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An Imagined Paradise for Children's Education?

New Chinese Migrant Families' Adaptation to New Zealand Education System

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Abstract

This thesis explores new Chinese migrant families' education-related experiences in New Zealand. It shows the perspectives of new Chinese migrant parents, children of new Chinese migrant parents, and local educators from New Zealand schools.

The research is informed by epistemological constructivism, and an exploratory case study approach is employed to direct the research. This is a qualitative research in nature, and the research data is derived from in-depth one-to-one interview with three cohorts that are highly related to the research topic. In detail, 17 new Chinese migrant parents, 9 children of new Chinese migrant parents, and 12 local educators from New Zealand schools were invited to participate in this research.

Research findings show that children's education indeed play a critical role in driving new Chinese migrant families to emigrate from People's Republic of China (PRC) to New Zealand, particularly for families arrived at New Zealand in the most recent decade. It is challenging for both the migrant parents and their children to navigate in the education system of New Zealand. For parents, they confront challenges in settling down in the host country, meanwhile, they are always concerned about their elderly parents living across the oceans. Further, they have to tackle the inter-generational divergence with their children in terms of Chinese language maintenance and disciplinary and subject areas they aspire their children to pursue. For children of Chinese migrant parents, apart from the inter-generational divergence they confront in the domain of their family, they also face challenges to adapt to the New Zealand education system. These challenges consist of English hurdle and teaching and learning style adaption.

This research highlights what kind of teaching practices they aspire to seek in the context of New Zealand and what they feel dissatisfied with the education system of New Zealand compared with the education system of China. Chinese migrant parents' unfamiliarity with the education system of New Zealand can lead to their dissatisfaction with the New Zealand education system, which consequently imposes challenges for local educators. Findings based on local educators' accounts confirms new Chinese migrant parents' persistence in choosing specific disciplinary and subject areas of study

in higher education for their children. The underpinning reason for such a preference is that the parents believe that those study areas would bring a stable future to their children. In addition, local educators' sense that Chinese migrant parents' unfamiliarity with New Zealand education system makes it difficult to convince Chinese migrant parents to choose an alternative but realistic and pragmatic pathway (i.e. seeking polytechnic for their children's post-secondary education).

The new Chinese migrant parents are straddling the Chinese and New Zealand cultures. Their connections with two cultural settings intertwined to facilitate the formation of a repertoire of parenting approaches. While they would like to pass on the valued Chinese traditional virtues to children, they also aspire to draw from beneficial parenting approaches from other local parents. However, the actual process of adapting to the New Zealand education system can be challenging due to the habitus they get used to or the impact of the way they were raised by their parents.

Findings also suggest that some new Chinese migrant families utilise migration to New Zealand as a strategy to opt out the fierce competition of NCEE (National College Entrance Exam) in China, and their stay in New Zealand is temporary and seek later transnational movements back to China or elsewhere to accompany their children for higher education. The pursuit of children's education plays a critical role in shaping and reshaping the transnational trajectories of these Chinese migrant families. Once specific need of their children's education is completed, these family may re-arrange their transnational lives.

This thesis contributes to the studies of migrants' integration into the host country in the dimension of education. Based on the findings, this study sheds light on the challenges that migrant families confront after migration to the host country, and provides insightful findings that educators or policymakers in the host country can draw from.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research gap identified

In this increasing globalised world, migrants' transnational movements have been unprecedently active. Migrants' mobility is often associated with political, economic and socio-cultural reasons at the macro level, while at the micro level, their choice of migration is driven by personal reasons or family- and career-related motives. For a family, children's education is one of those significant impetuses for migration (Ho, 2002; Liu, 2018; Waters, 2005).

To date, existing knowledge indicates that education is often a familial (not individual) pursuit for many Chinese families, including Chinese migrant families overseas (Waters, 2005). In the views of many new Chinese migrant parents, Western education is perceived as a means of escaping the fierce competition prevalent throughout the Chinese education system, and of acquiring great human capital (Waters, 2005). While the Chinese migrant parents are inspired by the Western education system and value it very much, their ideologies and practices towards their children's education are also informed by the time-honoured traditional Confucian value that places great importance on children's education and emphasises family's collective wellbeing, and the stiff educational pressures they confront in China. Influenced by traditional values and social circumstances in contemporary China, children's education is a pivotal part in the Chinese people's family lives.

Combining with the fierce educational atmosphere in China and Chinese parents' eagerness for an overseas education for their children, becoming an "astronaut family" with "parachute/satellite kids" are significant strategies to serve parents' aspiration to push their children to study overseas while balancing the overall wellbeing of their

families (Ong, 1999; Zhou, 1998). Previous research significantly focuses on the experience of the parents (usually the mother) or children in these transnational families, particularly on how parents deal with family relations when the spouses are living apart and how they respond to the challenges of being lone-parent in the immigration destination country, and how children adapt to the new circumstances with the partial or even entire absence of their parents from their daily lives (Huang & Yeoh, 2011; Waters, 2002, 2003; Zhou, 1998).

Studies on migrant adaptation have been concerned with different pathways that migrant parents and their children take in their adaptation process (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters et al., 2010). Specifically, a variety of research initiatives have been developed to explore how migrant parents adapt to the education system in Australia and Hungary (Amigó, 2017; Beck & Nyíri, 2022). As for the children of migrant parents, their adaptations have been examined from the perspective of themselves, emphasising issues such as their ethnicity, ethnic language maintenance and social capital acquisition. However, there has been limited research on the parent-child inter-generational conflicts in the educational dimension (Zhou, 1997; Zhou & Wang, 2019). Therefore, it is important that research investigates key stakeholders impacting education adaptation for migrant families, including migrant parents, children of migrant parents and educators in the host country, to provide insights on how migrant families adapt to the education system in the host country.

Existing research shows that Chinese migrant parents expect to achieve social reproduction by encouraging their children to get ahead, climb the social and economic ladder, and bring honour to families (Zhou, 2006; Zhou & Wang, 2019). However, children of migrant parents grow up in a new society, such as in developed Western societies. These new societies are different from where their migrant parents were raised; in particular, the local culture and education system place less academic pressure on students and encourage them to reach their potentials through discovering and focusing on their true interests (Zhou, 2006). This social and cultural context gives migrant children more opportunities to "find themselves", "be themselves", and have more leverage to rebel against their parents' authority if they choose to (Zhou, 2006, p. 322). Consequently, for these migrant parents, according to Zhou (2006), in the context

of the USA, they often find it harder to bring up children in developed Western societies, because their expectations for their children's education results cannot be reached easily.

In New Zealand, after the implementation of an "open-door" immigration policy through the Immigration Act of 1987 in 1987, new Chinese migrants[1] from China have become the second largest immigrant group of this country, just after immigrants from United Kingdom (Liu, 2018). Research on this group of migrants is rich. Taking new Chinese migrants from China as the primary participants, migration scholars have paid greater attention to the mobility of Chinese migrants in the contemporary era (Liu, 2018; Liu & Wu, 2017), and how Chinese migrants manage their family lives in the transnational settings with concerns about the lives of both their elderly parents and young children across borders (Liu & Ran, 2022). There has, however, been a dearth of studies on Chinese migrant parents' adaption to New Zealand in the educational dimension. Only a few have examined the education issues among new Chinese migrant families; for example, Chan and Guo's research on early childhood education in relation to new Chinese migrant families (Chan, 2018; Guo, 2010). However, systematic research on how the second largest migrant group of New Zealand – new Chinese migrants from China – progressively navigate their way in New Zealand as a family unit for their children's education is in a significant paucity.

Quite often, migrant families in New Zealand encounter challenges to integration into mainstream communities, arising from factors such as language, cultural values, professional transferability and familiarity with the social system (Fletcher, 1999). In the aspects of their children's education, the mainstream educational ideologies and practices that differ from those in China confront what Chinese migrant parents believe. There is an emergent need to explore how new Chinese migrant families adapt to the New Zealand education system.

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[1] Among the new Chinese migrants the three major sources are migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the PRC. These three groups plus Chinese from other countries (e.g. Malaysia, Indonesia etc.) are all categorised as new Chinese migrants in New Zealand. New Chinese migrants are distinct from the earlier Chinese migrants in New Zealand. The earliest Chinese migrants to New Zealand were almost exclusively males, with little or no education, originating from rural Southern China, either directly or by way of other countries, and they migrated primarily for the economic opportunities found in the gold mines in the Western world and the tin mines and plantations in Central America. The majority of contemporary Chinese migrants are ethnically more diverse, as well as highly educated and possess specialised skills or financial capital, which lets them qualify and meet the entry criteria of New Zealand.

To achieve a holistic understanding of this topic, the current research aims to involve three key groups of stakeholders in the education domain, namely, the Chinese migrant parents from China, children of new Chinese migrant parents, and educators from New Zealand local schools or educational institutions. The accounts of these three key relevant groups can facilitate understandings of the difficulties and challenges faced by Chinese migrant families, and what adjustments they have to make in order to help their children achieve better education results and successfully integrate into the new education environment. Most importantly, the inclusion of the accounts of children of new Chinese migrant parents and of local educators can reveal inter-generational and family/school interaction and conflicts in the educational dimension, not merely dependent on the voices from only one participant group. The research could enrich the theorisation of transnational education associated with migratory mobility and migrants' inter-generational relationships and efforts in integrating into the host country.

1.2 Research aim and questions

The aim of this research is to explore how the new Chinese migrant families from China and their children adapt to New Zealand's new environment from a sociological and educational perspective. The New Zealand approach towards children's education is very different from that in China. Therefore, when new Chinese migrants arrive in New Zealand and put their children into the local education system, both the parents and children face enormous challenges in terms of parenting skills and educational expectations. This doctoral research explores how new Chinese migrant parents perceive their children's education compared with their children's own and local educators' perceptions in the New Zealand context, and how these families navigate their way by interacting with the New Zealand education system. To align with the research aims, the following are the detailed research questions:

1. How prominently does the pursuit of children's education stand out among all reasons for new Chinese migrants migrating to New Zealand as family units? What is the impact of migration to New Zealand on new Chinese migrant families' wellbeing?
2. What are the perceptions of new Chinese migrant parents and children of the

education systems and schooling of China and New Zealand? How do they navigate the New Zealand education system?

3. How do the local educators perceive new Chinese migrant parents and their children?

1.3 Research participants

The participants in this research consist of three groups: 1) the new Chinese migrant parents; 2) children of new Chinese migrant parents; and 3) New Zealand local educators from schools. In terms of the new Chinese migrant parent group, this research targets those who migrated to New Zealand after 1987 with the introduction of an open immigration policy through the Immigration Act of 1987. Unlike their earlier counterparts who came to New Zealand as cheap labourers for economic survival, the more recent Chinese migrants have migrated to New Zealand with academic qualifications and are selected based on personal merit, qualifications and financial resources. Their incentives for migration are less oriented by economic reasons but more about searching for better lifestyle, living environment, and stable social order (Liu, 2018). The role of their children's education is particularly significant in their migration decision making, and consequently impacts on different family members' trajectories. Therefore, this aspect of new Chinese migrant families is worth a closer investigation.

Regarding the group of new Chinese migrant parents' children, given the research ethics consideration, this research only focuses on those adolescent/adult migrant children who are over 16 years old; namely, the adolescent/adult 1.5 generation and second generation of new Chinese migrant parents. However, it is necessary to point out that in existing research, the cohort of 1.5 generation migrant children is usually defined as children who migrate with their parents around seven years old or above. The rationale behind this definition is that children at this age have finished their attendance of the kindergarten stage in China and have begun to attend Chinese primary schools, therefore, they have some experiences under the Chinese education system. After arriving in New Zealand, the learning and social environment for them has significantly changed, and they need to adapt to the new education system and social

normality in New Zealand. The length of their stay and study in China is likely to have significant impact on their integration into the host country and adaptation to the New Zealand education context, this understanding of the 1.5 generation has been used in this project. The second-generation children of migrant parents for this research refers to those who were locally born in New Zealand and those who migrated to New Zealand under the age of seven. The reason for the delimitation is that children less than seven years old in China generally attend kindergarten. In this period, the atmosphere in kindergarten in China is comparatively relaxed and freer than that in primary school or beyond. Meanwhile, these children are barely moulded by the educational ideologies and practices of education system in China, that is to say, their educational experience in China has little influence on their adaptation to the education system in New Zealand, i.e., they have little difference from those children born in New Zealand.

As for the participant group of local educators in New Zealand, this research focuses on educators from formal schools and ethnic community supplementary institutions. Local educators' accounts of their interactions with new Chinese migrant parents and their children are significant supplements for the research in providing a different lens of engaging in the research topic. They facilitate the comprehensive understanding of the educational experience of new Chinese migrant families in New Zealand and extend beyond the accounts of migrant parents and their children to the school terrain, which further enriches the insights into what new Chinese migrant parents and their children reveal.

1.4 Research significance

This doctoral research is significant in contributing to original and new knowledge in understanding the transnational migration experience of the second largest migrant group (i.e. Chinese) in New Zealand. It can reveal one important aspect of the lived transnational migration experience of new Chinese migrant families in the country – that is, their children's education. First, there are very limited studies which have systematically explored the educational aspects and experience of new Chinese migrant families from China. In particular, the research touches upon some under-researched aspects; for instance, the educational purpose as one significant migration motivation,

cultural values and norms for emphasising educational achievement among new Chinese migrants, and the influence of the Chinese ethnic community environment on children's education.

Second, this research addresses an important but meagrely researched area within the context of New Zealand, namely, the study of how to reconcile the education expectations of migrant parents with the interests of their children. Zhou (2006) indicates that Chinese migrant parents would discourage their children's interests in pursuing certain subjects in schools, such as history, literature, physical education or anything that they consider unlikely to pave the way for a high income and stable professional job. However, the children often feel frustrated because their parents choose their learning subjects for them without discussion or consultation (Zhou, 2006). Therefore, this research intends to unpack the complexity of the issues and conflicts that the new Chinese migrant parents and children have experienced in New Zealand.

Thirdly, the way that the new Chinese migrants educate their children and the influence from the new environment on these migrant families can reflect the rocky acculturation process that many other non-Chinese migrant groups go through, thus, promoting deeper cultural understanding and exchanges between the New Zealand mainstream society and Chinese ethnic community.

Finally, the significance of the research reaches beyond the New Zealand context. It can be used as a powerful reference for global studies on the new Chinese diaspora and on other ethnic migrant communities in other social and political contexts; thus, producing new knowledge and expanding the discussion of how migrants' lives are shaped by various socially, economically, culturally and politically structured factors.

1.5 Overview of chapters

This doctoral thesis contains a total of nine chapters. This first chapter has provided an overview of the research, including a background for embarking on the study, a summary of the research aim, questions, and significance, and thesis structure.

Chapter Two sets a contextual framework for the study. It first outlines the historical

process and contemporary development of Chinese migration to New Zealand. Then the significance of education in ancient and contemporary China is examined, particularly highlighting the most relevant ideas of meritocracy, the Civil Service Examination and the National College Entrance Exam in Chinese society. It is followed by a comparison of the education systems in China and New Zealand to underscore the different educational atmosphere and expectations in these two countries.

Chapter Three constructs the theoretical frameworks that inform and guide the research. Two bodies of theoretical concepts are identified as key foundations for the research. Concepts of transnational migration and migrant families situate the research in a context where migrants are highly mobile in contemporary society. Relevant research in transnational education provides insights on how migrant families perceive and arrange their children's education in the migrant-receiving countries.

Chapter Four is the methodology chapter. It attempts to explain and rationalise the research design and methodology of the research. Since the research adopted a qualitative and exploratory case study approach, the chapter starts with examining key issues pertaining to exploratory case study research. The in-depth one-to-one interview method is introduced and explained. Ethical considerations, selection criteria for the participants, the recruitment process, and how data has been analysed are also presented in detail.

The following three chapters, Chapters Five to Seven, report the empirical findings of the research. Chapter Five reveals the findings from the new Chinese migrant parent group, primarily focusing on new Chinese migrant parents' perceptions of the education systems in China and New Zealand, how they arrange their children's education and their primary concerns about raising their children in New Zealand. Chapter Six highlights migrant children' educational experience in New Zealand, including the learning and familial challenges that confront them in their daily lives, and the contrasts of the two education systems of China and New Zealand. Chapter Seven presents local educators' accounts of their interactions with Chinese-background students and their parents. The specific focus is given to the challenges they encounter in the process.

Chapter Eight, the discussion chapter, analyses significant findings from the preceding

three empirical chapters to make critical reflection on their connections to the research questions, the theoretical frameworks and the wider literature. The chapter brings paramount findings from three groups of stakeholders together to understand how new Chinese migrant parents adapt to the New Zealand education system and how their educational ideologies and practices clash with their children and New Zealand local educators.

The concluding Chapter Nine reviews and summarises the insights relevant to the research questions that steer the enquiry. It highlights the important role of children's education in shaping new Chinese migrant families' transnational trajectories in the contemporary era. The chapter provides a consideration of the research's implications and identifies its contributions and limitations, and further research which is worthwhile pursuing.

Chapter Two

Research Context: Education-oriented Migration for New Chinese Migrant Families

This chapter mainly discusses the social context to the research. It aims to highlight areas and themes that are most significant for this research. They are pertinent to analysing the findings from the interviewees' responses. It comprises three sections along with a summary at the end. Section 2.1 provides an overview of the New Zealand immigration policy and the new Chinese migrant families in New Zealand. Section 2.2 introduces the values of education in ancient China and its foremost manifestations, namely, the idea of meritocracy and the Civil Service Examination, aiming to illustrate how significant these values are in shaping the education-related perception and practices in ancient China. These values are also core in constructing beliefs in prioritising the younger generation's education in family domains and societal levels. Section 2.3 then discusses the impact of these values on the contemporary education system in China and compares the key values and concepts with those in New Zealand, emphasising the different academic atmosphere and the corresponding teaching-learning ideologies and practices of the two countries. These three sections work together to set a backdrop for understanding the importance of education in influencing the new Chinese migrants' transnational movements.

2.1 New Chinese migrant families from China to New Zealand: An overview

2.1.1 Contemporary immigration policy in New Zealand

New Zealand is a country of migration (Bedford, 2001). Its immigration policy in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is characterised by the preference

for selecting immigrants from some traditional English-speaking source countries, especially United Kingdon and Ireland. This race-based preference for immigrants resulted in close regulation of immigrants from non-traditional non-English-speaking countries; and therefore legislative restrictions were passed and enforced to limit coloured immigrants arriving in New Zealand (Ip, 2006, 2013; Price, 1974). Among those restricted immigrant groups, Chinese were particularly targeted. For example, a "poll tax" of NZ£10 was introduced in the Chinese Immigrants Act of 1881 to limit the entry of Chinese. Furthermore, "tonnage ratio" was also enforced to restrict Chinese passengers who arrived by ship, to be exact, one Chinese per ten tons of cargo. This ratio was further tightened in 1896, where only one Chinese was allowed to land for each 200 tons of ship cargo. The poll tax was also raised to NZ£100 (Ip, 2006). Additionally, it was necessary for Chinese to pass the "reading test" to arrive New Zealand in 1907, where they had to read 100 English words picked at random by customs officials. Further, with the enactment of the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act in 1920, every aspiring immigrant (other than people of British and Irish descent) was required to apply for a special permit, and unsuccessful applicants were given no reason for their failure (Ip, 1995). Anti-Chinese legislation also affected those already in the country. In 1908, naturalisation of Chinese was denied, and it did not resume until 1952. Moreover, Chinese, even babies born in New Zealand, had to be thumbprinted and obtain permits for re-entering New Zealand for their overseas trips. All these anti-Chinese immigration laws demonstrated that non-white migrants were undesirable in the nation (Murphy, 2003).

This immigrant selection preference persisted until the 1960s, when immigrants from Pacific Island countries were encouraged to address the labour shortage problems in the rapidly developing manufacturing sector of New Zealand society at that time (Bedford, 1994). Most of them arrived in New Zealand as unskilled labourers and under specific immigration categories, such as the Pacific Quota and other humanitarian immigration categories, etc. For example,1000 Western Samoan immigrants were admitted to New Zealand every year, and a Tokelauan resettlement scheme was initiated to help with Tokelauans affected by hurricane devastation, overpopulation, and limited opportunities (Wright & Hornblow, 2008).

From the late 1980s onwards, New Zealand's immigration regime underwent some significant changes. The paramount change was the New Zealand Immigration Policy Review in 1986. It stood out because it laid the foundation of significant changes in the 1987 Immigration Act. The Act abolished New Zealand's traditional preference for immigration source countries that favoured British migrants, and opened the country to non-traditional migrants, aiming to channel in migrants with greater skills and business resources from the wider Asian-Pacific region (Trlin, 1992), including the "Greater China" region[2] (Ip, 1995).

The underpinning reasons for the immigration policy change are political, economic, and social. First, the policy change was part of the Fourth Labour government's overall economic de-regulation and restructuring programme (Poot, 1992; Trlin, 1992). Skilled and business migrants were encouraged as a resort to attract foreign investment and stimulate economic growth in response to the serious economic downturn that New Zealand had experienced more than a decade earlier. Secondly, the new immigration policy aimed to use immigration to remedy the "brain-drain" that was led by the net out-migration loss of young educated New Zealanders (Henderson, 2003). Lastly, there was a tentative desire to employ immigration to link New Zealand to the Pacific Rim countries and the "Asian Little Dragons"[3] (Henderson, 2003; Ip, 1995), so as to establish business links with the new powerhouse of Asia.

Starting from 1987, a series of pro-immigration policies was introduced. Immigration was no longer restricted predominantly to "kin-migration" from British and other European sources (McKinnon, 1996, p. 1). Instead, the changing immigration policy was intended to be closely aligned with New Zealand's labour market shortage and to emphasise the growth of New Zealand's overall human capital needs by tapping into

---

[2] The "Greater China": The idea of "Greater China" is one of those products generated from speculation about the re-emergence of China as a powerful actor in the global world. There has been no accurate definition of the concept. Whether the term should collectively or partly cover the polities of Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and all of the People's Republic of China (PRC), depends on which aspects are emphasised in a particular context. If this term derives from a political perspective, it may refer to the possibility of the re-establishment of unified China when Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and the PRC are brought together. If this term is from an economic perspective, it may only refer to the Southern coastal provinces, Hong Kong and Taiwan, which is known as the South China Economy Periphery. If this term is from a cultural perspective, it may refer to the tradition of Chinese civilisation and what has transformed that culture in modern times. In this sense, many overseas ethnic Chinese might find this idea of a cultural "Greater China" more possible to identify with quite easily.

[3] The "Little Asian Dragons" is a popular term referring to the robust economies of South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore.

an international pool of skilled migrants. The point-based selection system introduced in 1991 awarding points to migrants based on age, qualifications, work experience and settlement factors was another step towards attracting "quality migrants who would make a positive contribution to economic and social development" (Trlin, 1997, p. 5), particularly targeting young migrants with tertiary education who had a track record of gainful employment (Ip, 1995).

This auto-pass, point-based system brought about critical impact on the new Chinese migrants' inflow numbers and the Chinese and Asian population composition in New Zealand. This was illustrated by the discernible Asian percentage (over 60 per cent) of all the migrant applicants approved for permanent residency in 1993. Soon, the large inflow of Asian migrants and their high visibility in the host country stirred up great anti-immigrant backlash (Ip, 2011). Although the New Zealand government set quota "targets" for its immigration, and the "targets" were theoretically regulated by a "floating" points system, the actual immigrant inflow regularly exceeded the target. This situation consequently led to migration peaked during the years 1994 to 1996 (Ip & Friesen, 2001). The visible increase of new Asian immigrants caused popular outcry in the New Zealand society. The public held a generally negative attitude toward Asian immigration throughout the 1990s, and a number of opinion polls showed that there was a consistent anti-Asian sentiment. On the contrary, immigration from United Kingdom and South Africa was welcome (Ip, 2001). Therefore, in order to curb the migration inflow and ease the public concern, a combination of immigration policy changes took place in October 1995.

The October 1995 review of immigration policy initiated a subtle change in the policy, emphasising maintaining social cohesion as a significant policy goal, together with the goal of economic growth (Henderson, 2003; Ip, 2001). Some policy changes were also introduced to tighten the entry criteria, especially the English language requirement for both principal and non-principal applicants (over 16) under the Skilled and Business Categories. This was actually a strategy designed to reduce the rapid increase of Asian immigrants. Although it was pronounced as a necessity to enhance the social cohesion of the country, as Henderson suggests, "it was hoped that the language requirement would reduce the 'over-supply' of high quality migrants from Asia and alter the migrant

mix over time" (Henderson, 2003). This policy change resulted in a significant decline in business immigrants and investment funds, and consequently led to calls for policy revisions to remedy the decline.

In 1997, the government introduced a number of changes to the selection criteria to remedy the migration decline. One of these changes was a relaxation in the English language requirements for applicants under the business migration scheme, aiming to make New Zealand an attractive destination again for economic migrants (Bedford et al., 2005). In 1999, the government determined to open the door even wider for skilled and business migrants, therefore, a managed entry regime was introduced in which economic migrants (i.e. skilled and business migrants) were allocated more than 60% of the annual migrant intake quota while social/humanitarian migrant intake was only allocated about 40% of the annual migrant quota. Between 2000 and 2001, further relaxation of immigration entry criteria was initiated to recruit more skilled and business immigrants, for example, the language requirements for principal applicants reduced from a minimum of 5 in each of the four International English Language Testing System (IELTS) modules to an average of 5 across all four modules. In addition, the arrival of a large number of international students from Asian in that period to some extent resulted in an impression of "Asianisation" to many New Zealand locals, especially in the Auckland region, hence, significant changes were made to tighten up the entry criteria again.

In 2003, an expression of interest (EOI) selection system was introduced to the immigration process, where people who qualified above a certain level of points had to submit an EOI to a selection pool so as to be invited to apply for residency. This system aimed to recruit migrants with skills needed in the New Zealand labour market, rather than solely accepting those met specific points thresholds. In general, the new selection system shifted the focus from passively accepting migrants to a much more active selection of skilled migrants. Applicants were granted points based on age, qualifications, a skilled job or offer, the regional location of the job offer, work experience, and identified skills shortage. This new selection system was initiated in the context in which the government recognised that the importance of migrants' successful settlement outcomes outran the numerical and economic outcomes (Bedford

et al., 2005; Bedford & Spoonley, 2014).

In 2016, when the immigration volume reached a historical new peak, the Minister of Immigration proposed temporary closure of the Parent Category for at least two years (Office of the Minister of Immigration, 2016; Woodhouse, 2016). Meanwhile, the residence approval numbers for all incoming residence applications went through an overall reduction. The overall reduction aimed to cutting down the total number of residence approvals to the range of 85,000 – 95,000 from the previous range of 90,000 – 100,000 till June 2018. Later, in 2019, the Labour Government finally announced the re-opening of acceptances of Parent Category applications from early 2020. However, the re-opened Parent Category enforced much higher financial requirements for sponsors. In particular, the assigned annual approval for resident visas under the Parent Category was reduced from 2,000 to 1,000; adult immigrant-child sponsors have to earn double the New Zealand median income to sponsor one parent, and if a sponsor wants to sponsor two parents, the income threshold increases to triple the median income. It is increasingly difficult for adult migrants to sponsor the residence visa application of their ageing parents. The policy changes underscore the trend of discouraging family immigration under the contemporary New Zealand immigration regime (Liu & Ran, 2021).

