

U.S. Department of State. (2011). Intercountry Adoption: China. 12-April. Retrieved 2011, Novermber 06 from Bureau of Counsular Affairs. http://adoption.state.gov/country_information/country_specific_info.php?country-select=china

US Department of State. (2011). *National Security Languages Initiative for Youth*. 01-July. Retrieved 2011, November 05 from Buearu of Educational and Cultural Affairs: http://exchanges.state.gov/youth/programs/nsli.html

Volkman, T. A. (2003). Embodying Chinese Culture: Transnational Adoption in North America. *Social Text, 21* (1), 29-55.

Waters, M. C. (2010). Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only? In G. Kirk, & M. Okazawa-Rey, *Women's Lives* (5th Edition ed., pp. 130-137). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

West, C. (1987). Doing Gender. *Gender & Society* (1), 125-51.

Wong, K. F., & Xiao, Y. (2010). Diveristy and Difference: Identity Issues fo Chinese Heritage Languge Learners from Dialect Backgrounds. *Heritage Language Journal , 7* (2), 153-187.

Yngvesson, B. (2010). *Belonging in an Adopted World: Race, Identity, and Transnational Adoption* . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Zinn, M. B., & Dill, B. T. (1996). Theorizing Difference from Multiracial Feminism. *Feminist Studies, 22*, 321-333.