During the pandemic outbreak, Immigration New Zealand decided to offer a new visa pathway (the “2021 Resident Visa”) to more than 165,000 migrant workers and their family members in the country. This decision aimed to alleviate pressure on the immigration system buckling under an overload of residency applications as a result of the pandemic (Liu, 2021). A significant criterion of eligibility for applying this visa was that applicants work in field on the long term skill list (New Zealand Government, 2021). Later, immigration restrictions were further loosened in 2022 to plug labour shortage in key sectors. These significant changes led to the annual net migration to New Zealand hit a near high record in 2023, which further resulted in the economic inflation and the high rate of unemployment, whereas the labour shortage in critical sectors has not been lifted (Edmunds, 2024; Stats NZ, 2024).

These unexpected results were perceived as “unsustainable” migration by New Zealand.

To respond to the "unsustainable" migration, New Zealand tightened visa rules for low skilled migrants in early April 2024. For example, low skilled applicants have to fulfil English-language requirements and are allowed with shorter stay (reducing from five years to three years) (Ng, 2024). The change was propelled by the shifted goals of New Zealand, as announced by Immigration Minister Erica Stanford, "the government is focused on attracting and retaining the highly skilled migrants such as secondary teachers, where there is a skill shortage…At the same time we need to ensure that New Zealanders are put to the front of the line for jobs where there are no skills shortages" (Ng, 2024; RNZ, 2024).

As demonstrated, New Zealand immigration policy has been constantly refined and re-defined in order to meet some short-term goals. However, regardless of how the policy emphasis shifted from one to another, valuing human capital and economic investment in recruiting immigrants has not changed very much (Bedford et al., 2010). The country's immigration discourse of favouring skilled and business immigration, while constantly discouraging low-skilled and dependent family members of skilled and business immigrants revealed the neoliberal features of New Zealand's immigration regime (Liu & Ran, 2021).

2.1.2 New Chinese migrant families from China to New Zealand

It is under the neoliberal immigration regime that new Chinese migrants have arrived in New Zealand. The term 'new Chinese migrants' in the New Zealand context often refers to those who migrated to the country after the enactment of the "open-door" immigration policy in 1987, including migrants from PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other regions, such as Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia (Liu, 2018). After three decades of migration, new Chinese migrants from China now make up a significant part of New Zealand's ethnic Chinese population as well as the total population. This has been witnessed by the latest national census data. By 2018, 132,906 long-term New Zealand residents were born in China, which accounted for 53.39% of the total ethnic Chinese population (248,919) and 2.83% of the total New Zealand population (4,699,755) (Statistics New Zealand, 2019).

The presence of the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand is due to the changes in the

social and political conditions and changing policies towards border control in both the immigrant-sending country (i.e. China) and immigrant-receiving country (i.e. New Zealand). China's economic reform and open-door policies, starting from the early 1980s, its changing political ideology, and its relaxation of strict control over the international movements of its citizens (Xiang, 2003), made it possible for some Chinese to immigrate to New Zealand by personal choice. In New Zealand, the introduction of an open immigration policy, the 1987 Immigration Act, proactively channelled in skilled and business migrants from the wider Asian-Pacific region, including migrants from China (Trlin, 1992).

Most new Chinese migrants are highly educated and have specialised skills and financial capital, which qualifies them to meet the immigration entry criteria (Liu, 2018). As Liu (2018) argued, looking for economic opportunities overseas is no longer the primary reason for new Chinese migrants to immigrate; rather, they are often driven by non-economic reasons, including searching for "greener pastures". A better lifestyle, an advanced education system, and the securing of foreign passports have propelled this migratory movement (Liu, 2018). Liu's research reveals that many new Chinese migrants see New Zealand as a safe, stable, liberal, democratic and easy-going state. These factors are significant pull factors to draw new Chinese migrants continuously to migrate to New Zealand. The natural environment, the advanced education system, and the welfare system are also attractive (Liu, 2018). These findings coincide with the data from the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LisNZ), which shows that the attraction of New Zealand is often environmental, educational, and social (Department of Labour, 2009). With competition for skilled migrants from the United States, Canada, and Australia, New Zealand is not the first choice for many migrants from China. A survey designed and disseminated by Luo et al (2003) shows that the favourite destination country is the United States, followed by Canada and Australia (Luo et al., 2003). New Zealand was the fourth preferred country for immigration.

Another factor that causes the China-born new migrants to choose to go to New Zealand is that the country is an English-speaking country, which gives it the image of a Western society. This is important for many new Chinese migrants. Research by Liu and Wu (2017) points out that, quite often, these new Chinese migrants see going to New

Zealand as "going to the outside world to have a look", "an eye-opening experience" or "getting a gilded wrapping for myself (镀金)" (Liu & Wu, 2017, p. 64). The "outside world" and "an eye-opening experience" refer to experiencing life in Western countries, and "getting a gilded wrapping" means that an overseas experience or degree can give one a valuable credential and an international outlook. When those Chinese immigrants return to China in pursuit of career development or higher professional satisfaction, these experiences and the overseas qualification would equip them with relatively competitive skills in the China market, giving them an advantage over locals who had not left China (Liu, 2011).

More recently, the trend of wealthy Chinese moving to New Zealand has become a social phenomenon. They have come to New Zealand for lifestyle reasons (Spoonley et al., 2009). Those migrants generally possess great financial assets and their immigration is generated by the desire to secure their wealth, a different education for their children, less air pollution and greater food safety (Liu et al., 2022). Liu-Farrar (2016) suggested that the most recent wave of emigration from China is a form of class consumption, a strategy of class reproduction, and a way of converting economic resources into social status and prestige. The New Zealand studies confirm this trend.

There is also research on the other hand which shows that migrating to New Zealand is not the final destination for Chinese migrants. This is evidenced by the transnational migration pattern that new Chinese migrants have adopted (Ip, 2011). Liu's research particularly indicates that New Zealand citizenship, which immigrants can get after a five-year stay, gives the Chinese greater transnational mobility (Liu, 2011, 2015). With more mobility, Chinese migrants can move to a third country or return to China in order to reach their other ambitions and life goals, which means they are not necessarily seeking permanent settlement in New Zealand.

This migratory mobility pattern of new Chinese migrants is highly related to their considerations of the changing situation in both homeland and the host country, and also inevitably connected to the globalisation processes occurring throughout the world. Their transnational mobility is generally characterised by return-migration, step-migration and commuting between their homeland and destination country (Liu, 2015).

The success of economy transformation and the strong business or career advancement opportunities in the homeland, China, are robust forces that propel some of the new Chinese migrants to move homeward. The job market and business opportunities in China are enormous compared with the limited situation in New Zealand. Many overseas Chinese desire to return to their homeland under the circumstances of China's market boom (Liu, 2009). Further, non-economic reasons can also drive their return. Seeking reunification with family members is one of the significant reasons. However, returning to China at some point may not be the end of Chinese migrants' transnational movement: they may choose to go back to New Zealand for their children's education or retirement. In this case, returning to New Zealand is a decision of double return (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005), from New Zealand to China for occupational and career advancement, and then to New Zealand for lifestyle-related reasons (Liu, 2017).

Step-migration is another possible future movement that new Chinese migrants would undertake, especially Trans-Tasman migration to Australia (Liu, 2015). The underpinning incentive for the transnational movement is fundamentally similar to their homeward movement. It stems from their wish to seek opportunities in a third destination to maximise their social, human and financial capital so as to achieve a better migration outcome for the individual or the family. Australia is regarded as a popular destination for new Chinese migrants' next step of migration after settling down in New Zealand for a few years (Liu, 2017). Similarly, commuting between China and New Zealand is also a strategy adopted by the new Chinese migrants to achieve various goals in their varying lifetime stages. For example, the "astronauting" strategy is employed to meet different family members' needs.

Overall, new Chinese migrants from China have demonstrated hyper-transnational mobility. Once they have settled down in New Zealand and certain planned goals have been achieved, many of them and their families may embark on subsequent transnational movements. These movements together form a "circulatory transnational migration" in which new Chinese migrants take an unconventional migratory route and engage between their country of origin and immigration destination countries, following their logic of transnational movements (Ip, 2011; Liu, 2018).

2.2 Value of education in Chinese tradition

2.2.1 Value of education in Confucianism

As mentioned before, education plays a significant role in new Chinese immigrants' decision-making about immigrating to New Zealand. Therefore, it is necessary to understand what the cultural root for this immigration incentive is. Confucianism, originating from ancient China, is a set of values developed by the greatest Chinese philosopher, Confucius (Littlejohn, 2011). It is a philosophy that has a profound influence in China and other East Asian countries such as Singapore, Korea and Japan (Leung, 1998). It has significantly shaped the social, cultural and political aspect of these societies and life patterns of their people (Huang & Gove, 2015; Slote & De Vos, 1998). It provides people with guidance in regards to how to live their lives ethically, how to connect with others and the broader world appropriately, and what life expectations there are at different life stages (Huang & Gove, 2015). Fundamentally, this philosophy contributes to understanding what humanity is, how to be a human and what a human society is supposed to be (Sarkissian, 2010). This guidance particularly applies to education because education is perceived by Confucius as the foundation to build up humanity. It is through this deliberate human effort that an ethical, hierarchical and manageable human society can be achieved (Liu, 2016a). In the rest of this sub-section, the value of education in Confucianism will be discussed from a historical perspective.

Education, in Confucian tradition, is well articulated and valued. This created the phenomenon that Chinese people placed high value on education in ancient China. Overall, it was believed that children's education success would potentially bring them a promising government career; most importantly, privileged social status and its corresponding social network comes with the position. Despite these instrumental reasonings, the fundamental impetus to education was a humanistic effort to build up human integrity and social order (Coleman, 1988).

In detail, the aim of education firstly was to enable people to have a full understanding of the world so as to cultivate their moral character and understanding of their social positioning and responsibility (Gu, 2006; Huang & Gove, 2015). Confucianism

emphasised the priority of one's moral character, applying to everybody, including rulers and ordinary people. Rulers ought rule by means of virtue, especially with benevolence, while ordinary people's social obligation was to develop their moral character and manage their career and home life correctly, and, further, to provide excellent services to govern the nation, society, and the world (Gu, 2006).

Secondly, education was the pathway for people to become intelligent and knowledgeable so as to be able to serve a government as government officials (Tu, 1998). *科举考试 Keju kaoshi* (the Civil Service Examination) offered scholars opportunities to become government officials and to climb the social ladder in imperial China. It was an examination system designed to select scholarly officials for public office (Gu, 2006; Liu, 2016b). It was firstly established during the Sui Dynasty in 608 A.D., fully developed in the Tang Dynasty (618 A.D. - 907 A.D.), and later institutionalised in the Ming Dynasty in 1368 A.D. It was officially ended in 1905 during the Qing Dynasty – the last imperial dynasty in China (Elman & Woodside, 1994).

Very successful scholars who achieved high grades in the Civil Service Examination would be offered higher-level government positions, participating in decision-making to govern the country and contribute to the development of society (Huang & Gove, 2015; Leung, 1998), and potentially an arranged marriage to a member of the imperial family with high titles (Cheng, 1994). Gradually, the scholarly officials turned out to be the ones with top social standing in society, taking leadership and presenting a high moral character (Huang & Gove, 2015). These were valuable personal assets which were highly praised in Confucian traditions, and education was the primary method to achieve such assets.

Thirdly, education was an efficient way to enhance a person's integrity and capability as a human being. This was the ultimate goal of pursuing education. The Chinese proverb: *万般皆下品，唯有读书高 Wanban jie xiapin, weiyou dushu gao* (All pursuits are of low value, only studying is of the highest one) is a vivid illustration of this belief (He, 2000).

Fourthly, education was taken not only as an individual matter; rather, as a family

business in ancient China. In other words, the academic success or failure of each individual would not only bring honour or shame to the entire family, but also was a key to expand family prosperity (Lu & Shih, 1997). The well-known core tenet of Confucian family value, filial piety, also involved an educational dimension. This core tenet regarding the parent-child relationship highlighted the hierarchical aspects of the relationship; namely, the parents were often dominant in the family (Yang, 1981) and children were expected to obey parents' guidance (Ho, 1996). However, this relationship also emphasised the mutual responsibilities of parents and children in making collective efforts in supporting children's educational development. In particular, parents played a vital role in teaching and supporting their children to be competent, while filial children should study hard and pursue educational success as an obligation and responsibility to bring honour to their families (Shek, 2006). In this sense, each individual family member had interdependent responsibilities and expectations towards each other to achieve education-oriented arrangements (Park & Chesla, 2007). As for Chinese parents, they felt obliged and responsible to support their children to achieve well in studies. In practice, parents not only provided financial support for their children's education, but also were actively involved in their children's educational events and activities, including supervising their homework and arranging classes and tutorials. These practices even apply in the current era (Huang & Gove, 2015; Park & Chesla, 2007). As for children, their obligation is to study well to meet their parents' expectations (Lee & Morrish, 2012; Shek, 2006).

For example, there is a famous fable called *孟母三迁 Mengmu san qian* (Three-times relocations made by Mencius' mother). Mencius was one of the most famous disciples and students of Confucius, and promoted the thoughts and inherited the mantle of Confucius. The moral message of this fable tells how his mother, with the mission of supporting Mencius' education, relocated the whole family three times before finding a proper place to settle down. They moved to the neighbourhood of a cemetery, then to a local market, and finally to a place nearby a school. The mother's decision that the school location was a suitable permanent dwelling place was based on her belief that it would provide her son with a proper learning environment. This is a well-known ancient Chinese story, illustrating the significance that a Chinese parent attached to education for her child and how seriously she took the education as a family business. In the

mother's belief, a good social surrounding was important to cultivate a moral person. She was worried that living in the community of a cemetery or a local market would make it difficult to cultivate good moral dispositions in her son; on the contrary, living near a school would do the work. The story implicates the centrality of education at the personal, family and societal level.

Lastly, when Confucian ethics dictated people's life priorities through their life courses, education was defined as the focus of one's life trajectory in the early life stage as described in the *Analects*:

> At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right. (*Analects*, IV.1) (Cai, 1996)

These human responsibilities in one's life course defined by Confucianism influenced the formation of the perceived social normality of one's life trajectory and highlighted the significance of education in such a social normality in ancient China.

2.2.2 The idea of meritocracy and the Civil Service Examination

The Confucian emphasis on education paved the way towards the idea of meritocracy in ancient China and played a fundamental role in the formation of a meritocratic society. During the fifth and sixth centuries BC, the ideology of meritocracy gradually became mature in ancient China. It could be explained by one of the most significant phrases in the Confucian classics: *选贤与能 Xuan xian yu neng* (select the virtuous and the capable ones) (Wang, 2017, p. 54), which advocated that in the political system, those well-educated scholars could become the ruling class. This was the condition of how a meritocratic society was formed and constructed (Elman, 2009).

Consequently, selecting government officials through the Civil Service Examination system was established to consolidate the imperial rule (Liu, 2016b), which in turn

made Confucianism the dominant political philosophy in imperial China. In detail, the Civil Service Examination was based on the study of classical texts, especially the texts of Confucianism, and the selection of government officials based on the examination results helped the ruler justify their leadership, and further maintain social and political order in imperial China.

In principle, Confucianism promoted a highly hierarchical meritocratic society with rigid division of who was superior and who was inferior, and who ought to rule and who ought to be ruled. People were categorised into four different social classes: *士 shi* (scholars), *农 nong* (farmers), *工 gong* (workers), and *商 shang* (businessmen) (Park & Chesla, 2007). The underpinning reason was that Confucius and his followers believed that people who performed "manual labour", such as the aforementioned farmers, were inferior in minds and virtues, and consequently, they were not eligible or suitable to rule (Huang & Gove, 2012, p.10). On the contrary, people, such as the scholarly officials, who performed "mental labour" (Huang & Gove, 2012, p. 10) were the ones to rule the society with knowledge. As Confucius put it: "some labour with their minds and some labour with their physical strength. Those who labour with their minds rule others, and these who labour with physical strength are ruled by others. These who are ruled sustain others and those who rule are sustained by others" (The Works of Mencius, Teng Wen Gong, 5:4; Legge's translation, 1861). In Confucianism, the division of labour dictated the distinction of responsibility that people could take on, which subsequently led to the stratification of the ancient China society.

Gradually, the examination was developed into a stratified system. In this system, scholars competed in local examinations to become qualified for higher-level examinations. Successful local candidates were awarded the lifelong title of scholar with respected social status. The champions in the national Civil Service Examination were granted high positions in the government (as high as the prime minister today) (Cheng, 1994). The importance of success in the Civil Service Examination was conveyed by an old sayings: "*学而优则仕 Xueeryou ze shi* (schooling is for holding an official's position)" and "*书中自有黄金屋，书中自有颜如玉 Shuzhong ziyou huangjinwu, shuzhong ziyou yanruyu* (books can bring you a house, wealth, and beauties)" (Gu, 2006, p. 180). Given that social status in ancient China was measured

to a large extent by government positions, consequently, success in the Civil Service Examination could undoubtedly promote a major upgrade in social status for individuals and their families.

Another point to note here is the limited upward social mobility provided by the Civil Service Examination for the vast majority. As mentioned earlier, the Civil Service Examination was established in the Sui Dynasty in 608 A.D. However, the imperial education system did not occur until the Ming Dynasty. Before that time, there was a national state-funded school system down to the county level. It was set initially to prepare the candidates for written tests devised by appointed examiners (Elman, 1989; Liu, 2016b). Later, this system was integrated into the Civil Service Examination system, turning into the "way station" for students to prepare for the Civil Service Examination (Elman, 1989, p. 382). There was a lag of several centuries in the establishment of the official imperial education system (Liu, 2016b). This reality indicated that in ancient China, it was difficult for the populace to access the educational resources to further compete in the Civil Service Examination. It was common that only scholarly officials and well-off landlord families could afford the financial investment in the training process for their descendants. However, with the setting up of the imperial education system, the training process gradually became formalised and standardised; thus, education become more accessible and affordable for the populace. As a result, more ordinary people were able to compete in the Civil Service Examination and had opportunities to enter public office and move up the social ladder.

In imperial China, apart from the Civil Service Examination, there was also a parallel recommendation system designed to select talents to serve government. The recommendation system emerged even earlier than the Civil Service Examination. In Western Han (202 B.C. – 8 A.D.), the recommendation system (*chaju*) was adopted as a method to select government officials (Gan, 2008). The most important qualities for recommendation were wisdom and virtue. Gradually, the officialdom in imperial China was dominated by the scholarly-official class. The situation did not end until the recommendation system was abolished in the Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D. – 1644 A.D.) The full abolition of the recommendation system meant that the Civil Service Examination became the sole pathway to the imperial bureaucracy, and a more equal

pathway for the populace to climb the social ladder.

2.3 Contemporary Chinese education system compared with New Zealand education system

The previous section discussed the values of education from a Chinese historical perspective, and how these values stood out in the educational perceptions and practices of Chinese families and society. To better understand the role of education in influencing the migration movements of new Chinese migrant families, this section will discuss the contemporary education system in China and expand it to compare and contrast with the education system in New Zealand.

2.3.1 An overview of the education system in contemporary China

In 1905, the Civil Service Examination system was abolished with the fall of the last imperial dynasty in China, the Qing Dynasty. In 1949 when the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established by the Chinese Communist Party after decades of chaotic wars, the modern higher education in the country started to develop. Each university implemented their own student admission criteria. Those practices required students to travel across China from their hometown to the universities to take exams and deal with other application issues. It was a huge burden on students, particularly for those originating from remote areas. Besides, those practices caused another problem – an unbalanced number of applicants across different higher education institutions. There were excessive applicants to fill the limited number of places for students in highly reputable universities, while other universities often could not admit enough students to meet the quota outlined (Liu & Wu, 2006).

In 1950, in order to improve this situation, many universities took part in a national unified enrolment practice. In this practice, students were given options to list their preferred universities and majors before or after the exam. The listing of their preferred universities was dependent on their residency because each region had their own procedures for doing so. Each applicant could only be admitted once in that year. Therefore, students who failed in the exam to get into their ideal universities might be admitted to other higher education institutes that had not enrolled enough new students.

Alternatively, if students were not happy with the given admission option, they could redo the exam until they were successfully admitted. With this strategy, the majority of universities received enough applicants.

In 1952, a national unified admission test, namely, *高考 Gaokao* (National College Entrance Exam, the NCEE hereafter) was officially adopted by the Ministry of Education, requiring all higher education institutions to implement the examination (Liu & Wu, 2006). It was a great benefit both for the higher education institutions and students in facilitating the admission process. However, during the revolutionary era, the admission policies of higher education institutions was highly 'proletarian' ideology-oriented (Liu, 2016a, p. 132), where the political background and labour record of students was an important part of the consideration of their admission. Students were also required to have at least two-year working experience in factory or agriculture after graduating from secondary school, and the recommendations from the local Party leaders, workers and peasants were necessary for their enrolment (Sidel, 1982). Students who met these criteria were given priority to admission into higher education institutions in that period.

After the ten-year Cultural Revolution, China started to restore its social and political order from 1977, and the resuming of the NCEE was a part of this restoration. It went hand-in-hand with the enactment of China's reform and open-door policy initiated by the paramount leader Deng Xiaoping. Prioritising the role of education was an important part of the reform (Deng, 1994). In the restored NCEE system, test results would be the only determinant factor in the higher education institution admission process (Ross & Wang, 2010). This means that NCEE worked as a sorting machine where students were classified in line with their academic qualities, namely, the test results. This system aimed to select qualified students who could go to university. To a certain extent, the NCEE had the "monopoly power" to determine the eligibility of students to enter into higher education institutions mainly based on their academic performance (Liu, 2016a, p. 91).

The NCEE can be interpreted as a modern mechanism for promoting meritocracy. The only criterion for selecting university students was based on examination scores, which

reignited the Chinese deep preoccupation with merit-based selection (Liu, 2016a). Although NCEE provided equal opportunities for Chinese people to pursue higher education, it is worth mentioning that it was a difficult task for students to pass the examination to obtain the permission to study in a university between the 1980s and 1990s. This was highly correlated with the promising upward social mobility and migratory mobility that success in the NCEE could bring to students, and even to their family (Liu & Wu, 2006). Generally, students' success in NCEE would lead to their admission in a state university, which in turn potentially led to a bright career future after their graduation. If those graduates who were from rural areas or small cities could find a job in the city where they attended the university, they would likely be transited from their rural *hukou*[4] (户口; means residency) to an urban one, or from a less-developed city to a more developed city. This change meant corresponding better-founded accessible social resources and upwards social mobility. It is worth mentioning that in China, legal urban residence status provides citizens with significant advantages in terms of education, employment, and health services. The NCEE, thus, serves as a key channel for students from rural areas to gain a legal residence in urban cities (Yu & Suen, 2005), as well as a key channel of legal residence transition for students from less-developed places to urban cities. Therefore, students' success in NCEE meant potential chances to migrate to urban cities. This migration was and is still often regarded as an important means for upward social mobility for students from rural or less-developed areas. The key role of NCEE and its related high reward that came with success in the exam promoted education fever in society during the early stage of China's reform (Yu & Suen, 2005).

The restoration of the NCEE also signalled a fair redistribution of higher educational opportunities for students (Liu, 2016a). Unlike the situation during the Cultural Revolution where one's political background and labour record experience were considered as an important determining factor to obtain permission for university enrolment, the exam results after the Cultural Revolution era were considered as the

[4] Hukou functions like an internal passport within China. It is a household registration system. Residency under the system is divided into two categories, namely, urban hukou and rural hukou. People with urban Hukou are entitled with better living conditions, health care, and advanced education. The system also limits people's geographic mobility because where a person's Hukou is bound with her/his eligibility to access state-provided benefits and opportunities, such as health care, schooling, employment, and other social welfare.

most significant determinant. The measuring transition from political affiliation to academic performance of candidates marked the role of the restoration of NCEE in redirecting the whole Chinese education orientation to *应试教育 Yingshi jiaoyu* (exam-oriented education). Since then, NCEE has created enormous academic pressure on students; therefore, from primary school to junior high then to senior high school, students have had to study very hard to pass the NCEE to enter university.

With the initiation of China's *strategy of revitalising China through science and education* in 1995 and the increased knowledge economy endorsed by globalisation, the role of higher education and knowledge-centred technology in facilitating economic development were consistently emphasised by the Chinese government and its policy-making (Zhao & Sheng, 2010). This situation informed the reform in China's higher education. Higher education expansion was an important part of this reform. The State Council approved a policy to expand college enrolment in 1999 in order to accelerate China's modernisation through education (Yeung, 2013). The number of higher education institutions increased from 1,041 in 2000 to 1,867 in 2006; consequently, the gross higher education enrolment ratio increased from 9.1 percent of the population in the five-year age group following on from the official secondary school leaving age (17-21, in the context of China) in 1997 to 23 percent in 2007 (Zhao & Sheng, 2010).

While such drastic increase in university students and higher education institutions did contribute to rapid economic development in China, it had become a double-edged sword. On the one hand, this rapid development in higher education represented the transition from elite to mass higher education, which significantly contributed to China's continued economic growth and scientific development. On the other hand, the increased number of people who have tertiary qualifications has created fierce competition in the job market. This consequently has added extra academic pressure on graduates. In order to enhance personal and professional profiles to have a professional or government job, many high-school students have to study hard to get into the top-ranked universities and choose the prevalent subject areas to pursue. There are also many university graduates who choose to pursue postgraduate studies. In other words, although the opportunity to enrol in tertiary education has increased in China recently, it does not mean the academic pressure students undertake has diminished. Such a

circumstance has driven schools at all levels and most importantly, the parents push students intensely to achieve high scores. The high significance of the NCEE affects the teachers' teaching in China, and works as a "conductor's baton" (Liu & Wu, 2006, p.11) for teachers, guiding their teaching practices and determining the attention distribution on specific subjects. Teaching in China is exam-oriented, purposefully aiming to help students to achieve high scores in exams, with much less training for critical thinking, and less mutual interaction between students and teachers. Students are usually taught what is tested, and teachers and students mainly prioritise those subjects that are being tested in NCEE. On the contrary, those subjects not being tested are expected to give way to their counterparts (Yu & Suen, 2005). Even the priority of tutors teaching those significant subjects in after-school institutions focus on helping students with efficient strategies to get the right answers in the test. These phenomena illustrate the impressive influence of the NCEE on teaching practices in and beyond schools.

The significant emphasis on exams has reinforced the impacts of NCEE beyond the education scope itself and further influenced parents' education-related practices. Chinese parents are generally concerned about their children who may lose at the starting line. Their anxiety over the academic access and failure of their children is stretched into the earlier learning stages of their children (Cockain, 2020). This is evidenced by parents' arrangement of after-school tuition for their children, and the purchase of housing in a good quality school zone so as to secure the children's attendance (Han et al., 2021). The underpinning reason for parents' input is the belief that if their children obtain an advantage in early education, this advantage will possibly benefit them in later education, for example, in senior high school and even in college. Therefore, the importance of NCEE directs the educational trajectory for children in Chinese families.

The high emphasis on children's education is nothing new for Chinese middle-class families. These families mobilise the resources they have or that they can access, such as economic, cultural, educational and social capital resources, to raise their children to be high achievers (Cockain, 2020; Tsang, 2013). Education is perceived as one of the most powerful means for Chinese middle class to maintain and strengthen their social

status, and thereby private education has become a popular commodity consumed by those middle class families (Ponzini, 2020; Tsang, 2013). Further, for those parents who sent their children to study in overseas universities, their pursuit of transnational higher education for their children serves as a strategy to preserve or promote their inter-generational mobility (Tsang, 2013).

Another major problem of the current higher education system in China is the regional inequality in admission systems of tertiary education based on students' residency difference. One reason for the regional inequality is the uneven geographical distribution of high-quality universities in China, as the affluent developed regions and South and South East areas, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang and Jiangsu, have a remarkable concentration of high-quality ones, while the central and western China have fewer (Hamnett et al., 2019). The other reason correlates to the existence of differential score requirements and provincial admission quota system for students (Hamnett et al., 2019). Each province or municipality in China comprises a separate admission district (Tam & Jiang, 2015). The provincial Ministry of Education determines two cut-off scores, one is for prestigious universities, and the other one works as the minimum required score for students to enrol in other four-year universities or three-year colleges. Each institution then sets their cut-off scores for different fields of study and for students from different provinces (Liu, 2016a). In addition, the decentralised educational administration and finance reforms in China since the 1980s dictate the individual institutions' regional selection criteria to favour students from the local region, resulting in institutions disproportionately admitting more local students (Li, 2017; Liu, 2015). Therefore, this regional inequality in fact advantages students originating from more affluent regions with a larger concentration of high-quality universities while disadvantaging their counterparts in less well-endowed regions (Hamnett et al., 2019).

2.3.2 The New Zealand education system in comparison

Compared with the competitive access to tertiary education in China, students' access to tertiary education in New Zealand is comparatively easy. This is firstly exemplified by the mainstream secondary school qualification adopted in New Zealand, as well as the university entry requirement, namely, National Certificate of Educational

Achievement (NCEA). Usually, students are expected to achieve from level one to level three in their school year 11-13 (Turner et al., 2012), and the credits gained in this period will be used to apply for enrolment into universities (Shulruf et al., 2010).

While in China, students have to take the one-off NCEE after three years of study in senior high school, in New Zealand, students can choose a number of subjects each year from year 11 to year 13. Based on the results of the chosen subjects, students' skills and knowledge are formatively assessed guided by a number of standards at school or by external exams organised by New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). Students can build up credits through the year or over even more than one year during their study in high school. This credit accumulation process is in obvious contrast with the annual one-shot, summative exam mechanism in China where students have to deal with the intense academic pressure of the high-stake exam.

In addition, New Zealand tertiary education institutions provide foundation or alternative pathways for students who do not hold the minimum university entry qualifications. This programme is designed to assist people who cannot meet the tertiary education entry requirements with learning to prepare them for the tertiary education that they aspire to. Those people can have the opportunity to access tertiary education by taking courses over several months or a full year in this programme. In contrast, in China, only the students who attend senior high school and pass the NCEE may have opportunity to enrol in higher education institutions. Students who fail in the NCEE can choose to either retake it, seek a job in the labour market, or attend tertiary vocational institutions. Certainly, some may also choose to pursue overseas study opportunities.

Further, New Zealand tertiary education institutions operate under an open entry admission system, where domestic adult students who are 20 years or above have the right to access any university, regardless of their prior academic performance in school (Healey & Gunby, 2012). The only requirement for application is by virtue of age. Though the open access limits applicants' choices of specific majors such as medicine and engineering, requiring demonstrable capacity in corresponding subjects, this system does offer local students much freedom to access tertiary education whenever they want. On the contrary, in China, for those who left school and would like to attend tertiary education, they have to sit the exam held annually to obtain the opportunity.

The fact is once one leaves high school without enrolling immediately in an educational institution, there is barely any opportunity for one to go back to formal education.

Secondly, the academic atmosphere in New Zealand is supported by the New Zealand Curriculum, a core guideline for state school and classroom level curriculum design and implementation. It was introduced in 1993, and refined in 2001 and 2007 (Ministry of Education, 2007). In this curriculum, learner-centred pedagogy is highlighted and recommended.

Learner-centred pedagogy is informed by Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (McLeod, 2018). This theory emphasises that human learning is dependent on the learner's interaction with their social and cultural environment and that learners are active participants in their own learning. Implementing this theory in the New Zealand context was specified by McNaughton (1995) as: learners' construction of knowledge and expertise in action is created first in and through social interactions. McNaughton's idea is that each learner brings their own expertise and shares it with others at the same time as developing new knowledge and skills, and so the process of construction of knowledge is an interactive one, which is channelled by the learner's own development and the significant others in their life.

The New Zealand Ministry of Education (n.d.-a) claims that New Zealand schools design assessment in their classrooms for learning so that teaching and learning is meaningful and meets the needs of their students. Central to the practice of assessment for learning is the concept that students who truly understand and are involved in their learning will experience accelerated rates of achievement. Students who are involved in their learning can be thought of as assessment-capable or active learners (Ministry of Education New Zealand, n.d.-a). Students are encouraged to be involved in posing questions, decision-making, problem-solving, generating knowledge, and questioning preconceived assumptions and perceptions so as to develop their creativity and critical thinking competencies and take greater ownership of their learning. With this principle in education, the success of teaching and learning is founded on the quality of the relationship building between the teacher and the student and among students. The teacher manages the motivational climate of the classroom to foster learning-focused relationships with students, with shared ownership of and responsibility for learning.

This is intended to provide students with the maximum opportunity to build their own motivation to learn and develop their co-constructed learning by interacting with peers (Ministry of Education New Zealand, n.d.-b).

The exam-oriented culture in China dictates the teaching style as well. In schools, education centres around tests, scores are regarded as the only benchmark to evaluate students' learning performance. That results in teachers' priority being to focus on students' academic performance based on testing scores. "Factory-style" teaching practices are extremely common in Chinese senior high schools (Zhang & Koshmanova, 2021, p. 34). In this sense, teachers utilise similar strategies to help students reach higher test scores, students are compelled to do homework and mock tests over and over again, even during holidays. There is no time and room for the development of students' creativity or ability to reason abstractly. The ultimate goal is that teachers and students are working together to succeed in the NCEE.

There are a vivid metaphors that describes how competitive the NCEE is in China: the NCEE is compared to a war; the exam is likened to *独木桥 dumu qiao* (“single-log bridge”) (Kipnis, 2001, p. 483); and students are described as *千军万马 qian jun wan ma* ("one thousand armies and ten thousand horses") (Cockain, 2020, p. 70). To secure places in higher education institutions requires one to compete not only with other examinees from the same class or same province, but also with candidates nationwide. Most importantly, the ultimate goal of Chinese teachers in senior high school is to assist their students to achieve their shared academic goals.

It is worth mentioning the astonishing educational realities in China parallel with its ongoing endeavour of curriculum reform since the early 1990s. In this process, for instance, China has been placing great effort on attempting to transform the teacher-centred educational approach into student-centred leaning (Li & Du, 2013), and to shift its focus from learning for assessment to assessment for teaching and learning (Law, 2014). Those attempts are brought about in pursuit of preparing its young generations to be globally competent and empowering the country in the 21st century (Law, 2014; Wang, 2019). In addition, with population declines overall, the fierce competition at *Gaokao* might change in China, making more opportunities and pathways available for

middle class families.

The above comparisons of university entry difference and teaching style in New Zealand and China indicate the contrasting academic pressure on students, which further shape different learning ideologies and practices in these two countries, which will consequently impact on students' wellbeing and parent-child relationships.

2.4 Summary

This chapter details New Zealand immigration policy, and the Chinese migrant families from China to New Zealand and the motives for their transnational movements were examined. The value of education in Chinese traditional culture was also discussed with the aim to highlight the potential impact of these values on current Chinese society. Focus was given to the value accorded to education by Confucianism, the idea of meritocracy and the Civil Service Examination in selecting scholar officials to rule the society and the resulting hierarchical society resulting from this selection system. The transformation and development of a mechanism for talent selection in contemporary China and the fiercely competitive situation for students enrolling in prestigious universities were unpacked, which set a stone to compare and contrast with the distinct system in New Zealand. The contrast between the two education systems of China and New Zealand provides insights into education-driven Chinese migration relevant to this research topic.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework of the Research

As the aim of the study is to understand the insights of new Chinese migrant families about the educational experiences for the children as they adapt to life in New Zealand, it is important to identify the key theoretical foundations in relation to the study, including 1) transnational migration and migrant families; 2) transnational education. The combination of the two theoretical concepts highly aligns with the research aim and provides necessary guidance for the research design.

The theories of transnational migration (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992a) and transnational migrant families (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Lima, 2001) provide a global perspective to comprehend the cross-border activities that migrants and their families engage in. It enables a robust analysis of migratory experience in process, and how it affects migrants' settlement experience after immigration in the host country. Transnational education (Waters, 2005, 2006) usefully explains the role of children's education in influencing migrant families' immigration decision-making process, and some specific learning focuses migrant families impose on their children. Unpacking transnational education theory, four conceptual aspects are viable, including social reproduction theory (Liu-Farrer, 2016; Kilkey et al., 2018), ethnic community supplementary education for migrant children (Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou, 2008), family language policy (King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2012), and literature on Chinese migrant parents' responses to the host society from the dimension of their children's education (Beck & Nyíri, 2022; Wu, 2019; Zhou, 2013; Zhou & Wang, 2019).

The following sections focus on each of the two theoretical foundations, along with the final section to form a solid summary of how they underpin the research design.

3.1 Transnational migration and migrant families

3.1.1 The origin of transnationalism and its development

Transnationalism, also known as transnational migration, is a theoretical notion that emphasises "migrants' ongoing and continuing ways to construct and reconstitute their simultaneous embeddings in more than one society" (Glick Schiller et al., 1995, p. 48). Transnational migrants are defined as migrants who build social relationships across geographic, cultural and political borders; they develop and retain multiple relations that span borders, and perform constant geographic mobility (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992a). Currently, transnationalism has been widely adopted by scholars in different disciplines as a vital concept to understand the increasingly interconnected world that is informed by international migration.

Having realisation of the distinction between 1990s' international immigrants and their counterparts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American cultural anthropologists Glick-Schiller and her colleagues found that there was a need to conceptualise the contemporary international migration (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992b; Kivisto, 2001). Under the framework of transnationalism and based on their empirical case studies of the social relations of contemporary immigrants from Haiti, the Eastern Caribbean, and the Philippines residing in New York, the group of American cultural anthropologists defined immigrants who develop and maintain multi-stranded social relations across borders as "transmigrants" (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992b, p. 1). Here, transmigrants significantly differ from their former counterparts.

In their articulation, compared with previous immigrants who were "uprooted" populations who had abandoned all the social relations and cultural ties to their homeland, and thus located themselves solely in the receiving country by adapting to its distinct socio-cultural, political and economic rules (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992b; Handlin, 1973; Kivisto, 2001), transmigrants are conducting a new way of life "across borders and maintain their ties to home, even when their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant" (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992a, p. ix).

Compared to previous research, employing national borders as the paradigm of analysis

and in which individual migrants and groups are view as "retain[ing] fixed and monogamous connection to the territory of one nation-state or another, either the host or the origin" (Bailey, 2001, p. 415), transnational migration extends the analytical paradigm for international migration studies beyond national borders. This change enables scholars to capture a holistic view of contemporary migration by "link[ing] together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992b, p. 1), which echoes the idea of "social science unbound" that Glick-Schiller and her colleagues proposed.

Inhabiting a complex web of social relations, immigrants create fluid and multiple identities grounded both in their homeland and host societies (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992b). Following the same line of discussion, Lima (2001, p. 78) argued that the term "transmigrant" properly portrayed the type of immigrant whose life is deeply "affected by and spans between, events in both his or her place of origin and his or her place of arrival". Under this definition, the term features international immigrants' highly intense "back and forth" interplays between their country of origin and arrival. Therefore, to some extent, the term "transmigrant" can facilitate our comprehension of immigrants' increasing transnational interactions.

However, it has not been without critics. Princeton sociologist Alejandro Portes popularised and expanded the application of the transnational perspective by focusing his research on new and post-1965 immigration to the United States and the role of ethnic enclave economies for those newcomers (Kivisto, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1999). He criticised the introduction of the concept of "transmigrants" to replace "migrants" as a redundancy, since "the earlier and more familiar term is perfectly adequate to describe the subjects in question" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). Portes and his colleagues suggested limiting the use of the term "transmigrant" to activities involving continuity of cross-border social relationships over time. In other words, transnationalism should rather refer to transmigrants' "high intensity of exchanges, new modes of transacting, and multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustained basis" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). In contrast, migrants' occasional transnational interactions "are neither novel enough, nor sufficiently distinct, to justify a new area of investigation" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). This point of view implies that

not all recent migrants are actual transnationals.

Portes and co-authors further developed the concept of transnationalism by categorising transnationalism into three types: economic, political and socio-cultural (Portes et al., 1999). Under this working typology, each type can be measured by its level of institutionalisation – "from above" or "from below" (Guarnizo, 1997; Portes et al., 1999). Portes believed that transnationalism "from above" was already well known and had been examined from alternative conceptual focuses, for example, economic globalisation, international relations, or cultural diffusion (Meyer et al., 1997; Portes et al., 1999; Sassen, 1991). The transnationalism "from below", the less institutionalised initiatives of ordinary immigrants and grass-roots level actions, has grown in popularity in migration studies (Portes et al., 1999).

Portes and co-authors attempted to identify the preconditions that can make transnationalism happen at a mass scale. They asserted that people with greater access to technologies are more likely to forge and maintain transnational linkages (Portes et al., 1999). Apart from this, Portes identified other crucial forces that can shape migrants' movement trajectories. These forces consist of the motivation for the first movement, the maintenance of social networks with the country of origin, and whether homeland issues matter for migrants (Portes, 1999, 2001).

Specifically, Portes discussed a few determinants of transnationalism in shaping migrants' daily transnational practices. First, the original migratory rationale sets the context for the future transnational activities (Portes, 1999). The case of Salvadoran refugees in the United States, who created myriad forms of presence in their homeland to show their support for their country of origin (Landolt et al., 1999), endorses the explanation that "when migration is massive and motivated by political convulsions at home, it is likely that immigrants remain morally tied to kin and communities left behind and, hence, are more likely to engage in a variety of activities to bridge the gap and sustain a common bond" (Portes, 1999, p. 464). On the contrary, the stories of the urban Colombian and Mexican migrants in the United States (Guarnizo et al., 1999) indicate that "where migration is a more individualised process grounded on personal and family decisions, transnational activities are more selective and, at times, exceptional, lacking the normative component" (Portes, 1999, p. 464). Secondly,

alongside the migratory rationale, the resources that migrants bring with them also largely shape the character and scope of transnationalism (Portes, 1999). Thirdly, again, based on the experiences of Salvadoran (Landolt et al., 1999) and Colombian migrants (Guarnizo et al., 1999) in the United States, the extent of discrimination and hostility faced by migrant groups gives direction to their adaptive strategies, including their transnational character (Portes, 1999, p. 465). Meanwhile, the governmental reception in host societies towards migrant groups functions significantly to determine their ethnic identities, towards either reactive or linear ethnic identity (Portes, 1999). Where the host government and community are more welcoming, they are more willing to adopt a new identity. Last but not least, the attitudes towards emigrants in the country of origin have also proven to be critical to transnational practices (Portes, 1999).

3.1.2 Transnational migrant families

Following heightened scholarly attention paid to transnational migration since the 1990s (Faist, 1998; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992a; Portes, 1999), transnational migrant families have emerged as an important site for research in transnational migration studies (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Hamilton & Hale, 2016; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Jeong et al., 2014; Mazzucato et al., 2015; Schans, 2009). From pre-modern colonial expansion to today's global labour movement, transnational families are rarely treated as a new phenomenon, but rather a developing process running through human migration history (Goulbourne et al., 2010). Transnational migrant families, or simply transnational families, are defined as those families whose members are separated geographically but maintain close ties with frequent interactions across national borders (Lima, 2001; Shih, 2016). Lima (2001) listed some characteristics when defining the transnational family:

> transnational families, both nuclear and extended, are dispersed across international borders, and their members tend to spend periods of time in one or the other country and for a variety of reasons. They consist of children, parents, siblings, brothers-in-law, uncles, nephews, godfathers and godmothers on both sides of the border. Their geographical location is fluid. They come and go on vacation and may stay for periods that are not

> previously determined. They must have properties and businesses – sometimes on both sides of the border – and, more importantly, they develop work trajectories and projects in each of the two countries. (p. 78)

These migrant families have been regarded as a transnational phenomenon linking to the "rapidly increasing cross-border flows of capital, commodities, people and ideas in an age of globalisation" (Ho, 2002, p. 148).

While some migration scholars have insisted that the individual social actor should be taken as the proper unit of analysis for transnational migration (Portes et al., 1999), others have argued that "the family may be a more fitting unit for the proper analysis of the social forces we grapple to come to terms with when we talk about the social-cultural dimension of transnationalism" (Goulbourne et al., 2010, p. 10).

By taking family as the analytical unit for transnational migration study, a large body of empirical research has centred on transnational migrant family configuration and maintenance and its leading family structures. Based on the research upon Asian transnational families, Huang et al. (2008) suggested that transnational family strategies might change over time due to the changing family structure, family life cycle, family members' individual aspirations, or the broader socio-economic and political context. Liu (2018), based on her study of new Chinese migrant families in New Zealand, commented that the new Chinese migrants' transnational strategies are "an on-going and dynamic process in which the migration trajectories are contingent, and often depend on one's or one's family's changing needs at different stages of life" (p. 76). In a study of Chinese women professionals in Canada, Man and Chou (2020) concluded that transnational familial arrangements are not always linear, rather, they are dynamic and fluid, contingent upon the changing needs of family members over the life circle.

Keeping the family physically united is apparently a goal for many transnational migrant families. While some families can reach the goal, moving together as a family unit, for other families it is not so easy. For those separated families, some of their family members choose or are chosen to leave their home countries and move to their immigration destinations first, while some family members decide to stay in the home

country. Many migration scholars focus on the challenges and lived experience of those separated families. Before reunification, how to foster healthy communication in the face of physical and geographical distance is one common difficulty for the consequential risk for marital relationships, especially possible extra-marital affairs in the family (Waters, 2002). After achieving reunification, new challenges confront these families; for example, the cultural and language barriers that these re-joined family members encounter in the host society might have negative impacts on their family relations (Treas & Mazumdar, 2002; Mitrani et al., 2004; De Haas & Fokkema, 2010; King et al., 2014). Adapting to the new environment, namely, integration into the host country, is another problem for the re-joined family members (King et al., 2014).

Unfortunately, not every transnational migrant family is able to achieve reunification. For many cases, family separation can be a deliberate family strategy in today's globalised world (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012; Solheim & Ballard, 2016). In order to achieve better work opportunities and higher income, some migrants move to work in foreign countries, but voluntarily leave their family members behind in the country of origin. In some other cases, one parent stays in the home country to work to earn income, while sending their children and spouse to reside in foreign countries for better education and life quality. This phenomenon is called "astronaut families" (Ho et al., 2001; Ho, 2002; Waters, 2002) and/or "parachute kids" (Ong, 1999).

Astronaut families are a typical example of the separated migrant families. These families present a collective family configuration strategy that is largely adopted by Asian business and professional families, whereby the households of these families are split across national borders, as at least one of the parents (in most scenarios, it is the husband) works in the country of origin (or elsewhere) while other nuclear family members are relocated overseas (Ho et al., 2001; Waters, 2002). This transnational family strategy can be a voluntary or involuntary choice. In the case of Chinese professional women in Canada, most of the families investigated intended to migrate to Canada as a family unit; however, due to discriminatory policies and practices in the Canadian labour market, both these Chinese women and their spouses have difficulties to find a commensurate position with their educational qualification and working experience; therefore, they have to choose the "astronaut" family strategy involuntarily

(Man & Chou, 2020).

Studies focusing on Asian transnational families in New Zealand have revealed that the astronaut family is employed only as a temporary strategy by some migrant families to achieve their short-term family goals (Ho et al., 2001; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Liu, 2018). When the short-term goal is achieved and the family structure changes, the families will revise their transnational strategies to fit new circumstances to achieve the family's collective well-being (Ho & Bedford, 2008). For example, "astronaut parents" might relocate back to their country of origin for family reunification purposes, and young members of these families may extend their residence based on a third country for education, economic, career-development, and social and lifestyle purposes (Ho & Bedford, 2008; Liu, 2018).

The "parachute kid" phenomenon is another scenario of transnational migrant families. They are minor-aged children (normally between ages 8 and 17) who are originally from some Asian countries who are left behind in the immigrant-receiving countries (i.e. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States) by their parents (Shih, 2016). In most cases, they live alone or with relatives, guardians or host families in the host society, but their parents continue working and residing in their home countries for economic reasons. The lack of face-to-face interaction between parachute kids and their parents might mean less inter-generational conflicts, but it can also widen generational gaps; namely, these kids can become more independent while also becoming more alienated from their parents (Zhou, 1998).

Recently, researchers have tended to provide a multi-generational perspective to analyse the roles that different generations of migrant families play in their domestic terrains. Shih (2016) pointed out that deploying a cross-generational comparative perspective can contribute significantly to our knowledge of transnational migrant families, because the perspective enables researchers to track "how individuals of different generations understand their transnational experiences and articulate generational differences, and how power dynamics operate within transnational families" (p. 5). Regarding the new Chinese transnational migrant families in New Zealand, Liu (2016) argued that the socio-culturally embedded multi-generational dynamic in these families plays a constructive role in shaping family migratory

decisions and trajectories. In the following, I provide a brief critical review of research that relates to different generations of transnational migrant families, including first-generation migrant parents, their children and their elderly parents.

First-generation migrant parents

In multi-generational contexts, scholars have tended to focus on the transnational caregiving practices of the first-generation adult migrants towards their left-behind family members, including children and elderly parents. For this generation of migrants, their transnational trajectories change over time to fit new circumstance in response to their family life cycle changes, changes in family members' personal aspirations or changes of the social, economic and political context of their country of origin and/or country of destination (Ho & Bedford, 2008).

Evidently, the adult immigrant generation always plays a key role as dominant caregivers in transnational families. This is largely because they are the principal breadwinners for the wellbeing and prosperity of their families (Wilding & Baldassar, 2009; Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). While sending remittances back to the families left behind is a critical manifestation of transnational caregiving (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012; De Bruine et al., 2013), maintaining contacts with the left-behind family members is also important for the overall family wellbeing. Existing research shows that maintaining contact through communication is a pivotal way to mitigate the emotional costs of transnational separation (Tamagno, 2003; Parreñas, 2005; Benítez, 2012; Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016).

Existing literature also reveals that the traditional gender roles in transnational family arrangements can either be reinforced or challenged through the adult immigrants' practice of transnational caregiving. Based on a study of "astronaut wives" in Vancouver, Canada, Waters (2002) suggested that the astronaut family arrangement is perceived as a necessary sacrifice for their children rather than improving astronaut wives' own lives, which embodies the patriarchy in these families. In the case of Vietnamese migrant families, left-behind husbands worry that their masculine identity would be jeopardised if they take over their wives' caring tasks. However, at the same time, they try to ensure that they would not look like "spongers" while their wives are

working hard to support the family. They choose to carry on their continued engagement in paid work, perceiving it carries symbolic meanings of masculinity rather than being an economic imperative (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011).

Child generation

As for the child generation in the context of transnational families, both the 1.5 and second generations have constituted a major cohort for scholarly investigations.

Firstly, there is no fixed definition of the 1.5 generation. The term "one-and-a-half generation" was coined by Rumbaut (1991) to describe children who straddle the old and the new worlds but are fully part of neither. To be specific, Rumbaut stipulated that those children will have migrated before the age of 12. Zhou concluded that "children between 6 and 13 years of age [are conceived] as 1.5-generation children and those arriving in their immigration destination countries as adolescents (aged 13 to 17) … are similar to first-generation children" (Zhou, 1997, p. 65). On the whole, 1.5 generation means those children who arrive in their host country before reaching adulthood; they are more immersed in the host country compared to their parents, while their migration is nevertheless involuntary (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). The second generation is usually defined as native-born children with both parents who are born overseas or at least one foreign-born parent (Levitt & Waters, 2002).

For these two migrant generations, so far, their transnational engagement (Wessendorf, 2013; Gutierrez, 2018), identity and sense of belonging (Min, 2001; Nibbs & Brettell, 2016), and adaptation to the immigrant destinations (Mizrachi, 2013; Sürig & Wilmes, 2015) have been the research focus.

The transnational engagement of the child generation is about how transnational the child generation is under the influence of their parent's deep transnational engagements (Ran & Liu, 2021). Parents act as a pivotal role in the child generations' transnational engagement, since the obligation to parents and parents' encouragement are the main motivations for the child generation to maintain social and economic ties with their families in the home country. Once their parents cease encouraging, or actively discourages, these ties, they will probably cease (Gutierrez, 2018).

As for research on these migrant children's identity formation, in the United States context, existing research shows that most Asian 1.5 or second generation migrants firmly perceive the United States is their home, but they prefer to identify themselves as "hyphenated American", "ethnic American" or "multiple identified American" rather than only "American" (Zhou & Xiong, 2005; Zhou & Lee, 2007). The reasons why they invoke hybrid identity is, firstly, they intend to distinguish themselves from their first-generation migrant parents. While they are aware of their ancestral background, they have grown up in a Western developed country. This situation makes them feel much more comfortable to embrace a hybrid identity rather than an identity of being only Asians. The second reason these 1.5 and second generations tend to identify as hybrid is because of the concern about racial discrimination they might suffer. If they see themselves only as Asians, they will be easily targeted by racist attacks. The last reason for them to identify as hybrid is that they perceive themselves as different in behaviour, language and culture from the new Asian migrants; and therefore, they do not want to be grouped together with them even though they resemble them in phenotype (Zhou & Xiong, 2005; Zhou & Lee, 2007). In New Zealand, research conducted with 1.5 Asian immigrant generation suggested that the encounters of racism and discrimination can act as a dampener to their sense of belonging to New Zealand (Bartley, 2010).

As for the adaptation of these two child generations to the immigrant destinations, research in Canada and the United States suggests that better integrated groups clearly have significantly higher level of life satisfaction and self-rated mental health than any groups with a lesser extent of integration (Berry & Hou, 2017; Levitt & Waters, 2002). Further discussion on the child generations' adaptation to the education system in the host society is detailed in section 3.2.4.

As a key member in the transnational family, existing literature also points out that the child plays an important role in the transnational family arrangement, such as mentioned above, the formation of "astronaut families" and "parachute kids". This is largely related with seeking better education opportunities for the child. Both Ong (1999) and Waters (2005) pointed out that obtaining a Western-based education qualification for the migrants' children is a key symbolic capital that can help retain or

promote a certain degree of social mobility for them and their families, which to a great extent could be interpreted as middle-class concerns over social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1998).

Using the multi-generation perspective, some research has revealed that the practice of some transnational strategies, such as leaving children in the immigration destinations without parent presence, namely, the parachute kids strategy, is only one of several temporary strategies to achieve short-term family goals, like children's education. Once achieving the designated education goal for the children, the family's structure and transnational migratory trajectories change subsequently to fit new circumstances for their future family projects (Waters, 2002; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Liu, 2018). Ran and Liu's (2021) research with a multi-generational perspective indicates the different life and educational experiences of the immigrant children and their grandparents might lead to an inter-generational gap or conflict in terms of their cultural identities. This conflict leads to a sense of disconnection between these two generations, and in turn influences the family relations.

The elderly parent generation

Although the elderly parent generation is not the focus for this PhD research, they play a role in influencing their family's education orientation to a lesser or greater extent. There is a large volume of literature which touches upon this elderly generation. Much of it shows that the elderly parent generation of migrants is usually the recipients of transnational care provided by their adult migrant child(ren). Remittance sending and maintaining contact are primary means to take care of the elderly parent generation (De Bruine et al., 2013). However, research also shows that elder parents of migrants are also transnational caregivers. They provide emotional, practical, even financial assistance to their migrant adult children and grandchildren (Treas, 2008; Lie, 2010; Baldassar & Merla, 2014; Ran and Liu, 2021; Zickgraf, 2017). Elderly parents provide childcare for their grandchildren and daily household tasks to ease the burden of their adult migrant child(ren) (Man & Chou, 2020). Baldassar and Merla (2014) provided the concept of transnational care circulation to help understand this two-way caregiving, which illustrates multi-directional family care as the consequence of multifaceted human agency interactions among different transnational family members.

Transnational grandparenting (Sigad & Eisikovits, 2013; King et al., 2014) is a part of the so-called transnational care circulation, which describes the phenomenon that grandparents in transnational families engage in grandparenting across borders so as to maintain familial ties in the age of migration (Sigad & Eisikovits, 2013).

There is also increasing research interest in the elder parent's life in immigration destination countries after the end of prolonged transnational family separation (Treas & Mazumdar, 2002; King et al., 2014; Ho & Chiang, 2017). For example, family reunification after a prolonged separation can possibly lead to family power structure change, which can result in tension and conflicts among families (Ran & Liu, 2021; Wong et al., 2006). In the context of New Zealand, the adult Chinese immigrant generation usually plays a role of backbone in their families; they have the decision power in their families' livelihood. This situation is very different from their non-immigrant counterparts, where filial piety ensures that the younger (adult) generation should respect and follow the opinions and interests of the older generation, while the older generation is more influential in the family decision-making (Liu & Ran, 2022; Ran & Liu, 2021; Whyte, 2004). Under such a circumstance, inter-generational tensions and even power struggles occur.

3.2 Transnational education

One issue that inevitably arises which may affect inter-generational relations is education, and this is often an important issue in migration decisions. Transnational education is a series of migratory activities and movements which are driven by children's education and incorporate efforts made by multiple family members in a transnational household (Waters, 2005, 2006). In this context, the importance of education and the pivotal role that children play in the accumulation of "cultural capital" as well as human capital (Bourdieu, 1986) within the household unit are emphasised. As a matter of fact, "astronaut families" and lone "satellite" children (i.e. immigrant children whose parents have returned to the country of origin to work) are special arrangements centred on the consideration of children's education across national borders. Those family strategies are mainly enacted with the aim of maximising the accumulation of different forms of capital within the migrant households, enabling the

acquisition of an "overseas education", which is a valuable asset for children's future (Waters, 2005).

In this section, three related bodies of literature, social reproduction, ethnic community supplementary education for migrant children, and family language policy, are discussed. They are employed to further elaborate the importance, function and role that transnational education plays in the context of transnational migrant families which is highly relevant to my research.

3.2.1 Social reproduction theory

Social reproduction refers to the way in which parents pass on their socio-economic advantages and/or disadvantages, preferably only the advantages, to their children (Sullivan et al., 2018). Education is considered by many middle-class families as a means to achieve social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986). Middle-class parents have to step up investment in education so as to maintain the relative scarcity of their qualifications and, consequently, to facilitate their children to retain the same socio-economic position in the existing social class structure as they have (Bourdieu, 1984). To fully understand the concept of social reproduction, it is necessary to discuss one relevant notion, that is, "capital". According to Bourdieu, capital can take three principal forms:

> economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243)

Cultural capital exists in three states: "institutionalised" by the academic qualification, "embodied" in the attributes and characteristics of the person, and "objectified" in material artefacts (Bourdieu, 1986). He (Bourdieu, 1984) referred to cultural capital as

the accumulation of symbolic elements, for example, cultural knowledge, skills and tastes, which can be acquired through one's cultural practices (such as museum visits) and indicates one's cultural competence and social status.

Brown (1995) argues that the active accumulation of cultural capital represents the principal means by which the middle-class seeks to reproduce its social status across generations:

> The middle classes have been increasingly dependent upon access to professional occupations as a means of reproducing social status and privileged life-styles between the generations [. . .] where access to virtually all occupational careers has come to depend upon the acquisition of credentials through formal examination. (Brown, 1995, p. 31)

Whilst socio-economic success is increasingly linked to academic success, children's academic achievement nevertheless remains wedded to differential access to educational resources, which in turn is dependent upon parents' socio-economic status and the possession of different forms of capital (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1998; Waters, 2006).

Social capital, as defined by Bourdieu, is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are links to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 250). Rather than investing in a more individualised skill; namely, human capital (Coleman, 1988), social capital implies an investment on building social networks and garnering resources from a collective.

Social capital and cultural capital are interrelated to each other. "Cultural capital is the product of education, which Bourdieu also often refers to an 'academic market' " (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 21). A higher level of cultural capital can be obtained through education, it can enable people to attract others with cultural capital. These

attractions and connections help build networks possessing a great degree of social capital. In turn, social capital can also contribute to cultural capital through “contacts with experts or individuals of refinement (i.e. embodied cultural capital); or, alternatively, they can affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials (i.e. institutionalized cultural capital)” (Portes, 1998, p. 4).

In addition, Coleman emphasised the importance of the effects of social capital on children – social capital has an “effect on the creation of human capital in the next generation” (Coleman, 1988, p. S109). Coleman defined social capital by its function as “a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure” (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). Social capital is differentiated into two types: social capital within and outside the family. As he suggested, social capital in the family refers to the strength of parent-child relationships and the physical presence of parents, while the social capital outside the family refers to the family’s relationships with other families and institutions in the community (Coleman, 1988). In a nutshell, it exists in the relations among social actors.

Economic capital refers to one’s wealth, physical resources and production instruments that can be converted into money and institutionalised as property rights and other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1996). Family economic status is believed to be the most pivotal factor influencing parents’ expectations for their children, and parents’ educational expectation for their children can be affected by the incomes and economic conditions of these families (Jamal Al-deen & Windle, 2015; Ponzini, 2020). Parents with more economic capital can afford to invest in their children’s education, for example, sending their children to a private school or encouraging their children to study abroad (Jamal Al-deen & Windle, 2015; Tsang, 2013). Parents expect that the investment in their children’s education would later convert into their children’s cultural capital, human capital and social capital (Jamal Al-deen & Windle, 2015; Ponzini, 2020; Tsang, 2013).

The fourth form of capital, namely, human capital, as Coleman (1988) defined it, refers to the changes in persons that lead to skills and capabilities to enable them to act in new ways, and education is of significance in the creation of human capital. In discussing

the impact of parents' human capital on their children's, Coleman (1988, p. S110) asserts that "if human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to the child's educational growth that the parent has a great deal, or a small amount, of human capital". As he states, "social capital within the family that gives the child access to the adult's human capital depends both on the physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by the adults to the child" (Coleman, 1988, p. S111). In other words, social capital works as a filter influencing how the capital of parents is transmitted to and accessed by their children (Teachman et al., 1997).

Relating the above notions to the Chinese and Asian migration context, Ong (1999), in his research on transnational migrants from Hong Kong, pointed out:

> For many ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, both the well-off and the not-so-rich, strategies of accumulation begin with the acquisition of a Western education. (Ong, 1999, p. 95)

Foreign educational credentials are perceived as "open doors" to the "top jobs" by East Asia families (Lee, 2001). Overseas educational experience can generate valuable human, cultural and social capital for people who want to get ahead and climb the social class ladder. It is a significant objective of many middle-class migrant families from East Asia, and migration enables them to achieve this objective (Waters, 2005). However, not every family has the ability to migrate to provide overseas education for their younger generations. Liu-Farrer (2016) pointed out that migratory mobility itself is an expensive product which can be only consumed by people who are socially and economically advanced. The consumption of this product signals the provider's and recipient's class position and provides opportunity for them to embark on an ideal lifestyle, including a preferable educational environment for their children.

Very often education becomes a family project for migrants. In contemporary China, people are not migrating simply for their individual benefits, but as part of a large strategy for supporting and caring for their children, parents, spouses and extended kin, and for planning for their future family life (Baldassar et al., 2018; Liu & Ran, 2022).

Education in the Chinese context in particular is a familial (not individual) pursuit for many families, including Chinese immigrant families overseas (Waters, 2005). Chinese immigrant parents encourage their children to get ahead, climb the social and economic ladder, and bring honour to families (Zhou, 2006). In the case of families from Hong Kong, their immigration to Canada serves a dual purpose: presenting children with the opportunity to obtain a scarcer, more valuable Western university degree, as well as a response to failure or anticipated failure in the local education system (Waters, 2006). In the United States, Chinese immigrant parents with different levels of economic competence try to use various strategies to serve their top priority – sending their children to a "good" school district, which represents a better quality and reputation, even though it also means economic burden and sacrifices for themselves (Liang, 2015). This situation also applies to Chinese migrants from PRC and Taiwan. In many Chinese migrant families, children are encouraged to attain the highest levels of educational achievement possible and expected to move their families up to a higher status as a way to pay back parental sacrifices and to honour the family name (Zhou, 2006). In Confucian culture, children's success in education and career also means bringing honour to their families (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Likewise, Pakistani immigrant parents in Denmark hold similar ideas towards their children's education: they believe that education enables their children to acquire cultural and human capital; in the long run, it helps to improve the symbolic capital of the family; and finally it promotes the familial long-term strategy for social mobility (Rytter, 2011).

The discussion above illustrates that a few theoretical concepts and notions such as capital and social reproduction intersect with each other to serve an important role to comprehensively demonstrate what transnational education is about and is for, why it is important, and how it has taken place for many Chinese migrant families nowadays.

3.2.2 Ethnic community supplementary education (ECSE)

According to Zhou (2008), in the United States, from the sociological perspective, community education, namely supplementary education, is regarded as regular classes that occur in informal social settings. It is as important as formal educational settings for children's learning and achievement in many ethnic minority communities. She argued that community forces arise from and are supported by an ethnic community,

which facilitate the formation of ethnic community education. Such education contains various ethnic structures, such as economic organisations, sociocultural institutions, and interpersonal networks that have been established, operated, and maintained by community members (Zhou, 2008). Informal settings are a significant characteristic of ethnic community education. Typical examples are Chinese language schools and after-school tutorials. Based on interviews with principals and teachers working in ethnic educational institutions, and with children and their parents from the Chinese immigrant community in Los Angeles, Zhou (2008) pointed out that these institutions do not merely provide educationally relevant services which is supplementary to public education; rather, they serve as a locus of social support and control, network building, and social capital formation.

The idea of supplementary education (Gordon, 1999) is based on the premise that beyond exposure to the school's formal academic curriculum, high academic achievement is closely associated with exposure to family and community-based activities and learning experiences and environment in support of academic development that occur outside of school. It indicates that children's learning needs can be addressed when formal academic curricula and informal supports are coordinated.

Usually, Chinese parents measure success not merely by their own occupational achievements, but by the educational achievements of their children. Children have high expectations imposed by their parents; therefore, informal education emerges to respond directly to parents' desires for success (Zhou & Li, 2003). Children are expected to cultivate bilingual skills there, and get an extra boost in the race (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Besides, informal education based on ethnic communities indirectly act as a bridge that connects migrants to, rather than isolates them from, the mainstream society by making their social life richer and more comfortable. It can also help migrant parents broaden their social networks and promote the accumulation of social capital (Zhou & Li, 2003).

The case of supplementary education in Chinese and Korean communities in the United States suggests that the cultural attributes of a group feed on the structural factors, particularly ethnic social structures that support community forces and social capital. Cultural values and behaviour patterns can be conducive to upward social mobility only

when they interact with a wider set of structural factors (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

In terms of the process of integration into the United States, ECSE is like a double-edged sword. While interacting with peers from similar family backgrounds in ethnic environment can help young Chinese Americans question their racial stereotypes, cultivate a sense of pride in their ethnic heritage, and negotiate hybridised Chinese and American identities (Fang, 2015), children who socialise with peers coming from similar ethnic background can nurture a sense of ethnic difference, which would make them feel out of place when they interact with their counterparts in the host country, and further prevent them from fully integrating into the mainstream society (Fang, 2015).

In these ECSE institutions, ethnic language teaching and learning is an important component in their programme composition. Research on Chinese migrant children's supplementary education shows that for parents who consider English skills are vital to their children's success in the host society, learning Chinese, although it may help their children develop strong bonds to Chinese heritage, may detract from their English skills, and thus, they would not able to achieve the goal of succeeding in the host country (Fang, 2015). In contrast, some families are concerned to maintain their Chinese language and cultural heritage and take various measures to ensure that their children learn their heritage language.

The connection between culture and language maintenance is emphasised by Roberts (2005) in her study of language maintenance in New Zealand. She argued that cultural maintenance and language maintenance "rarely exist in isolation from one another" (Roberts, 2005, p. 248). In other words, language maintenance can serve important cultural objectives, such as the construction of the speakers' cultural identity. On another note, a sense of belonging can act as a driving force for attending community language schools, home language acquisition is embedded in an idea of "being" someone. Based on their interviews with British-Chinese students in six complementary Chinese schools, Francis et al. (2009) reported that these children usually explain their initial enrolment at Chinese school as due to parental pressure, but they choose to continue their learning for intrinsic reasons to improve their Chinese literacy. Learning Chinese is important for them "because they are Chinese" and lack of Chinese

proficiency is associated with shame, outsiderness and disgrace (Francis et al., 2010).

The study conducted by Holmes et al. (1993) on language maintenance among the Chinese, Greek and Tongan speech communities in New Zealand shows the domains of language use and the attitudes towards their languages contribute to the survival of these three ethnic languages. Apart from these two factors, attending a community school can be a useful complement in children's knowledge of their language and culture.

Community language schools in New Zealand initially serve the needs of heritage language maintenance, where their funding may come from the ethnic communities, non-government organisations, or community religious services (Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2018). In recent years, some of them have extended their services and learning opportunities by providing additional curricular-related courses in the New Zealand Curriculum, such as English, maths, and extra-curricular courses, including arts, music, coding language and so on. These courses may be taught in the ethnic languages or in English. Some community schools also provide Adult, Community and Other Education (ACE) programmes where adults in those ethnic community schools can attend English language courses and trainings for future employment opportunities (Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2018).

Drawing on relevant literature discussed above and related studies of ethnic languages maintenance in the New Zealand context, my research defines these extra schooling, after-school tutorials and programmes provided/organised by the New Zealand-local Chinese immigrant community as "Chinese ethnic community supplementary education". These education institutions offer additional support to their students with ongoing significant and diverse educational needs. For many migrant families, parents emphasise that ECSE plays a significant role in their children's educational achievements, heritage language maintenance and ethnic identification.

3.2.3 Family language policy

In discussing how education is perceived by Chinese migrants and families in New Zealand, Chinese language maintenance is usually a key topic that cannot be neglected.

From the migrant parents' perspective, ethnic community supplementary language schools serve as a means of Chinese language maintenance, because these schools provide formal class settings where Chinese migrants' children can learn Chinese. Sending children to these schools closely relates to parents' transnational migration experience, and they believe that language and culture are rooted in identity construction and ethnic heritage across generations. While community/supplementary language schools are important for Chinese language and culture maintenance, as discussed in a recent study of migrant and refugee families conducted by Eisenchlas et al. (2019), the ethnic language used within families is another critical factor in influencing ethnic language maintenance. However, as Spolsky (2009) argued, "language policy is all about choices" (p. 1). In other words, which language(s) are deemed as home languages and how they are managed in the family unit are dependent on a family decision, which might be collective, strategic, or related to an individual member's ideology.

In recent decades, the role family play in managing language use has been recognised (Eisenchlas et al., 2019). Family language policy (FLP), is defined as "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King et al., 2008, p. 907). Three interrelated components constitute FLP, namely, language ideologies, language practices, and language management activities (Spolsky, 2004, 2009).

Language ideology mainly refers to family members' belief and value systems toward (named) languages, such as heritage language(s), and language development in general. These beliefs and values can subsequently influence their language-related activities; namely, language practices, including what language(s) to practise or discourage and how to arrange the bilingual development of the younger family members. Closely related to the two components, language management is the interventional measures usually taken by parents or carers to maintain or develop a particular language (Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2020). Within the family language policy, language ideology is the driving force for parents or carers to create an environment for language maintenance and development (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017; Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2020), while language practices and language management are often indicators of goal setting

and achievements in relation to the evolving language ideologies. What follows discusses specific studies drawing on the family language policy theory.

Home is a key domain for heritage language maintenance (Office of Ethnic Communities, 2013). Fishman's (1991) work suggests that the use of the ethnic language in the home acts as the *sine qua non* of language maintenance or revival. As he suggested, reversing language shift "must always feed into and connect up with the interaction of children and their parents' in normal daily interactions", and this is 'the heart of the entire inter-generational transmission pursuit' (Fishman, 1991, p. 398).

In the context of New Zealand, a study by Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) explored Spanish-speaking migrants' self-reported beliefs in home language policies in the transmission of their heritage language to their children. It concluded that parents' views about the value of their heritage language and of bilingualism constitute the basis of decisions relating to their daily home language practices. In the views of these migrant parents, languages are a source of cultural, social and economic capital, and achieving competence in two or more languages represents an additional advantage for their children. These parents are therefore willing to spend time, efforts and money to ensure that their children grow up speaking more than one language to verify the effort they made as good parents.

Another study by Kang (2013) in the United States, based on interviews with parents from seven ethnic Korean families, revealed the Korean-immigrant parents hold a strong desire to pass on their mother tongue to their US-born children. The first rationale for the desire is their practical need for raising their children. Since some Korean-immigrant parents have English language barriers, particularly homemaker mothers who lack the opportunities to practise English and are not able to communicate with their children and socialise with others in English, they consider their children speaking Korean as necessary for their family interactions and bonding. Secondly, these parents perceive the home language, Korean, as an identity marker, which represents their socio-economic capital in case they return to Korea for familial obligations and economic opportunities. The findings highlight the impact of parents' personal experience and their strong beliefs about their children's bilingual development and maintenance of the home language.

As for language practices, sending children to ethnic community language schools is an important form of language practice conducted by many migrant families to enforce the heritage language maintenance. These schools serve to strengthen the cultural and/or religious identities of migrant children and to foster a sense of belonging to a community and/or nation (Otcu, 2010; Walters, 2011), and also perpetuate heritage language learning to equip those migrant children with multilingual ability, hence to strengthen their profile to embrace a bright future. For instance, Chinese parents in the UK (Francis et al., 2010) and Swedish parents in Australia (Nordstrom, 2016) have emphasised home language learning and bilingualism as having merit in academic and tertiary contexts outside of the ethnic community language school: being bilingual would be good for their children's CVs and future work endeavours.

As for language management, a qualitative study conducted by Bae (2013) indicated that *jogi yuhak* (early study abroad) has become a popular educational and linguistic strategy for Korean middle-class families, aiming at raising their children as global elites with multilingualism. Those families perceive their movement from Korea to Singapore then to Western countries as scale-jumping from the periphery to the centre of globalisation. Within the series of migratory movements, linguistic competence is considered as a powerful and effective means to make this upward global mobility possible. Parents in these families try to help their children accumulate as many forms of valued capital as possible to face the uncertainties in the world of global competition. Unfortunately, their children's language developments to lead to "truncated multilingualism" (Bae, 2013, p. 415), including incomplete competence in their own mother tongue.

In Australia, a study by Eisenchlas et al. (2019) investigating short-time educational sojourning experiences of young Taiwanese-background children to the parents' home country suggested that parents' sojourning arrangements in Taiwan aimed to enhance their children's proficiency level in the heritage language as well as their Taiwanese identity. This activity presents an enactment of family language policy, and more importantly, a pro-active management practice, positioning the Taiwanese diaspora within both their new and old homelands. The authors specifically stated, "Initiated at the family level, this strategy directly engages the target community overseas to offset,

at least temporarily, local environmental impediments to promoting home language maintenance and development" (Eisenchlas et al., 2019, p. 3). However, the researchers pointed out that this sojourning arrangement may best suit children at early ages, but the long-term results of this arrangement have not been discussed given the limited experience the participant parents had had.

In summary, what has been discussed above shows that heritage language maintenance for migrants' children is an important part of transnational education that many migrant families pursue and direct their related ethnic language endeavours across borders.

3.2.4 Chinese migrant parents' responses to host society from the dimension of their children's education

Adaptation is understood in terms of migrants' acquisition of the culture-specific skills needed not only to survive but to also thrive in a new and foreign environment (Bochner, 1972). Migrants learn to adapt to the changed circumstances in the host society, finding new ways to handle their daily life. In the process, they may unconsciously alter their cognitive, affective, and behavioural habits, and develop increasing proficiency to express themselves, to understand the host cultural practices, and to align their thoughts and actions with those of the local people.

It is quite common for migrants to face challenges in the process of settlement. Migrant parents bring a "multiliterate, multilingual, and transcultural repertoire" (Skerrett, 2015, p. 7) with them to the host society. Three main sets of differences confront migrant parents in their adaptation to the host society from the aspect of their children's education. First of all, language barrier. When Chinese migrants arrive in the host society, where the English is the dominant language or English is the most commonly used official language, Chinese migrant parents encounter discrimination in the workplace and society due to their lack of English proficiency or accented English (Wang & Lo, 2005). Based on a study of Hong Kong and Taiwanese "astronaut wives" in Canada, Waters (2002) revealed those lone mothers' disappointment of being unable to find work commensurate with their qualifications because of the language barrier and the lack of educational qualifications. Some of them have to quit the hardly found compatible job due to the difficulty to manage between the whole family and the job.

Here, those lone mothers' commitment to the family is perceived as a sacrifice for their children as opposed to their own lives' improvement. Meanwhile, migrant parents' language barrier can sometimes lead to the role reversal phenomenon, where Chinese migrant parents might force their children to take up important adult roles to make sure their families and household can function properly. For example, migrant children serve as the interpreters, translators and brokers between their family members and the host society. Such role reversal would constrain migrant parents' effective parenting, and their parental capacity in assistance and guidance, which may challenge parents' authority in migrant families and hinder their children's adaptation into the host society (Zhou, 2014).

Nevertheless, language barrier not always result in difficult dilemma for Chinese migrant parents. Some parents make positive changes regarding their children's language arrangements at the stage of early childhood. This is evidenced by what Chan (2018) concluded in her research, that Chinese migrant parents proactively enrich their repertoire of parenting in the aspect of language heritage for their early childhood children according to their migratory experience and knowledge from their homeland and the host country so as to enhance their children's chance of moving up.

Secondly, the institutional barriers from the host society also influence migrant parents' adaptation for their children's education. For example, the schooling differences between their country of origin and the host country. By investigating Chinese migrants in Luxembourg, Wu (2019) underscores a transcultural conflict between Chinese migrant families and the schooling. While Chinese migrant parents believe that achievement-oriented work ethics are crucial for their children's academic growth, the schooling system's lauding of individual-oriented freedom and wellbeing engenders Chinese migrant parents' anxiety about their children's pleasure-seeking. Based on interviews with teachers from local schools in Canada, Zhou (2013) reveals the differing educational values between Chinese migrant parents and school teachers. Specifically, these teachers express their disapproval of Chinese migrant parents' over-passionate attachment to their children's class ranking, and of Chinese migrant parents' overemphasis on their children's academic study while underestimating the significance of their children's involvement in extra-curricular activities. From the

perspectives of teachers, this view is narrow-minded and can hinder children's well-rounded development.

Similarly, the research of Beck and Nyíri (2022), in which middle-class Chinese migrant parents emigrated from China in pursuit of a well-rounded and human-centred European-style happy education in Budapest for their children, shows a degree of unease with what they encounter in the host society. The state education system in Budapest did not provide the imagined relaxed and caring educational environment that these parents expected, because the education ideology there had shifted back to a book-and-discipline-based curriculum, and there were no institutionalised policies assisting non-Hungarian-speaking students to adapt to local schooling. As a result, those parents had to transfer their children to private schools so as to pursue the education they aspired to for them.

According to their in-person interviews and participant observations in Chinese immigrant communities in the United States and in Singapore, Zhou and Wang (2019) found that the structural constraints in the host society affect Chinese migrant parents' educational orientations for their children. For example, in the context of Singapore, where the new Chinese migrants arrive in the country after 1990 are distinguished by earlier migrants or locals. The sensible xenophobia among native Singaporeans, especially Chinese Singaporeans works as a mechanism of social exclusion. This situation further directs Chinese migrant parents' construction of a narrowly defined success frame for their children. Specifically, measurable academic outcomes are valued, specific study areas are highly recommended to their children, and afterschool tuitions or extracurricular activities are arranged to serve this success frame (Zhou & Wang, 2019). In a nutshell, Zhou (2008) emphasises that Chinese migrant parents' experience (language barrier and under-employment due to non-transferable or unappreciated educational qualifications and skills acquired prior to migration) and their awareness of the structural constraints (stratification of racial and class system) affect their educational arrangements for their children.

Secondly, the inter-generational gap in migrant families is another challenge that migrant parents need to tackle as they adapt to their children's experiences in education in the new host country. According to Wu's research (2019), the inter-generational gap

in Chinese migrant families in the aspect of education is related to parents' and migrant children's dual frames of reference. Migrant parents compare their children's academic and work ethics in Luxembourg with those in China, worrying that their children are not making enough efforts. Migrant children compare their family and educational lives with those of their Luxembourgish peers, complaining that they do not have relaxed vacations similar to their peers. Therefore, an inter-generational contestation emerges. The inter-generational gap also exists in parent-child divergence around the occupational pursuit aspect. For Chinese migrant children in the context of United States and Singapore, they aspire to realise their potential rather than just having a job to make a living. This aspiration is exactly opposite to their migrant parents, who regard finding a job as vitally important in the process of migration settlement (Zhou & Wang, 2019). As Zhou and Wang (2019) suggest, this generation gap in the migrant families is caused by the inter-generational differences in age, lived experience, and the environment of growing up. The parent generation and the younger generation are at difference paces of adaptation to the host society. That is to say, the parent generation are nurturing their children informed by Chinese cultural traditions and practices, while their children's individuality and agency were less valued (Zhou & Wang, 2019). From the perspectives of migrant children, they aspire to like everyone else in the host society, and hope to conduct their lives as what their hearts really desire for themselves rather than they follow what their parents tell them to do (Zhou, 2006; Zhou & Wang, 2019). Similarly, according to interview with children of Chinese 'study mothers' (mothers accompanying their children who are studying in the host country) in Singapore, Huang and Yeoh (2011) underscore that the inter-generational adaptation differences between these migrant children and their 'study mothers' can reinforce vulnerabilities. Specifically, when migrant children mature over the course of their stay in the host society, while they learn to handle different issues themselves, they also face the struggles over the autonomy of their lives. For example, they might no longer need their 'study mother' to accompany them, and the presence of their mother can be perceived as constraints on their lives. This is the also an issue that migrant parents might confront in the process to adapt to the host society.

Children's education is an important factor driving Chinese migrant parents to migrate and they may be attracted by what they understand to be the differences with the new

education system in host society. However, the reality they encounter in the host society and the potential lifelong threat of inadequate education (as they understand it should be), may be profoundly different and lead to great unease in terms of their children's education.

3.3 Summary

This chapter provides a critical overview of the theoretical framework that has foregrounded my research study. It began with a brief discussion of the research perspective of migration studies, and the debut and the development of transnational migration studies. A short review of one of the significant sites in transnational migration research, namely, transnational migrant families, details the emergence of transnational migrant families and the reasons for migrant families' migratory movements and the relative framework to study the field of interest. One of the paramount migratory activities of transnational migrant families, i.e., transnational education, is then unpacked. The discussion highlighted the role of transnational education in affecting transnational migrant families' trajectories and how these families value it and arrange their educational practices in the context of transnational migration.

My research is grounded by the combination of the two bodies of theory discussed in this chapter which also supports the overall design of the study. In the next chapter, Chapter Four, research methodology, I will detail the research design in line with the research aim, purpose and research questions.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology employed for this PhD research. The research questions are also presented alongside the aims of the study. More specifically, Section 4.1 discusses the philosophical underpinnings to justify the choice of case study as the methodology. Section 4.2 discusses the exploratory aspect of this research and its rationales in relation to deciding to do a case study for the research topic. It is followed by Section 4.3 which introduces methods and instruments used for this research, i.e. in-depth one-to-one interviews with participants. The design of interview questions is discussed, careful consideration of ethics and potential risks as planning and conducting the research are detailed, including sampling strategies, the recruitment of participants and interview protocols. The data analysis process is also explained in detail before concluding the chapter where Section 4.4 focuses on my reflections as an emerging researcher in the conduct of this research.

4.1 Research design

This section focuses specifically on the ontological and epistemological basis for the chosen methodology, and the underpinning reasons are also discussed to facilitate the accomplishment of this research on how new Chinese migrant families navigate their education-related activities in New Zealand.

Ontology is the inquiry of being (Crotty, 1998). Ontological assumptions are concerned with what constitutes reality, with the nature of existence, namely, "what is" (Crotty, 1998, p. 10). It is necessary for researchers to take a position to explore and identify with evidence to find out what things really are and how they really work. Epistemology deals with "the nature of knowledge, its possibility, scope and general basis (Hamlyn, 1995, p. 242)". Epistemological assumptions are concerned with "providing a

philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate" (Maynard, 1994, p. 10).

This PhD study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research adopts a relativist ontology which implies that social reality is a constantly changing emergent property of social actors' creation, as compared with objectivism, which regards social entities as external facts that are beyond social actors' reach or influence (Bryman, 2008). Qualitative ontology provides an opportunity to researchers to understand external reality through how they make sense of the world; namely, their observation or investigation. It emphasises the important role of both the participants and the researchers and the interaction between the two parties. Participants' perspectives and the meaning they attribute to their everyday lives are collected and analysed by the researchers. They work together to ultimately provide an in-depth understanding of the researched subject and topic (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Hennink et al., 2020). This means qualitative research is most suitable for addressing "how" and "why" questions about the way that people perceive, behave, and attribute social meanings in their lived experiences within the given context (Ambert et al., 1995).

This research aims to explore how new Chinese migrant families adapt to the New Zealand education system. The inherent pursuits of the research were to seek the interpretations and reflections of new Chinese migrant parents and their children regarding their education-related activities in New Zealand, and how their participation was perceived by educators from selected New Zealand local schools or educational institutions, which functions as a supplement to further facilitate the insights into their educational activities. Not only focusing on the external social reality itself, such as, the immigration policy and the education regulations in China and New Zealand, this research also targets the subjective thoughts and reflections on the everyday education-related activities and thoughts of participants, accounting for their lived experiences and on their interaction with the external society reality that completely constrains them. Here, the researcher in this study believes that the social reality is an ongoing accomplishment of these three groups of stakeholders. New Chinese migrant parents and their children are not passive participants of the schooling system in New Zealand; in fact, they as critical stakeholders in the education domain interact with local

educators and make appropriate adjustments so as to achieve their educational aspirations in New Zealand as their host country.

Local educators' perceptions towards new Chinese migrant parents' and their children's education-related activities in the host country are not something external to and beyond the reach or influence of new Chinese migrant parents and their children that constrain them. In fact, local educators' accounts of new Chinese migrant parents' and their children's education-related activities provide further insights and different perspectives to understanding educational choices and decision making in the migrant family domain. These accounts reflected on local educators' meaning making towards their professional and personal experiences and interactions with the other two researched cohorts.

Constructivism asserts that social phenomena are the outcomes of social actors' social interaction and are in a state of continuing revision (Bryman, 2008). Social constructivism is built upon the premise that reality is socially constructed (Searle, 1995). It emphasises that individuals' subjective meanings of their experiences are constructed through their interaction with other social actors under the historical and cultural settings which they inhabit (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Benefiting from constructivism, this research not only focuses on investigating how new Chinese migrant parents and their children perceive their education-related experiences in New Zealand, but also invites local educators to share their experiences and perspectives. The accounts of three cohorts are the results of their construction of meaning-making regarding the interaction among them, and the accounts of one cohort could potentially provide evidence for or against that of the other two cohorts. Therefore, the thoughts and reflections of these three groups of stakeholders together are a necessity to help me as the researcher achieve the goal of getting a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

4.2 Case Study

Among various forms of qualitative approaches, this research is specifically informed by case study to develop its overarching methodological framework. "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in depth

and within its real-life context" (Yin, 2014, p. 16). In more detail, Creswell (2013, p. 97) asserts that qualitative case study research investigates "a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case themes". Case study research, in its essence, helps researchers to explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomena through closely examining the contextual data of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships (Zainal, 2007), and wider scholarly implications can be drawn from the studied case. Therefore, most case studies are exploratory in nature.

Case study is a type of research design that can excel in accommodating a relativist perspective, which acknowledges multiple realities have multiple meanings, with findings that are researcher dependent (Lincoln et al., 2011; Yin, 2014). Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) approach case study on a constructivist paradigm, which claims that the truth is relative and perspective dependent. This paradigm is built upon the premise of the social construction of reality – participants construct the subjective meaning of their experiences in the process of living and working, and interaction with others (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

In addition, the case study approach provides the researchers with opportunities to conduct multi-perspectival analyses so as to explore in-depth, multi-faceted complex issues in the real-life setting (Tellis, 1997). This suggests that researchers should not only consider the perspectives of the social actors, but that of the relevant groups of these actors and the interaction between them (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Tellis, 1997). Briefly, the case study approach can better serve the research design aimed to answer "how" and "why" questions, and "to represent the meanings that individual social actors bring to those settings and manufacture in them" (Somekh & Lewin, 2011, p. 53), such as this PhD research.

This research does not merely focus on new Chinese migrant parents' and their children's perceptions of their education-related experiences in New Zealand; most importantly, local educators, who have regular engagement with new Chinese migrant

parents and their children, were also invited to share their perspectives in terms of new Chinese migrant families encountering challenges and issues as they adapt to the new education system in New Zealand. Here, the three bodies of multi-perspectival qualitative data were collected to promote a comprehensive understanding of new Chinese migrant families' education-related endeavours in the host country – New Zealand.

Specifically, this research is an exploratory case study in nature. The 'case' refers to the educational perspectives and activities of new Chinese migrant families from the PRC to Auckland, New Zealand after 1987. Exploratory case studies do not start from the preset propositions generated from previous literature review or researchers' experiences, which may limit the scope and the feasibility of completing the research (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This research strategy is particularly applicable in the situation where the existing knowledge base may be poor, or the researchers do not have enough experience or knowledge about the inquiry of interest. According to Yin (1991), exploratory case studies are characterised by five distinctive features: (a) they grapple with complex phenomena of interest, (b)they are used for studies where the researchers cannot manipulate the complex nature, (c) they are dependent on multiple sources of data, (d) they rely heavily, although not exclusively, on qualitative data, and (e) they help the researchers develop a cogent, detailed portrait of the phenomenon.

The rationale for choosing exploratory case study strategy is dictated by the research aim, exploring new Chinese migrant families' educational perspectives and activities in New Zealand. This topic involves complex interaction among the three groups of stakeholders, the interaction is an intricate social phenomenon which involves their everyday interaction. Those stakeholders live their lives in a real-world context, it is a context which their perceptions and understanding were generated from and is not under the manipulation of the researcher of this study.

In addition, a multi-perspective framework is helpful in reaching a comprehensive insight into the overarching research topic. Given that parents, children, and educators are the most important three bodies in the education terrain, the accounts from these three groups would help me approach the reality that each group has told or untold, and

eventually get deeper insights into the researched topic.

Last but not least, the other significant reason for the exploratory case study design was based on this being a research topic that has not been the subject of extensive research in the context of New Zealand. Past scholarly attention has been paid to how Chinese students pursue their studies as international students in New Zealand, and the challenges they face in the process (Skyrme, 2007; Zhang & Brunton, 2007). Other literature studied the incentives of Chinese parents sending their children to New Zealand higher education institutions, as well as the perceptions of Chinese parents regarding their children attending the early childhood centres in New Zealand (Chan, 2018; Morrish & Lee, 2011; Zhang et al., 2014). However, the question of new Chinese migrant parents' educational arrangements for the children in aspects of school selection, courses arrangements, and professional and occupational expectations, et cetera, is still under-researched, let alone the accounts from the children themselves and local educators in the process. This research was designed to depict a 'detailed portrait' of the topic: regarding each new Chinese migrant family as a research unit and collecting the voices from migrant families and local educators; namely, the three relational cohorts, could enable me to get a more comprehensive understanding and eventually achieve my goal.

Drawing findings from the case of new Chinese migrant families from the People's Republic of China (PRC) and their educational perspectives and activities in Auckland, the largest city of New Zealand, the research can shed insight beyond this context and provide deep understanding of the role education plays in transnational migration scholarship by investigating what sustains education-driven migration and what conditions their decision making in both migration sending and receiving countries.

4.3 Research method: In-depth one-to-one interview

This exploratory case study primarily focuses on new Chinese migrant families including parents and their children. Inherently, the reasons why those parents choose New Zealand as their destination of migration, what educational arrangements they set up for their children in the host country, what challenges they confront and strategies they employ to cope with in the process are highly pertinent to the topic of the research.

The chosen research design of case study is an appropriate framework for exploring questions of "why" and "how". Overall, case study approach can guide me to get in-depth understanding of the three key stakeholders' perspectives on their educational-related experiences in the host country mainstream society.

To achieve the research aim, in-depth interviews with individual participants were chosen to fulfil the goal. Firstly, in-depth interviews allow researchers to navigate the interview process flexibly, especially when something intriguing emerges during the interview. This makes the data collection process interactive and reflective, and further helps researchers collect rich data to answer the research questions. Secondly, in-depth interviews allow researchers to take those pertinent questions to more depth, trying to explore participants' insights on their experiences and reflections on them, so as to investigate the underpinning reasoning for their arrangements and decision-making at each crucial stage of schooling in the family domain.

In-depth interviews can be described as "a conversation with a purpose" (Hennink et al., 2020, p. 116). This conversation is held to accomplish researchers' pursuit of participants' personal experiences on specific topics that were drawn from the research literature and existing studies which have provided a foundation to help one design questions around the key topics to be covered. However, the conversation is not a fully two-way conversation. It is dedicated to encouraging participants to share their own stories, while researchers take the role of probing their stories, interpreting them with relevant theories, and analysing them critically.

In-depth interviews allow researchers to approach participants' immediate lived experiences, and how they interact with each other. Aside from demographic questions, all other interview questions are open-ended, which offer participants more freedom to elicit their personal experiences. Meanwhile, this method provides participants flexibility to make timely adaptations to bring about relevant questions that are relevant to what the participants are sharing. This is especially important when participants reflect, discover new aspects of the specific questions and point out which dimensions they think are of significance and deserve more research attention. Additionally, it can offer researchers the opportunity to acquire participants' clarification and discuss further issues that arose in the conversations. This dynamic process supports

researchers to engage with participants and their experiences, and through this, a detailed, in-depth understanding of the research issues from the perspective of the participants can be further identified, analysed and interpreted. All in all, in-depth interviews embody “a meaning-making partnership” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 128) between researchers and their participants; they co-create knowledge on specific topics and further co-construct reality.

4.3.1 Interview questions

The design of interview questions was primarily informed by the research questions and the overall research aim of this research. Specifically, these interview questions were designed to, first, capture the demographic feature of the participants; and second, guide participants’ accounts of their lived experiences within the transnational education settings, including their reflection on their interactions with the other two stakeholder groups.

Three different sets of interview questions were designed to collect relevant information from each group, and each set of interview questions was tailored to suit the specific group of stakeholders, namely, new Chinese migrant parents, their children, and local educators (for details, see Appendix 6, 7, 8). Generally, each set of interview questions consists of three parts, the first part (pre-interview survey) is to collect participants’ demographic information, the second part, the major body of interview questions, is open-ended questions about their everyday experiences**.** The final part concludes by enquiring about migrant parents’ and children’s future educational envisioning for the two stakeholder groups, it also provides participants with the opportunity to comment further on anything they think is relevant or important but was not raised during the interview, to wrap up the interview.

Some similar questions were designed for seeking accounts from different stakeholders. For example, section one for the child group and section three for the parent group looked into the migration decision-making process for the migrant family and their communication and visits to China. These two sections were drawn from the research of Waters (2005, 2006), which indicates that children’s education involves the input of multiple family members and drives their motivation to migrate. The interviewees’

answers enabled me to further explore the role of children's education in influencing the migration decision and other family members' commitment in this decision, as well as the impact of migration on other family members, for example, the elder generation (namely, grandparent of migrant children) and the partner separated from the interviewee. In the following, I will briefly describe each interview question set for each interviewee group.

4.3.1.1 Interview questions for new Chinese migrant parent cohort

The first part of the interview questions for the migrant parent group (Appendix 6) was set out to collect demographic information of the parent participants, including their gender, age, place of birth, marital status, current residence location. In addition, the interviewees were asked to provide information of language(s) they use at home and in the workplace, year of first entering New Zealand and being granted New Zealand permanent residency, migration category, citizenship status, detailed education history, occupation information prior to and after landing in New Zealand, property purchase information. Before inquiring about parent interviewees' educational activity for their children, these demographic questions allowed participants to briefly review their migration process, setting the context for the in-depth interviews undertaken.

The second part consisted of five sections, section one (Education for your child(ren)) mainly explored how parent interviewees perceive the education systems in China and New Zealand, and how their child(ren) was/were doing in the schools of China and New Zealand, if applicable. Parent interviewees were invited to review their child(ren)'s study history, followed by questions about their view of the education system in China and their communication with teachers in schools of China and New Zealand. These questions are important to provide some important insights into the parents' education-related concern for their children, for example, the possible education-related reasons that motivated them to migrate and the aspects they valued when choosing a school for their children. Communication with teachers in New Zealand could reveal parent interviewees' challenges and (un)familiarity with the education system, and their requests. Later on, interviewees were asked to talk about their specific educational arrangements and expectation for their children, and then to reflect on their parenting skill.

Section two (The community and social environment) turned to questions about parent interviewees' interactions with other parents in New Zealand which could mirror how parent interviewees perceive other parents' educational expectations and their educational arrangements for their children. Meanwhile, the question about the possible advice that they could give to their friends with an intention to migrate to New Zealand helped me to further understand parent interviewees' reflection on their migration decision, experience and the advantages and disadvantages of arranging their children to study in New Zealand.

Section three (Life course and transnational migration experience) placed specific focuses on interviewees' migration decision-making process and their communication and visits to China. The interviewees' answers enabled me to further understand the impact of migration on other family members, for example, the elder grandparent generation and the partner separated from the interviewee, as well as the role of children's education in influencing the migration decision and other family members' commitment in this decision. Further, these issues could lead to new Chinese migrant parents' reflections on raising their children in the transnational context.

Section four (Identity) was intended to approach the interviewees' sense of home, sense of identity and belonging. These questions are important to ask because they helped me get insight into how parent interviewees identify themselves and the subsequent impact of their perceptions on their educational activities for their children. In addition, the parent interviewees were asked to talk about their children's visits to China, their subjective accounts enabled a better understanding of how migrant parents nurture their children in the context of a transnational background.

The last section (Wrapping up) invited interviewees to review their experiences of sending their children in schools in New Zealand, and whether they were (dis)satisfied with the New Zealand education system. These questions could lead to insights on what kind of education the new Chinese migrant parents really wanted to pursue for their children and what could be improved in terms of providing better educational opportunities to their children. Finally, the parent interviewees were invited to envision their further education plans for their children, the answers could potentially explain what these parents want to raise their children to be.

4.3.1.2 Interview questions for cohort of children of new Chinese migrant parents

Interview questions for children of new Chinese migrant parents (Appendix 7) also included two parts, the first part collected basic demographic and background information of each interviewee, including gender, place of birth, age, current residence location, language(s) used at home and school, school the interviewee attended, school year, year of first landing in New Zealand, year of achieving New Zealand residency, migration category, and citizenship information.

The second part included five sections. Section one (Educational background, life course, transnational migration experience) briefly looked into migrant children's schooling experience in New Zealand, their migratory experience, and their connection with China. These questions helped enrich the researcher's understanding of the participants' migration trajectory, the migration purpose of their families, and how connected they were with China.

Section two (Family education and schooling experience) asked questions about interviewees' accounts of their daily education-related life at home and in the school. Specific attention was paid to how they perceive their school, the after-school and extracurricular activities. These questions potentially mirrored the conflicts and challenges the children of new Chinese migrant parents might have encountered. For example, in relation to English proficiency and learning style, the interviewees' answers helped me understand the obstacles for learning in New Zealand as children grew up under a transnational background. Questions about their parents' educational expectations for the interviewee were asked to discover the gap between parents' expectation and their vision for their future. Specific questions were tailored to 1.5 generation with learning experiences in China, which involved their understanding of the education systems in China and New Zealand and the difficulties they faced as 1.5 generation migrants.

Section three (Social interaction in school and beyond) aimed to discover interviewees' social interaction with their friends and teachers in New Zealand. These questions enabled me to understand what their social life was like, the topics they would like to talk with their peers, and whether (or not) they fit in the school in the host country.

Their social interaction experiences were essential to the exploration of migrant children's integration.

Section four (Identity) explored questions about migrant children's sense of identity, sense of home and belonging, and their connections to China. These questions are necessary for this research to better understand how the transnational experiences affected the migrant children and their perceptions of their parents' or their country of origin.

In the last section (Wrapping up), children of new Chinese migrant parents were invited to envision their future for themselves. This question could possibly highlight what they want to achieve for themselves as a transnational children generation, and the generational tensions between their parents and them. In addition, participants were encouraged to talk about other related issues they would share at the end of interview.

4.3.1.3 Interview questions for local educator cohort

Two parts constituted the interview questions for local educators (Appendix 8). The first part was similar to other two sets of interview questions, collating basic demographic and teaching background information of interviewees, including gender, place of birth, age range, ethnicity, language(s) that interviewees speak, teaching subject and experience.

The second part consisted of three sections. The first section (Perceptions towards students from new Chinese migrant families) primarily involved local educators' perceptions of students from new Chinese migrant families. Specific foci were given to these students' school performance, participation of extracurricular activities and the observed challenges they faced in school. These questions could deepen my insights into how the school performance of Chinse-background students have been seen from the New Zealand educators' perspective.

The second section (Perceptions towards Chinese parents), educators were invited to share their perceptions regarding their communications with new Chinese migrant parents so as to explore what Chinese parents wanted to seek for feedback from educators about their children's performance in school. The interviewees were asked to

talk about Chinese parents' educational expectations for their children and their perceptions of these expectations. It could potentially reveal the gap between what was expected from Chinese parents and what the school can provide to them.

The last section (Open questions) invited educator interviewees to talk about the most striking observation and thoughts with regard to Chinese parents and their children to complement what might be missed in the interviews with the other interviewee cohorts and to further comment on any related issues regarding the research topic.

4.3.2 Ethical considerations

To make this research ethically responsible, potential risks were considered and taken care of before and after the study was conducted, including the appropriate way to access potential participants, protection of interviewees' privacy and confidentiality, data storage and handling, and the handling of cultural etiquette in the fieldwork research process.

The first consideration was approaching potential participants in an appropriate way. Local educators were contacted via email posted on their school webpages and my personal social networking. New Chinese migrant parents were accessed through personal social networking or Chinese community associations in the beginning, then the snowballing technique was used to recruit more potential parent participants. Children of new Chinese migrant parents were primarily selected from personal networking and through their parents who had been identified. This scenario met ethical requirements and enhanced the research with a more self-motivated participation, which helps facilitate the validity of the interview data.

Once participants had been identified and they also indicated their interest of taking part in this research, a letter of invitation was sent to them by email or social media software, such as WeChat (a smartphone application that integrates multi-purpose messaging, video chat, mobile payment, and various social networking services, commonly used in China and by Chinese communities). This letter of invitation would discuss what the research was about, what was expected in terms of number of visits/interviews, and the expected time commitment (about 60 minutes). This

information sheet and the subsequent consent form were written in both English and Mandarin and were absent of academic jargon to ensure that the participants could fully understand the details of this research project and made informed decisions about their participation in this research.

Secondly, I maintained the confidentiality of all interviewees who took part in this research by using pseudonyms. The recorded interviews were safely stored on a password protected device of the researcher. I also ensured that nothing stated in the thesis gave light to who the participants involved may have been.

The confidentiality of participants' acquaintances was also an issue here as participants sometimes wanted to talk about some experience involving their acquaintances. Hence, it had been made clear prior to commencing the interview that at no time should the name of participants' acquaintances be stated. If the participants did state their acquaintances in the interview, the confidential information of their acquaintances was further coded to protect it from any possible exposure to potential readers.

Thirdly, in terms of data storage and handling, information such as consent forms and data (including the recorded interviews and transcripts) were saved with the confidentiality and interests of the participants in mind. Signed consent forms and interview notes were scanned and stored in a locked drawer. The scanned materials were stored on my password protected laptop. Meanwhile, participants were informed that all of the interview-related information would be kept accessible only to the researcher herself, thus reassuring the participants that their participation was trustworthy.

Last, regarding the cultural etiquette in the interviews, for the group of new Chinese migrant parents, as we both speak Chinese and have a similar cultural background to each other, I could understand their thoughts, which helped promote the research. However, these families had been migrating to New Zealand for a varying period of time, and their ideas and lifestyles might have changed, which was something I kept in mind during the interview. Another major concern was about interviewing their children. I tried to ask parent participants if they felt comfortable about their children taking part in this research. This was one of the important methods to approach the

children of new Chinese migrants. Besides, I had to keep in mind the possible difference between 1.5 generation and second generation at all times so I made sure that I treated them carefully in the interview and further encouraged them to willingly share their experiences with me.

For the group of local educators, cultural concerns were taken into account as the research itself explored the ideological and practice gaps between New Zealand schooling system and Chinese migrant families. It was important, as a researcher with Chinese ethnicity, I tried to be a good listener to learn the local educators' experiences and contexts without having my own views leading and making unnecessary judgement. Over time, I did realise my knowledge about the schooling system in New Zealand improved. With my supervisors' support in communicating with the local educators, I managed to tackle my knowledge constraints through exploring the latest literature and studies and ongoing communications with local schools and the local educators. Through this research process, I gradually built my confidence and navigated my approaches of asking questions or engaging with participants in different topics of interest in the interviews. Simultaneously, I also ensured that I prioritised participants' voices and their willingness to share their views in contributing to this study.

4.3.3 Sampling

Given that Auckland accommodates the largest Chinese population in New Zealand—around 69.1% of the total New Zealand Chinese population in 2018 (Auckland Council, 2019; Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). The Auckland area was chosen as the major sampling location for this research. Consequently, these interviews took place in Auckland, apart from one teacher from Rotorua, and one migrant child was at the time based in New York. Therefore, these two interviews were carried out online.

Based on my personal networking with new Chinese migrant community in Auckland, purposeful sampling (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Patton, 1990) was employed in the beginning to recruit eligible participants. Using this sampling strategy helped me accurately approach participants who were most relevant to this research, and in the meanwhile, their rich experience efficiently facilitated the refinement of interview questions. After that, the snowballing technique was applied to reach out more potential

participants. Regarding the new Chinese migrant parent group, I tried to approach potential participants on WeChat which is quite popular among new Chinese migrant community for daily communication, locally and internationally. I posted the participant recruiting information in a few chat groups established by new Chinese migrants on WeChat for recruitment. At the same time, I also utilised the snowballing technique to connect with more potential interviewees for this research.

As for the local educator group, I had not succeeded in approaching potential interviewees by sending invitations through email addresses that were available on their school webpage. Several educators replied, but unfortunately in the end they declined to take part, and many did not reply at all. This might be due to their busy work schedule and my limited network with this particular group. I later realised that online recruitment might not a proper way to reach out, therefore, I made more efforts to employ my personal networking resources through snowballing, and it worked out. All educator interviewees in this research were approached through personal networking, and one third of them gave their consent to help introduce other educator peers and potential interested parents as participants.

As for the migrant child group, I tried to disseminate participant recruitment information through personal networks, and a few of them agreed to take part on weekends or after school times. Three interviewees were approached by the recruited migrant parents. After the parents were interviewed, I asked them to help me distribute related information to their children. If the children would like to take part, the parents would share their children's contact with me, then I contacted the children directly to arrange an interview with them.

4.3.4 Interviewee recruitment criteria

The data mainly comes from three groups, namely, new Chinese migrant parents, local educators from local schools or ethnic community supplementary education institutions, and children of the new Chinese migrant parents. In total, 38 interviews (including 17 Chinese migrant parents, 12 local educators, and nine children of new Chinese migrant parents) were conducted. Interviewee profiles of these three groups are detailed in the empirical chapters respectively. The criteria for recruiting each group of interviewees

were different. As for the new Chinese migrant parent group, the interviewees needed to at the time of recruitment:

- be originally from the PRC;
- hold a New Zealand residence visa or citizenship;
- have migrated to New Zealand after the "open-door" immigration policy was introduced in 1987;
- have at least one child who has been schooled in New Zealand, or who is likely to stay in NZ in the long run to receive education for prolonged term.

The expected educators' cohort needs to meet the following criteria:

- have had experience teaching Chinese-background students for more than two years in New Zealand;

In terms of the interviewee group of children of new Chinese migrant parents, they must be:

- 16 years old or above;
- hold a New Zealand residence visa or citizenship;
- a 1.5 generation or second-generation migrant;
- have parents who were originally from the PRC and have arrived in New Zealand after 1987.

4.3.5 Conducting interviews

A pilot study is considered to be a useful entry point to conduct an exploratory case study because it can refine the data collection process and permit initial insight into the concepts under investigation (Yin, 1984). For this PhD research, in the beginning of data collection, three pilot interviews of one participant from each group were conducted respectively, which helped refine the interview questions.

A migrant mother (Mao), a 1.5 generation migrant child (Judy) who studies in a university, and a Chinese language teacher (Amy) in a community supplementary school were selected as the pilot interviewees based on my personal social networking.

The pilot interview with the migrant mother (Mao) mentioned that her lack of English competency affected her communications with school teachers, and her comparative educational disadvantage made her feel powerless to tutor her children. Therefore, she was easy-going with her children's academic performance, encouraging her children to solve the problems they confronted. The interview made me wonder about the relationship between other parents' English proficiency and the help they can provide for their children's academic performance.

The young migrant pilot interviewee (Judy) was obtaining her higher education in the absence of her parents in New Zealand when the interview was conducted. Due to all her primary and secondary schooling having taken place in China, a few questions were skipped, for example, the tutorials and extracurricular activities in New Zealand. Nevertheless, this pilot interviewee provided rich insights on how children of new Chinese migrant parents perceived the education system of China, and how the adjustment might be made by the 1.5 generation migrant children to better integrate into New Zealand schools. This interview further raised my awareness that children of new Chinese migrant parents who arrived in New Zealand at senior academic stage might not be able to give comments on New Zealand's schooling. Subsequently, questions about how 1.5 generation migrant children perceived the education systems in China and New Zealand and the difficulties they had to deal with in adapting to New Zealand were given specific attention in later interviews with other 1.5 generation migrant children participants.

The pilot teacher interviewee from a Chinese ethnic community supplementary school (Amy) provided explanations in terms of new Chinese migrant parents' motives of arranging the study in her school for their children, and how new Chinese migrant parents perceived Chinese traditional culture. However, this interview mainly revealed the aspect of Chinese language maintenance issues within the new Chinese migrant families. It did not tackle the schooling issues of children of new Chinese migrant families in the New Zealand mainstream schools.

These three pilot interviews tested the interview questions, alerting me to tailor the questions based on the unique experience of each interviewee. They helped me further refine the way I asked questions and identify more relevant interview questions that

should be asked during the interviews.

Based on refined interview questions, in the process of conducting the interviews, I first introduced myself and this research project to each participant. Then the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form were distributed to each interviewee. Considering that some participants might not be fluent in English, these two forms were prepared in English and Chinese respectively. After that, the researcher spent several minutes informing the interviewee about the interview procedures, the audio recording of the interview, the use of data for doctoral thesis and future publications, and the data confidentiality protection. This introduction offered the participants an opportunity to be aware of the interview process. After the explanation, participants were asked to carefully read through the Consent Form. As they agreed to sign to agree the terms in the Consent Form, I then started to proceed with the interview.

The interviews were mostly conducted face to face, except five were conducted online because two interviewees were based outside of Auckland, and three other interviewees preferred an online interview at their convenience. The language used in the interviews was chosen at the interviewees' preference. The language chosen by the parent group was Mandarin. The preferred language for interviewing the educators was related to their origin of country: educators originating from English-speaking countries or New Zealand were interviewed in English; other educators who came from the PRC were interviewed in Mandarin. The interviews conducted with the children of new Chinese migrant parents was mostly English. As to the places for interviews, many interviews were conducted in interviewee households, some in interviewees' workplaces, and some occurred in cafés or public libraries. The choice of interview venue was totally up to each interviewee, with safety being prioritised, as I believed that the interviewees would feel relaxed at a place where they were familiar or feel comfortable with, and this would ensure that a high-quality interview could be achieved.

In the middle of the interview, participants were invited to ask topic-related questions which could help relieve any privacy concerns. Then they continued to share their personal story with me. I conducted and transcribed the interview. A copy of the interview transcript with a summary of the storying was sent to the participants on his/her request to seek further clarifications where needed.

Apart from the demographic questions, this in-depth interview provided enough space for participants to think of and answer the open-ended questions in the main parts of the interview. During the interviews, participants were encouraged to clarify their statements explicitly with specific examples if necessary. I believed that the given examples were vivid pictures of their lived experiences, which could further reflect how participants thought or behaved in the course of their everyday lives. Meanwhile, the main parts of the interview did not proceed in a highly structured sequence, rather, participants could leave the suggested questions aside, articulate their conceptions of the research topics, and summarise their answers in their own logic. Given that the emergent meaning of interviewees was pertinent, the structured schedule and the sequence of the interview questions were cautiously adjusted to "contribute dynamically to a natural conversational flow" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 158). Most importantly, this situation required me to be very careful with the information that interviewees provided and brought up the follow-up relevant questions to make sure that all research topics were covered. Towards the end, I summarised some main points gathered from the interview, which allowed participants to give their further comments on my feedback and the overall research topic.

4.3.6 Data analysis

A thematic analysis method was employed in this research to identify, analyse and report on the patterns and themes of the interview data (Braun & Clarke, 2021). This approach was chosen as a result of the researcher's specific analytic interests in the interdisciplinary topic across research on transnational migration, transnational education and Chinese migrant parents' responses to the host society from the dimension of their children's education. The data analysis process included transcribing interviews, generating initial codes, forming categories and themes as well as reporting the findings of interviews.

The analysis process started from transcribing the audio-recorded interviews into written form for generating codes, categories and themes from the interview texts. Transcription as an interpretative act rather than a mechanical act was arguably a meaning-making process within the whole data analysis process (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). Apart from transcribing the voice tapes, I also set out to familiarise myself with

the interview data by repeatedly listening and reading, and checking on notes taken in the process, generating initial ideas that could potentially answer the research questions. The second phase was code generation. The coding process was primarily theory-driven, namely, "approaching the data with specific questions in mind that you (the researcher) wish to code around" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). In this research, the analytic questions predominantly targeted how new Chinese migrant parents and their children adapt to New Zealand education system. Specifically, it focused on parents' educational perceptions, expectations, the challenges they confronted and the strategies they employed, and the corresponding voices from the migrant child and local educator groups. A complementary inductive approach was adopted for code identification. This data-driven coding approach enabled me to identify the code, i.e., the feature of the data, which was rooted in the subjects' detailed account.

The third phase moved to categorising codes and theme formation. First, I revisited all the emerging codes, analysed how the codes were interrelated under the research questions and then organised the codes into meaningful categories. Second, theme formation required the researcher to analyse and identify distinctions between the categories in a broader context, namely, the entire data set rather than the specific data extracts. The third step was to map themes after carefully thinking about the relations between each theme and the research questions of the topic (see Appendix 9, 10, 11).

In the last phase, I summarised and reported the analysis results based on the identified themes and relevant interview data extracts. Taking the parent group as an example, the first theme "migratory experience from China to New Zealand" was created to capture the purpose of migration for Chinese parents and the role of the pursuit of their children's education in the migration decision-making process. Further, the second theme "perceptions of New Zealand education system in comparison with China" explored the aspect that new Chinese migrant parents valued regarding the education for their children by comparing the education system in China and New Zealand. The third (school choice for their children) and the fourth theme (expectation for their children) uncovered the importance of school selection from the perspective of new Chinese migrant parents' and their educational expectations for their children and their underpinning reasons. The fifth theme (reflective accounts on raising their children in

New Zealand) revealed new Chinese migrant parents' concerns for raising their children in the transnational context. The last theme (identity and related arrangement for their children) illustrated how new Chinese migrant parents perceive themselves and the impact of the perception on their educational practices for their children.

4.4 Summary

The research design was developed based on a comprehensive review of literature in transnational migration, transnational education and Chinese migrant parents' responses to the host society from the dimension of their children's education. As to the interviews, I set specific criteria for recruiting subjects to participate in my research. An interview schedule was designed as a guide to conducting interviews. Sufficient time was allocated to each interview in order to cover all the questions and gather migrant children' subjective accounts in detail.

As a Chinese person born and raised in China, nearly two decades of studying experience in China made me familiar with what the education system looks like and how Chinese parents value education in China. My personal education-related experience linked me with participants who had grown up in China, particularly participants of the parent group, some participants of the migrant child group, and some Chinese-background educators. The similar cultural background and the partly shared experiences of education pre-migration helped shorten the emotional distance between the researcher and the interview participants who had no prior contact with each other before the interviews. By calling on it, I was able to build a good rapport with the interview participants, making them feel comfortable and willing to disclose their perceptions and experiences.

While I did not have study experience in New Zealand prior to the start of research, educators coming from New Zealand and other cultures could share with me their lived experiences with Chinese migrant families. The pilot interview and the first several interviews with educators from other cultures did help me uncover what new Chinese migrant parents really value.

I employed the abovementioned strategies to ensure the credibility and validity of this

qualitative research. In this instance, I invite and appreciate readers to evaluate this qualitative research based on their own lived experiences and perceptions of this research topic and the particular group of research subjects in my PhD project.

Chapter Five

Migrant Parents' Perceptions and Expectations of Education

This chapter delivers the research findings on new Chinese migrant parents based on interviews with them. It mainly examines the new Chinese migrant parents' motives for migrating to New Zealand, their perspectives on and experiences of educating their children in New Zealand, and their perception of their identity and home, and related Chinese language arrangements for their children.

This chapter consists of six sub-sections. Section 5.1 illustrates the findings on new Chinese migrant parents' migratory experience, which mainly includes their migration motives and consequences. Section 5.2 primarily describes their perceptions towards the education systems in China and New Zealand. It is followed by Section 5.3 which explores new Chinese migrant parents' considerations for selecting schools for their children. Section 5.4 involves new Chinese migrant parents' expectation for their children in education. Section 5.5 discusses parents' accounts of challenges and reflections on their parenting. The last section covers parents' conceptions of their identity and home, and the corresponding Chinese language heritage arrangements for their children. These six sub-sections will work hand-in-hand to answer the research questions about the role that the education of children of new Chinese migrants plays among all reasons for new Chinese migrants to migrate to New Zealand; new Chinese migrant parents' perceptions of the education systems in the home country and host country; and their expectations and reflections on raising their children in the host

country.

5.1 Migrant parents' migratory experience from PRC to New Zealand

People migrate for reasons, and their decisions for migration demonstrate their varying life priorities at different life stages. Meanwhile, migration means challenges for them, and these challenges not only involve migrants' worries about the parents they have left behind, but how they are actually settling down in the host country and possible plans for further transnational movements.

5.1.1 Reasons for migration

Among the 17 parents interviewed, the great majority of them (n=11) first arrived in New Zealand between 1992 and 2009, while the rest (n=6) arrived in New Zealand for the first time after 2012 (Interviewee profile is detailed in Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Profile of the Interviewed New Chinese Migrant Parents

Name	Year of arrival	Age group	Gender	With whom when came to NZ	Current occupation	Citizenship and immigration status	Immigration pathway	The year of achieving NZ permanent residency	The highest education qualification, where it was granted?	Place of origins	Notes
Cai	1992	55~64	F	alone	Senior tutor in university	NZ citizen	Skilled	1993	Master, Massey University	Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, PRC	One second-generation son
Tang	1994	55~64	M	his wife	Full-time deacon of a church	NZ citizen	Skilled	1994	Bachelor, Fujian Normal University	Fujian, PRC	A second-generation daughter, and a second-generation son
Gong	2000	55~64	F	her husband and daughter	Self-employed	NZ citizen	Skilled	2000	Bachelor, Inner Mongolia University	Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, PRC	One 1.5-generation daughter, born in 1993
Qiao	2001	35~44	F	alone	Housewife	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Skilled	2006	College degree, Unitec	Shannxi, PRC	One daughter, one son, both are second generation
Wen	2002	45~54	F	two sons	Housewife	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Skilled	2002	Bachelor, Ningbo University	Zhejiang, PRC	One 1.5 generation son, and one second-generation son
Tao	2003	45~54	M	his wife	University teacher	NZ citizen	Skilled	2008	PhD, NZ	Shandong, PRC	A second-generation son, and a second-generation daughter

Name	Year of arrival	Age group	Gender	With whom when came to NZ	Current occupation	Citizenship and immigration status	Immigration pathway	The year of achieving NZ permanent residency	The highest education qualification, where it was granted?	Place of origins	Notes
Yang	2003	45~54	F	alone	Research & development scientist (pharmaceutical industrial)	NZ citizen	Skilled	2007	Master of Science, University of Auckland	Sichuan, PRC	Two second-generation daughters, born in 2004/2010
Zheng	2003	35~44	M	alone	Logistics manager	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Skilled	2008	Post Graduate Diploma, Massey University	Sichuan, PRC	Two second-generation daughters.
Li	2004	35~44	F	alone	Teacher in College	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Skilled	2005	Master, University of Auckland	Liaoning, PRC	One daughter, one son, both are second generation
Mao	2009	35~44	F	two sons to reunite with her husband	Housewife	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Spouse	2010	Junior high school graduation certificate	Shannxi, PRC	Two 1.5-generation sons
Zhang	2009	35~44	F	to reunite her husband in NZ	Housewife, Purchasing agent	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Spouse	2011	Bachelor, Massey University	Jiangsu, PRC	Two second-generation sons
Guo	2013	35~44	F	with her husband and son	Housewife	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Business	2018	Bachelor, Zhejiang Gongshang University	Zhejiang, PRC	One second-generation son
Lin	2014	45~54	M	with his wife and daughter	N/A	PRC citizen/NZ R	Business	N/A	Bachelor, Xi'an University of Technology	Ningxia, PRC	One 1.5-generation daughter

Name	Year of arrival	Age group	Gender	With whom when came to NZ	Current occupation	Citizenship and immigration status	Immigration pathway	The year of achieving NZ permanent residency	The highest education qualification, where it was granted?	Place of origins	Notes
Ding	2014	35~44	F	with her husband and daughter	Campus manager/Chinese tutor at school	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Skilled	2014	Master, Tasmania University	Shanghai, PRC	One second-generation daughter
Wang	2015	45~54	M	with his wife and daughter	Vehicle electrician	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Business	2020	College degree, College of Adult Education, Nankai University	Shandong, PRC	One 1.5-generation daughter
Hu	2016	35~44	F	with her husband and daughter	N/A	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Business	2016	Master, University of Greenwich	Jiangsu, PRC	One 1.5-generation daughter
Song	2014	35~44	F	with her husband and daughter	Self-employed	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Business	2019	Master, Queensland University of Technology	Hubei, PRC	One 1.5 generation daughter

The pre-interview survey indicates the incentives for new Chinese migrants' migration. Those who migrated to New Zealand between 1992 and 2009 were mostly in their early or mid-career stage at the time of arrival, except Zheng, who came to New Zealand initially for his undergraduate study. There were two-level factors compelling them to migrate. At the macro level, this was highly related to the increasingly relaxed and opening migration policies in their country of origin and the host country (Ran & Liu, 2021; Wang & Zheng, 2013). With the implementation of economic reform and the open door policy in People's Republic of China (PRC) in the early 1980s, the relaxation of restrictions on its citizen's international movement allowed much more freedom for Chinese people to travel outside China (Xiang, 2003). At the same time, the introduction of a neoliberal immigration policy in New Zealand, namely, the Immigration Act of 1987 that abolished its traditional source-country preference (i.e. Great Britain) and proclaimed a point-based system which welcomed immigrants based on their skills and financial well-being (Bedford et al., 1987), made the arrival of many Chinese in New Zealand possible.

At the micro level, there were various factors which motivated their decision to migrate to New Zealand. Firstly, nine parents pointed out that the driving force of their movement to New Zealand was to broaden their horizon, and/or to enrich their life experience in the Western world, and/or to get a Western academic qualification. For example, Yang recalled the process by which she persuaded her husband to pursue further studies in New Zealand back in 2003. In her own words, "studying abroad is my lifelong dream, you (her husband) have to promise me"（我（对我老公）说出国读书是我这一辈子的愿望，你必须要答应我. Yang's account might relate to what Li (1998) described as the "going-abroad fever" (p. 80) in China at that time where Chinese people desired to explore the world outside of China for an enriched life experience.

As another parent Zheng shared:

> *The reason that I came to New Zealand for my undergraduate degree was because my parents wanted me to travel abroad and see the outside world. Moreover, they thought that having a*

Western qualification would help me find a better job when I returned to China. （当时来新西兰读本科是因为父母想让我出来看一看，而且，他们觉得有一个西方国家的文凭回国后能找到更好的工作。）

Zheng's experience was consistent with many PRC migrants', who saw travelling to New Zealand as "going to the outside world to have a look", "an eye-opening experience" or "getting a gilded wrapping" (Liu & Wu, 2017, p. 64). Zheng's parents, according to Zheng, certainly valued an overseas experience and degree which could provide an international outlook that would benefit Zheng's career and life-course.

Secondly, better lifestyle and living conditions could be another driving force for parents to migrate to New Zealand. As Hu stated:

New Zealand is quiet and pure and has a great natural environment. The pace of life is much slower than that in China where people are always in a hurry, having no time to enjoy life. （新西兰很安静，很纯净，自然环境很好。社会生活节奏比较慢，不像国内那样匆匆忙忙的，没有时间享受生活。）

Wen also resonated with Hu's viewpoint and pointed out her preference for migrating to New Zealand was because of its environmentally friendly living conditions. As Wen explained:

The environment was indeed a huge driving factor for our migration (to New Zealand). The big haze in China caused my son to develop a very serious skin problem and everyone in my family was upset because of the unpleasing circumstances. （环境确实是移民巨大的推动因素，国内大雾霾搞的我儿子发了很严重的皮肤问题，家里每个人都很难受。）

Wen's concern about her son's skin health and the family's living conditions overall evidenced the importance of lifestyle and environment factors resulting in migration

decisions. In the cases of Hu and Wen, they migrated to New Zealand searching for "greener pastures" and a relaxed lifestyle for their family (Liu, 2018, p. 30), where the environment in the destination country could provide their family with a better living and social conditions to enjoy life.

In addition, professional development played a role in motivating migration at the personal level. The higher education expansion and the job assignment mechanism in China shifted from a unified assignment system to a two-way selection system in the late 1990s, propelling graduates to seek job positions on their own, and at the same times, the consequential high rate of unemployment forced many of them to pursue postgraduate studies so as to find a commensurate job (Zhao & Sheng, 2010). These drastic changes posed great challenges for many graduates' academic and occupational development. Many Chinese citizens chose migration as a way to cope with these challenges. For example, Tang, who migrated to New Zealand in 1994, shared the challenges he confronted in business which resulted in his determination of migrating to New Zealand to seek new opportunities or possibilities:

> *At that time, my business failed in China. I heard about the possibility of migrating to New Zealand, and there were many people around us who had already migrated to other countries. So I wanted to come to New Zealand and find out if there were any job opportunities.*（当时在国内我生意失败了，也听说了新西兰移民的事，而且那个时候身边有很多人移民了，我就想出来看看有没有什么工作机会。）

For Tao, who migrated to New Zealand in 2003, it was not his own business that was causing stress, but the growing pressures experienced in his employment alongside accommodation issues:

> *My wife and I were both working in a university in China. China started to develop world-class universities back then, therefore we had to take many classes and do research – overall a very heavy workload. And that year was the first year of*

> *implementing the housing reform, which meant the abolition of welfare housing usually available for university teachers. With no allocated housing, we decided to migrate after careful consideration.* （我和我太太都在大学工作，当时国内开始搞世界一流大学，又要上很多课，又要做科研，教学任务非常繁重。而且那年是第一年住房改革，取消福利房，没有分配。综合考虑了一下，我们决定移民。）

Besides parents' personal aspects, their children's education played an extremely prominent role for them determining their migration to New Zealand, particularly for those who migrated to New Zealand after 2012. Five parents amongst the total of six who migrated after 2012 explained how important their children's education was in their family migration choice.

For example, Lin reported that when his family arrived in New Zealand, his daughter was around 10 years old. The decision of migrating to New Zealand as a family was largely influenced by the foreseeable fierce competition of NCEE that his daughter would expect to face if she continued to study in China. As he expressed it:

> *The educational competition in China is quite intense, my wife and I had never considered sending our daughter to a university in China. Given her academic performance at school, it would be very difficult for her to attend a good university in China.* （中国的孩子学习竞争太激烈了。我们就没有考虑过让孩子念中国的大学，以我们孩子的成绩来看，很难上好的大学）(Lin)

The concern of Lin over his daughter's academic pressure was highly related to the fierce education situation in China as discussed in Chapter Two, and migration was employed as a strategy to respond to the situation (Ponzini, 2020; Tsang, 2013). The less promising educational prospect foreseen for his child moved Lin to choose to opt out of the race by migrating to New Zealand.

For Hu, migrating to New Zealand for her daughter's education was a more difficult decision to make. This was because her father passed away at the time when Hu had determined on the transnational migratory move. When talking about this difficult past, Hu said her mother's support gave her a lot of encouragement and strength emotionally. As she narrated:

> *My father passed away before we migrated to New Zealand, which was a huge blow to my mother and me. My mother thought that it was too hard for a child to study in China. She felt that for the sake of the education of her granddaughter we must migrate. It was her support that enabled us to make this decision (to migrate).* （移民之前我爸爸去世了，对我和我妈打击挺大的，按理说我这种情况是不应该出来的，但是我妈是相当开明的一个人，她觉得国内小孩学习太苦了，她觉得为了小孩教育一定要出来。也是她的思想上、精神上大力支持之后我们才可以跨出这一步。）

The cases of Lin and Hu present the priority of children's education that shaped family migratory trajectories. Specifically, Hu also describes the important involvement of grandparents who were concerned about the academic impact on their grandchildren, hence supporting the choice of family migration. In other words, not only did the parents place great emphasis on their children's education in making their decision to migrate, but so did the grandparent generation. This inter-generational dynamic in those Chinese migrant families has also been evident in Ran and Liu's study (2021) whereas Chinese migrant family works together to achieve the ultimate goal for the whole family. In my study, according to Hu, her daughter's pursuit of education overrode the importance of being together with others in the multi-generational family. That is to say that education is a family project with the support from multiple generations, not only from the parents but also the grandparents. As Waters summarised (2005), education is a family business driving families to go transnational.

Last but not least, among all the interviews, one intriguing case needs to be highlighted because it explained the complexity of migration not as a once-for-all movement. That

is to say that migration is not a one-off process that ends with migration and settlement in a chosen destination country permanently; instead, migration is an ongoing process with multiple transnational movements across borders to satisfy different family members' different needs as they step into different life stages. For instance, Li came to New Zealand for postgraduate study in 2004 alone in consideration of her career development as an English teacher in a university in China. During the period of her studies and applying for New Zealand residency, she gave birth to two children in New Zealand. After completing her study and being granted New Zealand residency, she returned with her two children to China to continue her previous job. However, after working in China for three years, she decided to move back to New Zealand in 2012, with her husband and children. Her decision to move back to New Zealand in 2012 was for her children's education and living condition due to food safety issues in China. Li explained as follows:

> *I saw my colleagues' children study very hard all day, every day and have nothing else to do in life. I think it was too competitive in China for children academically. In addition to education, there are other reasons, for instance, food safety. I read the news every day in China saying that different kinds of fruits cannot be eaten. I started to worry about my children's health, so I chose to return to New Zealand.*（一方面，我在国内的同事，他女儿都跟我女儿年纪差不多，她们基本上每天除了学习就是学习，没有其他的事情，从早上学到晚上，我觉得中国小孩子的学习压力太大了。… 不只是教育，可能也有其他的，比如说食品安全的，每天早上看新闻都是说这个水果不能吃，那个水果不能吃，会很担心孩子的健康，所以就回来了。）

In the case of Li, her return to China was to continue her career, and her return to New Zealand was largely for her children's education and well-being. This double return corresponds to Ley and Kobayashi's work (2005) which indicated that multiple movements between immigration sending and receiving countries are determined by

different priorities in one's life courses. It further indicates that migration is circulatory, following its own rationality of departure, return, and further transnational movement in later life stages (Liu, 2018).

What Li shared in my study described how their country of origin, China, had failed to provide an environment that was ideal for their family. It added extra stress, both food safety and mental health, to Li and her family for child rearing; hence, Li decided to migrate with her family to another country in pursuit of a happy and healthy childhood for her children (Beck & Nyíri, 2022). This case indicates how these factors in relation to children's development became the driving force for the family's migration choice.

5.1.2 Challenges faced in migration

Challenges resulting from migrating to New Zealand went together with its advantages for children's education. Concerns about the older generation left behind (i.e. the grandparent generation) in China was one of many. When it came to a decision about migration, it was not merely a personal issue, but a family matter, because how to take care of the elder generation is an unavoidable concern for Chinese adult migrants in their migration decision-making. This dilemma is evidenced by responses from some interviewees, as Song commented:

> *The elderly in our family did not agree with our idea of migration at first, because both my husband and I are the only child in the family, so care of our aging parents would definitely be a problem for us. Now the four elderly people are still in good health, however, if something happens one day, we need to go back to China to take care of them.*（家里老人一开始都不太赞成我们移民，因为我们都是独生子女，所以我们就面临很大的养老的问题。现在四位老人身体还行，如果哪天出什么状况了，也需要我们回国去照顾他们。）

Care of aging parents was one of the most significant concerns for Chinese adult migrants, and this was particularly prominent among those who were the only children in their families. Migration did not cut migrants off from their connection with the

families they had left behind in their homeland; rather, their concerns and responsibility for older parents continued. In the case of Song, care for both her own and her husband's elderly parents was foreseen as an inevitable family issue in the long run prior to their decision to migrate. Further, it was foreseen as a potential pull factor driving her family to make a return journey to China and (re)shape their transnational trajectory.

Similarly, Hu also acknowledged that she "should not have come to New Zealand" at the time soon after the death of her father, and it was only possible because of her mother being concerned about her daughter's education. She further indicated that the migration decision was a temporary strategy, mostly for her child's education; as she stated, "I will return to China when my child goes to college in a few years and the situation become more stable, so that I can take care of my mother" (等过几年孩子上了大学稳定一些了，我会回国，这样就方便照顾我妈了）.

The case of Hu again highlights the concern for aging parents of Chinese migrants, as she pointed out her return to China seemed inevitable as she needed to look after for her mother in the foreseeable future, although New Zealand could offer her daughter a relatively liberal educational environment. On the whole, the pursuit of children's education was a temporary incentive for her family. Once this life stage was completed, this family may re-arrange their transnational lives (Huang et al., 2008; Liu, 2018). Within the context of migrant families, the decision of whether to go back to the home country or stay in the host country was dynamic and fluid to balance the different needs of all the family members and to achieve overall family well-being (Man & Chou, 2020).

Apart from aged care as a challenge for many new Chinese migrant families, migration adaptation was another major challenge confronting them. It usually involved the loss of familiar social surroundings, possible language barriers, difficulties to find a job in the local labour market and other factors that affected their settlement in the receiving country. This phenomenon was quite common for those parents who lacked English proficiency and relevant education qualifications in the destination country. Wang, who migrated to New Zealand for his daughter's education, shared their experience that was associated with the particular challenge of social adaptation:

> *My wife and I are not good at English. We considered this difficulty before we migrated. There are a lot of Chinese people in Auckland, so living here would not be a problem. Now my wife mainly takes care of the family, and sometimes I take on some part-time work. Our immediate networking circles are Chinese people.*（我和孩子的妈妈语言不行，移民的时候就考虑过这个问题，奥克兰的华人比较多，生活不会有太大的问题。现在孩子妈妈主要就是照顾家里，我有时候接些工作，经常接触的都是华人。）

Wang's case indicates that language barrier is a critical aspect for migration settlement. He and his family were fully aware of this problem before migrating to New Zealand. Given the high percentage of Chinese population in Auckland, it was a deliberate decision to choose this city as their destination to settle in for their easy living without having to experience social adaptation challenges due to language barriers. In addition, this case also indicates parents' determination in the pursuit of education for their children. They would give up familiar social surroundings in China and take the risk of expected occupation downgrading or unemployment in New Zealand for their children's education. Education, in this case, was a familial pursuit for those Chinese migrant families (Waters, 2005). This case also reveals the barrier of English language proficiency in the settlement process of new Chinese migrants. Given the lack of English skills, they accepted the fact that they may experience significant downgrading of their occupational status and reduction of socialisation.

Guo, who migrated to New Zealand to provide her child a better education environment, shared a similar view:

> *I think migration has had a great impact on me. My life circle is all in China, particularly my friends and relatives are all in China. Here New Zealand is also not as commercialised as it is in China, and there aren't many choices for outings. With my work experience in China, I can't find a suitable job here. Now my main job is to take care of my child and family. But*

> *sometimes I feel I am underplayed because there is a discrepancy between the treatment I received in China and the current employment difficulty in New Zealand. I would like to go back to China after my child gets admitted into university.*
> （我觉得移民对我影响是挺大的，我的生活圈子都在国内，朋友亲戚都在国内。这里商业化也不像国内那么发达，真的想逛一下吃一下东西也没有很多选择。我在国内的工作经历在这里也找不到合适的工作，现在主要的工作就是照顾孩子和家庭，有时候会觉得落差挺大的。等孩子上大学了，我还是想回国。）

Guo's case clearly reveals that the migration of this family was largely education-driven. As a young family with a school-aged child, the familial focus was on her son's education. Guo believed that New Zealand would provide him with a relatively liberal education environment, where the academic pressure was relatively less. To meet this need for her son, Guo chose to sacrifice her comfortable social life and professional occupation in China and became a housewife. She frankly pointed out the extent of the sacrifice she had made. Her case certainly is not a unique case, which can be related by many other families, because migrating to New Zealand was not permanent for many new Chinese migrants. Their decision was made to meet family members' emerging needs in different life stages.

5.2 Perceptions of the New Zealand and Chinese education systems

Migrating to the host country not only involves changes in migrants' daily lives, but also in the aspect of their experience with the education systems in their country of origin and immigration. This section focuses on new Chinese migrant parents' experience and perceptions of the education systems of China and New Zealand from the educational dimension, and the factors they value for their children's education that emerged from these perceptions in comparing both systems.

5.2.1 Learning environment

- *Children in New Zealand take NCEA exams from Year 11, and their NCEA credits accumulate year by year, while in China National College Entrance Exam is a one-off examination.* （孩子从 year 11 开始有 NCEA 的考试，他的 credit 就在积累，不会像国内高考那种一次性。） (Tao)
- *In China, there is always this saying of "don't lose at the starting line", which creates a potential sense of crisis for children and makes them feel that if they don't study hard, they will let their parents down. Therefore, children in China often live under pressure from a young age.*（中国动不动就是一种什么"不要输在起跑线上"，给孩子们制造一种潜在的危机感，让他们感觉不努力学习会对不起父母亲，所以孩子从小都生活在压力当中。）(Tang)
- *Western education is relatively relaxed, developed with more liberalisation, and respects the personality and will of children. […] This is the reality in China: You must study diligently and conscientiously, and it is indeed the result of several generations' experience – knowledge can change one's destiny.*（西方教育还是比较宽松，比较自由化发展，比较尊重孩子的个性和意愿。……中国的环境就是这样：你必须得认认真真地好好地读书，而且确实也是几代人总结的结果--知识能够改变命运）(Yang)

These three quotes from the interviews show these parents' perceptions of some significant differences in children's experience in New Zealand's and China's education systems. Children in New Zealand study in a relatively relaxed learning environment, their personalities, characters, and learning interests are respected, valued,

and cultivated, while children in China experience more intense academic pressure. For instance, examinations to the pathway of university admission take a very different approach – progressive in New Zealand and one-off in China as mentioned by Tao. The parent participant Song in this study further commented that China's education system is likely to have a profound impact reshaping Chinese society; as she continued, "education in China tends to cultivate uniformalised children, just like an industrial production line" (中国的教育比较倾向于培养出统一的孩子，就像工厂的生产流水线一样). This kind of education approach did not seem to work well for Song's daughter because of her introverted and sensitive personality. Song explained further:

> *China is not suitable for her. Some children can compete and move forward in that kind of environment, but our child is not like that. She is more introverted, sensitive, and is easily worried or thinks too much, so she needs a very tolerant and free environment to be able to fully bloom. Otherwise, she will be suppressed in that environment.*（中国的不适合她，有些孩子能在那样的环境中去竞争往前，但是我们的孩子不属于那样的，她比较内向敏感，而且她内心又极为丰富，所以她需要一个很包容很自由的环境。这样才能够绽放自己，否则在那种环境她会被压制。）

5.2.2 Teaching approach

- *I think education in China is mainly teacher driven – teachers feed knowledge to students and students need to work hard to acquire and master the knowledge provided. Here in New Zealand, teachers just give students a topic, and students need to explore it independently. This is a completely different philosophy. This approach cultivates children's communication skills, as well as autonomy and information-searching skills.*（我觉得中国的教育主要是靠老师喂食，再

加上刷题。这边的话，老师只给你一个标题或一个topic，你自己去找，所以这是完全不同的一个概念，出发点也不一样。是在培养孩子的沟通能力、还有自学、寻找资料的这些能力。）(Song)

- *Students' creativity in China seems to be suppressed, hence not much creativity is there. Here the New Zealand approach is to let kids play freely. If they are really interested in something, they are encouraged to explore and do research about it.*（中国孩子的创造力好像都给压制了，没有那么多创造力。本地的就会让他们自由发挥，你要真正对什么感兴趣，你就去研究。）(Gong)

Song and Gong's comments point out their common perception of teaching styles in New Zealand and China. Education is student-centred in New Zealand, where students are encouraged to take the initiative to learn, while in China it is more teacher-led, requiring rote learning by the students and is overall an exams-driven system. Both parents appreciated the New Zealand teaching approach for their children as part of their migration choice for their children's education and development in New Zealand over China.

Parents held a favourable view of New Zealand's education system seeing it as a nurturing approach associated with academic performance as well as transferrable capabilities for their children's development. For instance, while my interviews were conducted in the COVID-19 pandemic context, Lin provided a pertinent point of view:

> *Based on the current epidemic situation, people may change their job in two or three years in the future. This depends on your ability to learn and change quickly. Education in New Zealand helps nurture people with this comprehensive ability. This education system promotes learning, as well as to cultivation of other aspects, which is extremely lacking in China.*

（从目前的疫情来看，未来的工作都可能两三年就换工种了，这就取决于你学习的能力和快速转换的能力了，新西兰的教育就是培养这种综合能力的一个好地方，它不只注重学习，还注重其他方面的培养，这是中国教育缺乏的。）

5.2.3 Parents' relationship with teachers

- *In China, the teachers' participation in student's study is very high, and there is a head teacher. Students are grouped into classes and each class is a family, and the head teacher takes care of all the students like a mother. Teachers and students are very close, so is the teacher-parent communication. But here it is a completely loose state. The classes are disrupted and rearranged, and the change of teachers is a norm each year. Parents do not need to contact teachers, and vice versa. Our contact with teachers is just to say hello when we pick up our children. In fact, there is no interaction at all.*（国内的学校，老师的参与度是很高的，有一个班主任。学生以班级为单位，就像一个家庭一样，老师就是妈妈一样照顾所有的学生，师生互动也是非常密切的，和家长的沟通也不少。但是在这就是一个完全松散的状态，每年班级打乱重新排，老师每年都会换，也不需要互相联系，我们跟老师的联系就是接孩子的时候打个招呼，根本都没有互动。）(Wen)
- *There are about two parent-teacher interviews every year here in New Zealand, and the feedback from the teachers at the interviews is all positive, all about praise. Basically, there is no negative feedback. We always want to ask the things that our children can work on, and the local teachers look at us strangely, saying: all good, they are doing well. They think that the children*

are very good, so they all encourage and affirm what children are good at. Teachers in China focus more on the children's shortcomings and what areas need to be improved, and they even take the initiative to ask parents to go to school and talk about children's development. （这边一年大概有两次家长会，家长会听到的老师的反馈也全是好话，全是表扬，多问几次也问不出什么。因为我们总想问孩子哪些地方不好，结果洋人老师都很奇怪的看着我们，这都很好了，你们老想问不好（的地方）。他们觉得孩子都挺好的，所以他们都是鼓励肯定孩子的优点。中国的老师会比较专注在孩子的缺点，以及还有哪些地方需要改进，甚至老师会主动地叫家长去学校去谈论孩子的情况。）(Song)

Wen and Song's comments made a comparison between what parents and students experience in the two contrasting education systems. As both parents noted, communication and interaction between teachers and parents in New Zealand seemed insufficient to their expectation, particularly in comparison with what they had experienced or observed in China. The discrepancy between parents' expectations for the teacher-parent interaction and the reality provided in New Zealand schools perhaps correlated with the different cultural ideologies and practices in these two countries.

From the point of view of these Chinese parent interviewees, teachers in China, particularly the head teachers in the class, would consider children part of their class community where the head teacher is the leader or chief accountable for children's academic performance, and in other areas as a young human being. They are expected to work closely with parents and children. Further, the meritocracy tradition and the competitive educational atmosphere in contemporary China direct the educational ideology and practices of teachers, parents and children. These three subjects prioritise education together to achieve children's admission to a top university. Therefore, expecting conducive feedback with a critical perspective from the teacher is a norm for

parents in China.

On the contrary, teachers in New Zealand tend to encourage students, to help them build confidence, thus motivating students to learn and achieve their potentials. However, in the views of local educators, they perhaps do not think this feedback is specifically important to address to the parents because that's part of the learning process – while parent-teacher interviews consider children's development at a more macro-level – a good, well behaved and hardworking child – of course, nothing needs to be worried about. Meanwhile, their understanding of students being good is quite different to what parents are acculturated to. For Chinese parents, perhaps, academic development is the key although some of them, as mentioned in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, chose to migrate to New Zealand with the intention to avoid having that as the focus for their children's development. This further indicates that while new Chinese migrant parents applauded the relaxed learning atmosphere and focus on children’s well-rounded development in the New Zealand education system, their deep concern for their children’s academic performance made it difficult for them to endorse all aspects. The quotes from Guo provided a case in point:

> *There is no clear grading of how my child is doing academically, I just can’t understand it. In China, I can have it, I know where he stands [referring to her son] and what his strength and what weakness are, and I can arrange after-school tuition for him. I have no idea here at all, the school report only shows general trend. The child's performance is shown by a figure and some lines, but only the teacher knows what this standard is. I actually don’t know what my child has mastered and what needs to work on. Teachers are always saying my child is doing good, good. Even though I pointed out that I did not think my child did a good job on the essay, the teacher still told me “He is doing good, really good”. I talked with the teacher about my son’s unpleasing performance in writing essays, the teacher kept saying it was good, which really shut me up.* （这里没有直接告诉你你的孩子处于什么样的状况，了解不到。国内

的话你就可以了解到，你知道他站在哪个程度，哪方面不足了，我给他补补。在这里你就完全不知道了，就只有一个大概的笼统的概念。孩子学习表现具体是哪个程度，就只有一个表和几条线来表示，但是这个表只是一些标准，只有老师知道这些标准，我不知道他到底掌握得怎么样，有哪些地方可以加强。基本上老师跟你说的都是很好，很好，很好。我说他作文怎么写的不好，老师说的很好，我还能说什么？我什么也说不出来了）

5.3 Factors affecting new Chinese migrant parents' school choices for their children

Migration is not the end for new Chinese migrant families; it usually entails dealing with their lives in the destination country, and the school choice is probably the first pressing and significant decision that new Chinese migrant parents have to make for their children's schooling. In this research, the parent participants expressed how important it was for them to choose the 'right' school for their children, not only in China, but also after their settlement in New Zealand. The high value that Chinese parents with the resources to afford it attach to their children's education dictates their educational arrangements, including pre-arrangement of housing purchase to secure a place in specific school zones for their children, both in China and in New Zealand. This section will look into the factors that played a role in the school choice decision-making process of new Chinese migrant parents in New Zealand.

5.3.1 Public schools versus private schools

The perceived academic excellence and performance of a school were crucial factors that interviewees had considered when choosing a specific school for their children. Tang, with two children born in New Zealand, stated:

In fact, as Chinese, of course, we give great importance to the school zone. We Chinese immigrants often try our best to choose a good school for our children. Personally, the schools

> *that my wife and I chose for our children are all decile-10*[5]*, from the primary school, intermediate*[6] *to high school, which are the best options for our children.* (实际上我们作为华人的话，我们当然是蛮重视校区的。我们华人还是为了孩子，我们尽量地去选择比较好的学校，给孩子选的小学、初中、高中这三个公立学校按照新西兰的学校评级来讲都是 10 分的)

Further, Tang pointed out the underpinning reason for choosing a high-decile school for his children lay in the racial make-up of the school and his assumptions about some racial groups in Auckland:

> *We (my wife and I) also thought that the environment is important, and we had some concerns about Pacific Islanders, hoping that our children would not be in that kind of school. Because Islanders are indulgent to their children, leading to their children having no interest in learning. If our children attend the same school with them, they may be influenced by them. So this is also a factor that we consider when choosing a school.*（我们也认为环境很重要，看到岛人我们也会有一些忧虑，希望孩子不要在那样的学校里面，因为他们的家长对孩子是一种放纵，造成孩子对读书没有任何兴趣。如果我们的孩子跟他们在一起，可能会受他们的影响，这一点也是们我们选择学校时会考虑的因素。）

[5] In New Zealand, at the time of the interviews, the decile system was a funding system used to address the disparity of different socio-economic background of students in public or public-integrated schools in the country. This system ranked schools from decile 1 to 10. There were five factors used to evaluate theses schools, namely, the proportion with household income below an adjusted level, the proportion of adults with no educational qualifications, the proportion of adults in low skill occupations, the proportion of families in crowded households, and the proportion of households receiving a benefit. Generally, schools rated as decile 1 were those in most disadvantaged situation, vice versa.

[6] The compulsory education system in New Zealand consists of two levels, namely, primary level (Year 0-8) and secondary level (Year 9-13), the intermediate school particularly refers to Year 7 and 8), which is a transition stage from primary to secondary level.

Zhang, who chose a decile-10 primary school for her son, provided a similar perspective:

> *I look at all aspects and look for schools with a higher decile. As a parent, I would definitely want my child to go to a better school, students' profiles in the school would definitely be a factor. I expect more white students, and fewer Māori. Generally speaking, it would be very hard for Chinese to accept the fact that their children were in a school full of Island kids.* （我是要看各方面，找评分高一点的学校。作为家长，我肯定是希望孩子上更好一点的学校，包括里边的学生，也肯定会有考虑。白人多一点，毛利人少一点，如果真的是在一个全是岛国孩子的学校，中国人一般是很难接受的。）

Tang and Zhang indicated the concern that many new Chinese migrant parents had about the potential peer influence on their children in schools. More than 200 ethnic groups reside in New Zealand, as one of the few culturally 'superdiverse' countries in the world (Spoonley, 2015). European and Asian students generally perform higher academically, while Māori and Pacific students' academic performances are relatively lower due to colonisation and long-term stereotypes and discrimination experienced (Clark & Das, 2014). The new Chinese migrant parents preferred high-decile public schools for their children, and the fundamental consideration was to provide their children with a better learning culture and space, made up of a good learning community with peers and teachers, and sufficient resources, trying to keep their children separate from groups who from their point of view might be detrimental. This meanwhile underscored the role of social capital in influencing Chinese migrant parents' school selection for their children. The peers in school were seen as an important source of social capital that children of Chinese migrant parents could access outside the family. It is believed that social capital can contribute to cultural capital through contacts with people of refinement (Portes, 1998). Chinese migrant parents' decisions of selecting a school for their children with less visibility of Māori and Pacific students aimed to create a helpful learning environment so as to potentially promote their children's academic performance.

Further, the above cases highlight the constant consideration that affected new Chinese migrant parents' school choice for their children, namely, that academic achievement was a key determinant in their decision-making process. This factor also played a crucial role in some parents' choice of private schools for their children. It can be evidenced by two cases, Lin and Hu, who sent their children to a high-decile public school first, but later transferred them to a private school.

Lin's daughter attended a decile-10 public secondary school for one term, and then was transferred to a private school:

> *When we first came to New Zealand, I wanted my daughter to adapt to the new environment, so I sent her to a public school first. However, my daughter went to school just to play, and there were many Chinese kids in the school, they all spoke Chinese. During that semester, her English and academic performance were poor, having not much progress. I thought it would be hard for her to make progress in that school, so I transferred her to a private school.* （刚来新西兰的时候，我想让孩子先在公立学校适应一下。但孩子去了学校就是玩了，而且学校里有很多中国孩子，他们都说中文。那个学期，我孩子的英语和学习成绩都很差，没什么进步。我觉得这样下去不是个办法，所以就把她转到私立学校去了。）

From the perspective of Lin, speaking Chinese at school was seen as a problem for his daughter's academic performance and integration into New Zealand, and what the public school provided could not satisfy his expectation for his daughter. It further indicated migrant parents' belief in choosing the right school so as to facilitate their children's integration into the education system in the host country and their educational expectation for their children.

Similarly, Hu also expressed her concern over the academic performance of her daughter who had been in a public school and then was put in a private school. She explained her decision made for her daughter:

Kids in public schools play a lot. When we first came to New Zealand, my daughter went to a decile-10 public primary school for a month. At that time, she came back covered with mud and had a lot of fun every day. My husband and I thought it was good that our daughter was having fun, but we were worried that she would learn nothing from playing in school, so we transferred her to a private school... Because private schools will control the student numbers in class therefore fewer students than public school. Students will receive a higher level of attention and the school will place more emphasis on students' learning.（公立学校孩子玩得很厉害。因为我们刚来新西兰的时候，我女儿在一所十分公立小学读过一个月，那时候她每天回来一身都是泥，玩得很开心。我和我老公觉得孩子开心挺好得，但是担心她会不会一直在学校玩，学不到什么东西，所以就把她转到私立学校了。...因为私立比公立会把人数控制得更少一点，学生受到的关注度比较高，学校也更注重学生的学习）

Lin and Hu's accounts of their daughters' experience in public schools and then private schools illustrated their firm expectation towards their children's academic performance. For this reason, they transferred their children to a private school. From their perspective, a private school generally has fewer students per class and provides a more academic-focused atmosphere. This was highly relevant to the entrenched emphasis on education, and their school choices were made under the interplay of the influence of Chinese traditional culture and the long-term concerns about the future of their children (Li, 2001).

5.3.2 Non-academic factors are also important

Apart from academic considerations, the parents also commented on non-academic considerations in their choices of their children's school, for example, the individual development, and physical and mental health of their children. As Li commented about her decision to choose a public intermediate school for her younger son who was born

in New Zealand, the school culture of encouraging children to participate in various non-academic activities was exactly the reason for her decision making:

> *I prefer this school because of its education philosophy. At the intermediate stage, the school does not stress how much students need to achieve academically. It allows children to try and participate in various activities. […] I feel if the child only knows how to study, but doesn't know how to do other things, it will not be so good.*（我比较喜欢它的教育的理念，在初中的时候不是那么强调小孩子一定要学习怎么样，它会让小孩子参加各种各样的活动，去尝试各种不同的活动。…我觉得只知道学习，不知道干别的小孩子，也不太好）
> (Li)

Unlike parents who gave greatest consideration to the academic performance of their children, Li selected this school in pursuit of allowing her son to take part in extracurricular activities. Li believed that academic performance was not the only path to the future for her son, but that more engagement in different non-academic activities would promote well-rounded development, and this perspective informed her school selection process.

Another parent, Yang, shared a similar view. When discussing the reason for choosing a public primary school for her two daughters, Yang emphasised the importance of well-rounded development:

> *Physical and mental health of primary school children is more important. They need to eat well to grow strongly. After all, children at a primary school age are still too young to focus on those aspects [academic performance].*（小学主要还是孩子的身心健康比较重要，要吃得好身体长好，因为小学孩子毕竟还比较小，所以我考虑那些方面的东西我觉得太早了）

Here, Yang expressed her concern about the well-rounded development for her children.

She was in favour of a “happy childhood”, freeing her children from academic pressure as children’s physical and mental health, especially when they were little, should be the priority. What she said also implied that migrant parents may prioritise different aspects for their children at different school levels.

As many other parents considered academic performance as a key factor for their school choice for their children, I followed it up with Yang to ask her view of this. Interestingly, Yang had an opposing idea to prioritising academic development for her little children at the primary school level. She clarified her view:

> *Physical and mental development of children in primary schools is the priority, and academic performance is not so important. After all, healthy physical and mental development in primary school will benefit them in the future.* (孩子在小学阶段的身心发展是首要的，学习成绩倒不用那么看重，毕竟小学阶段身心发展健康是能让孩子以后受益的。)

The cases of Li and Yang indicated that not all new Chinese migrant parents merely valued schools’ academic profile or ranking in the process of school selection for their children. There were some who regarded well-rounded development for their children as more important than academic performance. This could be considered as an open-minded perception which might have developed from their appreciation of New Zealand’s relaxed learning atmosphere and awareness of different pathways available for university entrance.

5.3.3 The perpetual anxiety over children’s education

Besides academic and non-academic considerations regarding school choices, the parents seemed to hold an ongoing anxiety about their children's education in the process of decision making.

Zheng, a migrant father, was in the process of selecting a primary school for his four-year-old daughter with his wife when this interview was conducted. He shared his experience with me as follows:

We (my wife and I) usually chat with our friends. Generally speaking, our consensus is that children can attend public schools at the primary level, but learning at the intermediate level will increase significantly, and public schools cannot necessarily meet the needs. Therefore, sending children to private intermediate school is a must. […] We are currently thinking: If there were no good public primary schools to choose from, and our daughter is inevitably needing to be in a private school at the intermediate level, we might bite the bullet send her to a private primary school that allows her to carry on all the way up. （我们平时会跟朋友聊，总体来说的话，大家的共识就是小学可以读公校，到了初中的学习难度会明显增大，但是公校不一定能满足这方面的需要，所以初中必须要转私校。… 这就是我们在考虑的问题，如果没有好的公校小学，反正初中都要去读私校的话，我们还不如咬咬牙，我们家也不是土豪或者什么的，所以说觉得还是咬咬牙让她小学就去读私校吧，就一路读上去。）

In this case, Zheng underscored that almost one third of migrant parents from China in his networking circle held the view that children attending a private intermediate school is a necessity. This case reveals the concern over children's academic excellence among new Chinese migrant parents and their determination to make for the best of their children's education. The underlying reason was the fear that their children would fall behind academically if they did not get a place as early as possible. Another interviewee, Qiao, recalled the experience of choosing a school for her elder daughter:

In the beginning, I didn't plan to send my elder daughter to a private school during the primary school stage. My original plan was to send her to a private school at the intermediate level. However, at that time, a good friend of mine said that he thought my daughter would not be able to keep up with her classmates academically in the private school at the

intermediate level […] I thought about it, and I thought my friend was right, so I chose to send my elder daughter to a private primary school. （一开始小学没有打算上私校，我是想初中以后再把姐姐送进来（私校），但当时我们一个关系很好的朋友说了一句话，他觉得（初中）那时候会晚了，如果小的时候基础没有打好（就会有影响），后来我一想也是，所以就把姐姐送到私校了。）

Both Zheng and Qiao reflected that Chinese parents were worried that their children would be academically disadvantaged if they did not secure a place in a private primary school. Parents' concern over possible academic failure of their children did affect their school selection process. In this case, Chinese parents preferred to secure a place at an earlier level in a private school for their children, even if this decision would lead to possible financial problems for their family. More importantly, the quotes above also implied that new Chinese migrant parents urged their children to pay more attention to study at the intermediate level, indicating their academic orientation for their children. Although apprehension of the fierce educational competition in China motivated the new Chinese migrant parents to migrate to New Zealand, their mindset on the subject of education and the struggles of children in fierce competition seemed to perpetuate after settling in the host country. It seems that the anxiety for their children's education pervaded even after migrating to New Zealand, where the education environment was relatively relaxed compared with China. The fear that their children might fail in education accentuated such an anxiety, and the influence from other new Chinese migrant parents reignited competition derived from education in the host country, starting right from the primary school selection for their children (Beck & Nyíri, 2022). The culture of "not losing at the starting line" revived in the host country, the battle for places in better schools was on again.

5.4 new Chinese migrant parents' expectations for their children

Parents hold educational expectations for their children, so do migrant parents. This section explores new Chinese migrant parents' expectations for their children, and their preferences for professional pathways for them. The role of migrant parents' lived and

transnational migration experiences in shaping their expectations for their children is highlighted.

5.4.1 Minimum educational expectation

> *At least graduating from college, that is my minimum requirement for my son. You [referring to her son] can study further if you want to, but you cannot say you are not going to attend college after finishing high school, it is unacceptable. Now nearly all kinds of job postings in China require a bachelor's degree and beyond. If you cannot obtain a bachelor's degree, and if you want to go back to China with us, it will be impossible for you to find a job there at all.* （至少要大学毕业，这是我对他的最低要求，你愿意往上读可以，但是你不要说高中毕业后就不上学了，这不行。现在中国的各种招聘信息都要求本科及以上，而且我以后会想回中国长住，但你如果连大学都没毕业，如果你想跟我们回去的话，你回去根本就找不到工作的。）

In this case, Guo took an undergraduate degree as her minimum academic expectation for her son. The key reason for this expectation was primarily shaped by her personal life experiences in China, where an undergraduate degree was generally perceived as a basic threshold to enter the labour market. The migrant children's failure to obtain an undergraduate degree would lead to a bleak job-seeking prospect for them, and probably bring shame to their families.

On the other hand, the case of Guo indicates migrant parents' concerns about their children's competitiveness in the labour market were also based on their transnational experiences and visions for their children's future. As stated, Guo's academic expectation for her son was based on the possibility that he might want to find a job in China in his later life stage, and she was trying to prepare him for this possibility. This expectation stemmed from this migrant mother's concern over her son's employability in the long run, and the employability here was not simply limited in their country of

destination, but extended to their country of origin, or even elsewhere.

Further, in the view of Ding, an undergraduate degree from an ordinary college is not what she desired for her child; more importantly, she expected her daughter to obtain a high quality one:

> *My expectation for my child is that she should go to a prestigious university, a really good one, that is for sure. There is no doubt that University of Auckland is better than Unitec, right?* （我对孩子的期许的话，肯定是希望她读高等学府的，这是肯定的，肯定要进一个好的学校。那毫无疑问奥大肯定比 Unitec 好一些，对吧？）(Ding)

Specifically, Ding related her own educational experiences to explain the underpinning reason for this expectation:

> *This may have something to do with my own background, because my husband is highly educated, and the university I attended is one of the Project 985*[7] *in China. From my personal point of view, I think these so-called prestigious universities are necessary. Because you can come into contact with your classmates who keep a steady state, striving to stay at the forefront, and learning and interacting with them would help reflect your own status and strengthen your progress in your life-course. This is necessary for her to adapt to the ever-changing social development.* （这可能跟我自身背景有关系，因为她爸爸是高学历，我自己在国内也是 985。从我个人而言，我觉得这种所谓的名牌大学是必须的。因为你能接触到的人是不一样的，在大学里面你的同学都会保持一种

[7] In May of 1998, the Chinese President Jiang Zemin announced that China must have several world-class universities of international advancement. Therefore, China's Ministry of Education initiated the 985 Project in 1999, and national policy of building world-class research universities was also developed. The number of the universities under the 985 Project increased from 9 in 1999 to 39 in 2013. Universities under the 985 Project usually represent the well-recognised teaching and researching standards in the higher education of China. These universities are also aspirational dream universities for Chinese parents and students.

状态，争取保持在最前端，会对自我有这样的要求。这对孩子适应社会发展是很有必要的。）

Comparatively, Ding suggested higher expectation for her daughter than that of Guo. Ding attributed her expectation for her child to study in a prestigious university to her own educational experience and background. She believed that the learning environment at a university full of self-disciplined peers may help keep one motivated or inspired in life. As she mentioned, her preference for a quality undergraduate degree for her child derived from her wish that her daughter would be self-driven in the future. Together, these two cases indicated Chinese migrant parents' long-term concern for their children's future.

Meanwhile, the cases of Guo and Ding also suggested Chinese migrant parents' aspiration of achieving social mobility for their children. From their points of view, education would enable their children to acquire cultural, human and social capital, which could potentially promote the maintenance and even enhancement of their children's social status (Rytter, 2011).

5.4.2 Preference for specific disciplinary and subject areas of study

- *Given the social environment, law is a challenging major in liberal arts, and it will lead to a relatively respected job for the younger generation in the future. In the field of science, popular majors are architecture, medicine and so on. I was a little worried when my son said he was going to study law. My wife and I had been encouraging him to study science, which we believe is the ideal thing to do, but law was a good option, so we agreed.* （从社会环境来看，文科方面法律专业比较有挑战性，以后也是比较受人尊重的职业。理科的话，就是建筑设计、医学等等。我儿子说他要学法律的时候，我是有点担心的。之前我和我太太一直鼓励他去读 science，这是最理想的情况，但法律

专业其实也是不错的选择，我们也同意了。）(Tang)

- *I think boys should study science, because it is a universal industry, you can freely travel across New Zealand, other Western countries, and the whole world. If you have majored in computer science and mathematics, you can do many things and have many choices. In particular, now big data, artificial intelligence and other industries have great prospects. In my opinion, if my son studies liberal arts, then he will not have any skills, and it is difficult to be competitive in the long-term.* （我觉得男生应该学理工科，因为它是一个世界通行的行业，你在新西兰、西方国家之间、整个世界可以自由地通行。如果你学计算机类数学类专业的话，你可以做很多事情，有很多选择。现在大数据、人工智能之类的行业有很广阔的前景 。我觉得如果男生读文科就没有一个技能了，很难有长久的竞争力。）(Wen)

Tang and Wen perhaps are the representatives of many parents' voices about what discipline would lead to a better future for their children. The interviewed parents generally preferred majors such as science, math, engineering and medicine, with law considered to a comparatively lesser extent.

The underpinning reasons for these fields were twofold. First, new Chinese migrant parents' major-related orientation for their children was based on their own life experiences. Tang, who was a teacher and businessman back in China, had enjoyed a good income and social standing. After migrating to New Zealand, as he explained, it was difficult for him to find a suitable job in the host country because of the language barrier, and, therefore, he had to take a job in the Chinese community. It was not in his professional field, and he expressed his frustration about not finding a commensurate job in New Zealand.

Wen had a similar experience to Tang: she had a well-paying job in China, but she had to come back to New Zealand with two children in consideration of their health and education. With the practice of the astronaut family strategy, Wen had to take the role of housewife to take care of her children. Meanwhile, she was taking language courses to prepare herself for returning to the job market in the host country when the interview was conducted. These two cases together reveal new Chinese migrant parents' discouraging career pursuit experience in the host country. The language barrier was obviously a critical factor in the process. Furthermore, their sense of mismatch between their jobs in China and New Zealand intensified their expectations for their children's choice of majors. They believe that a good education in these societally recognised and respected fields would serve as a safe bet for their children for a future free from dilemmas similar to those in their own acculturative process. Moreover, the meritocracy tradition and the competitive educational atmosphere in contemporary China direct Chinese migrant parents' educational ideology and practices for their children. Their children's success in education and career not only represents the individual achievement of their children, but carries the meaning of enhancing the social standing of the whole migrant family (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

Secondly, the cases of Tang and Wen implicitly indicate their concerns about their children's competitiveness in the foreseeable future. Based on their own life experience and understanding of global development, new Chinese migrant parents situated their children's education through the lens of global labour market needs, trying to nurture their children to become members of global elites. Wen attributed her passionate preference for science for her children to her husband's and her own liberal arts background. From her perspective, a long-term advantage in the labour market could not be ensured for youngsters who pursued the liberal arts. On the other hand, studying science could equip her children with real saleable skills that would make them competitive. As she stated:

> *Maybe it's because my husband and I both majored in liberal arts, so I have admiration for people in science. I think it will be easier to find a job if you have a major in science, which means you have real skillsets.* （可能因为我和我老公都是学

文科，所以我是对理工男有崇拜，觉得学理科找工作会更容易一些，是有真本事的。）

5.5 New Chinese migrant parents' concerns about raising their children in New Zealand

It is not easy to nurture children when migrant parents straddle at least two different worlds, and it is worthwhile to understand how the migrant parents navigated the process. This section looks into new Chinese migrant parents' concerns about raising their children in a transnational context and their reflections on their parenting skills and possible impact on their children.

5.5.1 Concerns about inter-generational bonds and traditional family values

- *Migration has an intangible negative impact on children. Most immigrant families are extremely isolated, which has a significant impact on children's development. It has the potential to influence children's family-related conceptions and values. My family have no close relatives here, and my kids cannot truly feel the love of the big family, so their understanding of family affection is gradually deteriorating. I get the impression that they have no concept of grandparents. The separation of family affection is actually not good, and it is truly a pity.* （移民对小孩来说，也有这种看不见的不好的影响。大多数的移民家庭就是这么孤零零的一个家庭，对小孩成长影响是挺大的。在家庭观念、家族观念、亲情观念方面都会有影响。孩子在这儿没有亲朋好友，不能真切地感受到家里人对他的关心，慢慢地他对亲情的概念就很淡薄，我能感觉到他们对爷爷奶奶其实已经没什么概念了，这种亲情的割裂其实也不好，真的挺遗憾的。）

(Wen)

- *I am a bit concerned that she will be influenced by the environment here and become very independent, particularly in terms of parenting and family relationships. I am afraid she will be raised without some fine Chinese traditions, such as filial piety. She has had few opportunities to communicate with our family after migration. I am afraid that she may lose these values as she grows up.* （我是有一些担心的，我担心她可能会受这里的影响变得很独立，尤其是在父母和家庭关系会方面，担心她长大之后会缺乏一些中国的优良传统，比如孝顺。移民过来后和家里人接触的机会少了很多，我怕她长大之后会缺失这方面。）(Hu)

The dispersion of family members resulting from migration imposes great challenges to time-honoured family traditions (Liu & Ran, 2021), inter-generational transmission, as well as the familial bonds and traditional family values that are usually built up with close-knit multi-generational family practice. Because of the increasingly restrictive family immigration policy towards the elderly parents of adult immigrants in New Zealand, it is difficult for the Chinese parent generation to sponsor them to immigrate to New Zealand as well. And to some extent, whether the grandparents' generation would consider relocating to New Zealand is in question. Hence, the separation due to migration will subsequently impact the new Chinese migrant family. Whereby, I will take a closer look at the possible impact on the children of new Chinese migrants.

Chinese generally attach a high value to family. They prefer a multi-generational arrangement, where the older generation, parents and children live under the same roof or in close vicinity (Liu & Ran, 2022). With this family arrangement, these three generations and other extended family can socialise and reunite more often. It is the multi-generational arrangement and frequent contact that allows the parent generation to provide physical and daily care for the aging parents, while the younger generation

can learn family values from their parents' practices and build close bonds with the whole family. The lack of this multi-generational practices due to migration would somehow affect the heritage of family values.

The cases of Wen and Hu highlight that the separation caused by migration raised their concern that their children would lose family-related traditions. The children of new Chinese migrants were growing up with the lack of a multi-generational atmosphere and in daily social interaction with mainstream society. New Chinese migrant parents wanted their children to keep some good traditional family values; meanwhile, they were concerned about somehow losing their children in the settlement and acculturative process. It was a challenge for them to maintain the previous close family bonds and pass on the traditional family values to their children in the host country. Further, the extent to which new Chinese migrant parents wanted to raise their children in a Chinese or a Western way was a constant topic for them.

5.5.2 Impact of parental expectations on their children

The new Chinese migrant parents were straddling the Chinese and New Zealand cultures. In the process of raising their children, it was unavoidable for them to deal with the possible conflict between the Chinese culture and the educational realities in New Zealand. When reflecting on parenting skills, Li commented:

> *Now with my daughter, I truly want her to lower her expectations for herself. She has high expectations for herself, and she is not that confident. It may have something to do with our Chinese traditional education, or it may relate to our family's parenting approach. I adopted the way my parents used to raise me unconsciously. As a parent, I hope to help my child keep improving and gradually do better, and her confidence then will be strengthened. However, my approach from the perspective of my daughter may lead her to think that she is never good enough, which may have affected her confidence building.* （现在对我女儿来说，我需要降低她对自己的要求，她对自己的期望很高，而且她没有那么自信。

这可能跟中国人的教育有关，也可能跟我们自己家的教育有关。我从小就是这样过来的，所以也会不自觉地这样教育自己的孩子。从我们家长的角度来看是希望帮孩子进步，孩子表现越来越好、自信心就会更强，但是可能从孩子的角度来看，他们听到就觉得自己还是做的不够好，会打击他们的自信心。）

In this case, Li was aware of the influence of her parenting practices on her daughter's confidence. As she noted, in Chinese culture, people should not be satisfied with their achievements; instead, they are expected to reflect on their shortcomings and strive to perfect themselves along the way (Li, 2009). When it comes to raising children in the family, Chinese parents tend to point out the aspects where they think their children can improve, even though their children have already performed well. That is to say, Chinese parents often pay more attention to the weakness rather than the success of their children. This kind of parenting approach may affect children's confidence development, and children might struggle living in the culture where parents always correct them and ask them to improve while, on the contrary, they hear more positive comments about themselves at school. Meanwhile, the experiences of settlement and their daily interactions with the education system in New Zealand propelled new Chinese migrant parents to reflect on their parenting approach. This process indicated that new Chinese migrant parents' connections with two cultural settings intertwined to facilitate the formation of a repertoire of parenting approaches, thereby making fluidity and provoking changes to their transnational practices (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

5.6 New Chinese migrant parents' identity and identity-related Chinese language learning arrangements for their children

Migration does not cut migrant parents off from their homeland; their connections with homeland and lived transnational migration experiences shape their identification for themselves and their children's identification, which further direct their perceptions and practices about Chinese language transmission across generations. This section aims to explore these issues:

I believe that residency simply means the place I can choose to settle. Even though I have acquired the citizenship of New Zealand, I prefer to identify myself as Chinese in terms of my cultural origin. （我觉得对我来说身份只是居住的地方，虽然换了护照，但从文化认同上讲，我更倾向于说我是中国人。）

Tao’s statement underscores the role of one’s cultural origin in determining one’s identification. For Tao, his strong identification as Chinese stemmed from the strong influence of Chinese culture. As a first-generation migrant, Tao had grown up in China and been educated under the Chinese system. He had working experience in China prior to migration. In his view, the cultural roots in China played an integral part in his identification, which went beyond his more than fifteen-year living experience in New Zealand. From his perspective, the acquired New Zealand citizenship provided him with convenience to settle down in the destination country, so that he could enjoy a better employment atmosphere and offer a more advanced educational environment for his children. Nevertheless, his case implicates the deep emotional attachment of first-generation migrants to their country of origin and the strong ties to their homeland. As Tang said, “China is my motherland. Despite having lived in New Zealand for over twenty years, I always have feelings for every grass and tree in China”.

Zhang not only expressed her clear identity as Chinese, but provided her perceptions of home as being where she found herself attached to, which was New Zealand:

Of course, I am Chinese, but I take New Zealand as my home. Every time I return to China, it is for vacation, not for working, and I have nothing to do but relax. As a result, after a long stay in China, I want to come back to New Zealand quickly, and I feel at ease when I do. I feel empty after being away from home for a long time. (肯定是中国人，但我认为这里是我的家。每次回国都是回去度假，没有工作，也没有要做的事，就是玩儿。所以，有时候时间待长了想赶紧回来，回来就安心了。长时间回国会觉得整个人蛮空虚的。)

For Zhang, she identified herself as a Chinese person, however, in terms of the conception of home, she was inclined to regard New Zealand as home. The difference between ethnicity and home was probably related to the different implications involved in these two conceptions. While China is the place whose representative cultural roots Zhang carries, after her migration to New Zealand, her visits to China became more temporary and a source of emotional comfort for her because she could reunite with her parents and friends there. Her main social connections and daily engagement took place in New Zealand, including things, people and events related to her socialisation over time, such as having given birth to her children in New Zealand and having a career here.

In addition to Zhang's emotional attachment to her ethnicity, she identified her home as New Zealand – not as often a physical or materialistic location – because she had established her own socialisation and sense of community through her living, efforts in making connections and integration into New Zealand society since her migration. People, things and everything happening around her over time in New Zealand provided her with a sense of belonging to the destination country. This attachment and belongingness built up through her physical presence and daily interaction in New Zealand where they resided (Liu, 2011).

Furthermore, new Chinese migrant parents' identity and their effort in impressing Chinese identity onto their children were exercised at home. One particular practice was parents' enforcement of Chinese as their home language. Zhang described her family language practice with her children:

> *I ask my children to speak Chinese at home. As a Chinese person, language cannot be lost, it would be a shame if you do not learn Chinese. Besides, knowing Chinese will give them an advantage in the future, particularly seeing that China is now becoming increasingly powerful.* （我要求他们在家必须说中文，作为一个中国人，语言是不能丢的。如果不学中文我觉得就太可惜了，中国现在也越来越强大，会中文对他们以后的发展简直如虎添翼。）

In this case, Zhang firmly identified her kids and herself as Chinese, and this identification directly shaped her belief and practice in maintaining Chinese language as their home language. From her perspective, there was a clear link between identity and language and being good at speaking or using Chinese language was an identity marker for her kids (Kang, 2013). Meanwhile, this case also reveals an instrumental or practical attitude towards learning Chinese that new Chinese migrant parents had. Seeing China's rising international status as an emerging economic power, it further strengthened their desire to encourage their children to learn Chinese in pursuit of raising bilingual children (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017; Kang, 2013). As Wen also suggested, "Learning Chinese is a must, it is their mother tongue. In addition, being bilingual will probably benefit them regarding their employability". （中文还是要学的，这毕竟是他们的母语，而且从孩子以后的就业来讲，会中文也就多了一项语言优势。）

Instead of taking a practical stance towards learning Chinese as added value for his children, Zheng expressed a specific expectation of Chinese language learning for his children.

> *As Chinese, you [his children] must learn Chinese, and it is preferable to be able to speak and read Chinese. Strictly speaking, someone who can only speak Chinese but cannot read is illiterate.* (我觉得毕竟你是中国人，你不能不会中文，最好会说会读。严格来说，只会说中文但是看不懂就是文盲了。)

Further, Zheng explained his expectation from the perspectives of the home country and that of host country:

> *I don't think the natives are always friendly to immigrants, for example public blame placed on Chinese people during Covid-19. When nothing happens, they usually assume that you were born here, or you have been in New Zealand for over 20 years or you have already naturalised, then you're half Kiwi, or Kiwi.*

However, when something happens, they instinctively draw a line between themselves and Chinese immigrants, and they know you're Chinese just by looking at your face. […] People in China would say you are holding a passport of a foreign country, and you don't speak Chinese, how can you claim you are Chinese? […] Where does your sense of ethnicity come from if you don't know the Chinese language? (很多时候我觉得白人包容性其实没有特别好，比如 Covid 期间他们攻击中国这个事儿。平常没什么事的时候，他们会觉得你在新西兰出生，或者你来新西兰 20 多年了，或者说你入籍了，你就是 half Kiwi，Kiwi 了，但真要有什么事的时候，他们会直觉地认为你是中国人，因为你长得就是这样，他们一看你的脸就知道你是中国人……中国大家就说你拿的是国外的国籍，你还不会说中文，你凭什么说你是中国人？如果不会中文，你的民族认同感从哪里来呢？)

On the one hand, the case of Zheng indicated that the attitudes of locals could have some impact on how migrants identify themselves. Based on his almost twenty-year migration experience in New Zealand, Zheng had a firm confirmation of his ethnicity as Chinese. As he indicated, the relationship between Chinese immigrants and natives could be vulnerable. Once something happened, particularly that had negative impacts, migrants might be put in the spotlight to be blamed. This attribution ignored how many years the migrants had resided in the host country, and could even apply to their local-born children. It indicated the recurring difficulty for migrants to be recognised or conceived of as legitimate members in the host country. In Zheng's reflection, it was not just a matter of how you identify yourself, but also how others in the host country conceived of who you were.

Zheng also suggested that the attitude of Chinese nationals towards new Chinese migrants was another factor that reshaped migrants' identity that may impact on their decision about keeping Chinese as their family or home language. As Zheng stated, knowing Chinese language could be a symbol for Chinese nationals to acknowledge

migrants and their children even born overseas as Chinese, and learning Chinese could be beneficial for overseas born people of Chinese descent to trace their cultural heritage. In this case, learning the Chinese language served as a channel for migrant parents to build a bridge between their children and their home country, giving their children a chance to understand the culture of where they come from.

5.7 Summary

This chapter discussed new Chinese migrant parents' motives to migrate to New Zealand, and their perceptions of the education systems in China and New Zealand, and how they navigated their children's education in the host country. On the whole, their migration to New Zealand did not completely assuage their concerns about their children's education. The New Zealand school circumstances in reality somehow could not satisfy their educational expectations for their children, though they did appreciate the learning atmosphere and focus of children's well-rounded development at New Zealand schools. However, some parents' decision to transfer their children from high-decile public schools to private schools, and their expectations for constant feedback conducive to correcting their children and rather than merely relentlessly positive messages from teachers indicated their perpetual worry and emphasis on their children's academic excellence. Further, their reflexive accounts of raising children within a transnational context, worrying about their children's possible loss of family values and (un)consciously referring to how their parenting approaches affected their children's confidence building revealed the complexity of raising their children while straddling at least two different cultural settings.

Chapter Six

Educational Experiences of the Children of New Chinese Migrant Parents

This chapter presents the findings based on one-on-one interviews with nine adolescent/adult children of new Chinese migrant parents (see Table 6.1). They are all over 16 years old. Among these nine children, four are the 1.5 generation while five are the second generation. This chapter covers the educational experiences of these children of new Chinese migrant parents in both China and New Zealand, and their relationship and interaction with their parents, and perceptions of identity and sense of home.

This chapter consists of four sub-sections. Section 6.1 focuses on the language related issues that children of new Chinese migrant parents confront in New Zealand, including their experiences of mastering English and maintaining their first language (i.e. Chinese). Section 6.2 illustrates their perceptions of the education system of China and New Zealand, especially comparing teaching style and academic pressure. It is followed by section 6.3 which primarily discusses the accounts of children of new Chinese migrant parents about parent-child relationships, including their perceptions of their parents' expectation for their education and of parents' parenting style. The last section 6.4 investigates how children of new Chinese migrant parents identify themselves culturally and where they consider their home is. These four sub-sections will work together to answer the research questions about how children of new Chinese migrant parents perceive the education systems of China and New Zealand, what challenges they have to cope with in the New Zealand education system, and how the new Chinese migrant families respond to the educational challenges in New Zealand.

Table 6.1 Profile of the Interviewed Children of New Chinese Migrant Parents

Name	Generation	Age group	Gender	Place of birth	Citizenship and immigration status	Current residence location	Year of arrival	The year of achieving NZ permanent residency	School year	Language(s) the interviewee speak	Language the interviewee prefer to use at home	Language the interviewee prefer to use in school
Alice	1.5 generation	20~24	F	Shanghai, PRC	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Auckland	2013	2016	Freshman at university	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Caroline	1.5 generation	20~24	F	Shanghai, PRC	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Auckland	2015	2015	Third-year student at university	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Judy	1.5 generation	20~24	F	Shanghai, PRC	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Auckland	2017	2017	Second-year student at university	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Selena	1.5 generation	20~24	F	PRC	NZ citizen	Auckland	2003	2004	Second-year student at university (Overseas)	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Blair	Second generation	25~29	F	Hohhot, PRC	NZ citizen	Auckland	2000	2000	Graduate (University in NZ)	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Hailey	Second generation	20~24	F	NZ	NZ citizen	Auckland	N/A	N/A	Fourth-year student at university (University in NZ)	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Jack	Second generation	16~19	M	Hamilton, NZ	NZ citizen	Auckland	N/A	N/A	Year 12 student (Public school)	Mandarin, English	English	English
John	Second generation	20~24	M	NZ	NZ citizen	Auckland	N/A	N/A	Third-year student at university	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English
Teresa	Second generation	25~29	F	Shanghai, PRC	PRC citizen/NZ PR	Overseas	2001	N/A	Graduate (Overseas)	Mandarin, English	Mandarin	English

6.1 The double-edged sword: Language issues

This subsection is divided into two parts. The first part is primarily about how the use of English of children of new Chinese migrant parents in New Zealand affected the adaptation to the new context. The second part is about the family language policy deployed in the new Chinese migrant families and migrant children's perception of it.

6.1.1 English is a hurdle

My interviews show that the English language barrier was perhaps the first significant challenge for children of new Chinese migrant parents, especially for the 1.5 generation after they arrived in New Zealand. The English language barrier might have affected their academic performance and adaptation to the new environment.

The English difficulties encountered by migrant children can be related to their transnational migration background. This is particularly obvious among the 1.5 generation. They were born in China, growing up in an environment where Chinese was the dominant language and their mother tongue. Even though some of them attended English afterschool tutorials when they were in China to get themselves ready for the migration to New Zealand, English turned out to be one of the foremost challenges for them to adapt to the schooling in New Zealand. For example, Alice, who was a 1.5 generation migrant child, moved to New Zealand when she was fifteen years old (Year 10). When she was interviewed, she was in her first year studying at university, having first decided to study medicine, and then switched to media, then finally switched back to medicine. During her high school years in China, she had attended additional English language tutorials for around two years as a supplement to her English subject in school. She detailed her experiences thus:

> *I had taken an English tutorial with a foreign teacher in China for around two years, however, it was indeed different from taking classes in New Zealand. In the beginning of attending school in New Zealand, I had no way to communicate with others. I could only speak broken English, which could not completely express my ideas. I had no problems with reading,*

writing, and listening, but I was not good at speaking.

In this case, Alice highlighted that the difference of the language environment in China and New Zealand influenced her adaptation to the new living context and learning environment in New Zealand. China was not a perfect place for her to practise English, particularly speaking English. Even though she had two years of English tuition with a native speaker prior to migration, there was still a gap in the competence of using English as a communicative tool in the New Zealand school.

In addition, the interviews found that the English language difficulty was also related to the different layer of requirements set for English in these two countries. While English was taught mainly as a school subject for examination in China, contrasting with its use as a medium for everyday life and for cognitive development at an age-appropriate level in New Zealand; after migrating to New Zealand, 1.5 generation had to make a lot of efforts when using English language to deal with their everyday lives and study in their schools.

Caroline, a 1.5 generation who migrated to New Zealand when she was fifteen years old (Year 10, was three years into university), had since then lived in New Zealand for about six years. Although her English skills have improved a lot, she revealed another aspect of the limitations of her English competence, resulting in a learning difficulty for her:

> *Later, it got better after I listened and read more. However, my English is still poor now. I can roughly understand what the lecture is talking about in class, but I cannot restate it because of my insufficiency in vocabulary.*

Caroline's case did not just confirm that the English language was the first predominant challenge for 1.5 generation migrant children to tackle after migrating to New Zealand; in addition, it also indicated that her unfamiliarity with academic vocabulary played a critical role in comprehending her lectures. This problem was beyond conversational level English vocabulary, which revealed the different English skill expectation for these migrant children in different realms of their lives. Switching from daily life to

schooling, English proficiency at both conversational and academic level was needed.

The language barrier was not just applicable to the 1.5 generation, it could also be a challenge for the New Zealand-born Chinese migrants' children. The experiences of Hailey provided a case in point, where growing up in a family who spoke only Chinese at home, she had no experience of English when she began her formal education in New Zealand. As she mentioned, "from kindergarten to primary school, my English was quite poor, because my first language was actually Chinese, and we all spoke Chinese at home". Further, Hailey indicated the consequences resulting from her poor English competence: "I never handed in my homework when I was in primary school, and I did not know how to do it. Every time I saw the questions, I did not know how to do it, and no one could help me, so I did not do it".

Raised in a Chinese-only home environment, besides the fact, as she mentioned later, that her parents were not good at English, Hailey was confused about homework for school. She had nobody to ask for help, and, therefore, English was not only a language barrier, but a learning barrier for her to navigate her study in school.

The above quotes together implied that in the family terrain, when parents lacked dominant language competence and were unfamiliar with English and the New Zealand education system, they were unable to support their children's homework and study. This might affect children's interest in schooling and overall academic performance.

It is worth mentioning that New Zealand schools provide English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programmes (Ministry of Education, 2018) to those who need help with English, such as international students and migrant children whose first language is not English. However, these programmes might not work well for all migrant children. As Caroline commented:

> *I took ESOL in junior high school*[8] *for half a year. I think it was more oriented to the basics. I think the things it taught were too*

[8] This is a term generally used in China, referring to the early stage of secondary education, it is equivalent to the intermediate stage in New Zealand education system.

simple and more targeted on academics, and they seemed useless in daily lives. There were no professional terms in ESOL, such as the terms I learn in my class now. I think the things I learned in ESOL could not do much work for me. (我在 Junior 上过半年的 ESOL，我觉得它更面向于再基础一点的，它教的东西我觉得太简单，但是放到生活中好像又用不到，更偏学业上的东西。现在学的专业课的专业的名词 ESOL 也没有，感觉好像就用不到这些东西。)

Based on the Caroline's quotes, the ESOL programme seemed unable to offer her something she really needed for her study and daily life. This is something that the schools need to be aware in the host country.

6.1.2 Changing perceptions of Chinese as a home or heritage language

While the dominance of using Chinese in a new Chinese migrant family might arise because of the low proficiency in English of the migrant parents, the interviews also suggested that this situation reflected parental beliefs in the value of the first language maintenance. However, the parents' belief was not always shared by their children during their early years. For example, Teresa, a second generation young woman who came to New Zealand when she was around five and was working overseas when interviewed, had been unhappy with her mother's language rule at home:

My mom made a rule when I was young, that when I come home, it was only Mandarin, I could not speak English. I was so annoyed and angry by that, because my friends don't have to speak Chinese when they come home, they can all just speak English.

Teresa's case underscored the common divergence between migrant parents and their children regarding the family language policy, particularly in terms of the family language practice, where parents wanted to pass down the heritage language to their children, but migrant children felt it was a burden for them. From the perspective of Chinese migrant parents, Chinese language use within families was a critical factor in

influencing ethnic language maintenance (Eisenchlas et al., 2019). These parents might want their children to learn Mandarin as a means to learn the culture of their country of origin or to become bilingual. However, their children might not really understand the rationale behind their parents' arrangement. In particular, when migrant children had peers who did not have a similar family language practice, Mandarin was regarded as peripheral, diverging from the mainstream language (Little, 2020). Consequently, as Teresa mentioned, this made her less motivated to learn Chinese language. Meanwhile, the case indicated that Teresa had developed dual frames of reference regarding Chinese language heritage practice (Wu, 2019). She compared her family language practice with those of her peers in other families, and she was discontented with this language practice, complaining that her peers did not have to suffer it. The Chinese language related dissonance between her and her mother implied an aspect of inter-generational contestations in migrant families' settlement in the host country.

For another second-generation interviewee, Hailey (second generation), born in New Zealand, and attending the fourth year at university when interviewed, Chinese was not just the language of every family interaction (section 6.1.1); her parents made some other efforts to develop her Chinese skills, as she stated:

> *My first language is actually Chinese, and we (parents and me) speak Chinese at home. My dad taught me Chinese and asked me to do Chinese homework. I did not like it very much when I was a child, I felt very tired, and I did not want to write so many Chinese characters.* (我们第一个语言其实还是中文，在家里都是说中文。我爸爸也会教我中文，让我做中文的作业。我小时候我不太喜欢，觉得很累，不想要写那么多的字)

As Hailey stated, she had to learn Chinese as a medium to communicate with her parents because of her parents' low English proficiency, which in turn she regarded as an additional burden. However, migrant children's reluctance to use their first language could change in the process of growing up. When they got older, they might experience the benefits of being bilingual, practically or emotionally. These experiences could engender a positive attitude towards the first language.

For example, after growing up, Teresa expressed her gratitude to her mother for being strict about her first language preservation practice when she was young:

> *Looking back I'm definitely very thankful for that [Mandarin only at home], because now at least I have basic conversational knowledge of Mandarin and now China is not just such a big market for a lot of things, but it is such an advantage to be able to communicate with people in Mandarin.*

Similarly, Hailey echoed Teresa by pointing out the advantage of being bilingual in helping her get jobs:

> *I would now see it [being bilingual] as a great advantage. I now have two volunteering jobs and two formal jobs, I got three of them because I can speak Chinese. [Chinese] is a bonus, and it does not necessarily mean that they want me because I can speak Chinese, but Chinese is often used at work, which is very useful.* (我现在会觉得它是一个很大的优势。我现在打了两份 volunteering 的工作，还有两个正式的工作，其中三个都是因为我是会说中文。（中文）是加分项，也不是说他们是为了我说中文才要我，但在上班的时候中文是会经常用得上的，很 useful)

The reflective accounts of Teresa and Hailey emphasised that positive experiences solidified migrant children's belief in their first language. Although both of them had regarded learning Chinese as a burden when they were young, it turned out to be an advantage for them in their later life stage.

Alongside the instrumentalist values that Teresa expressed towards Chinese above, she revealed another facet of maintaining the heritage language:

> *There is no denying my heritage and my ethnicity. And why wouldn't I want to learn about the culture from where I came from? And like how incredibly rich it is, and how very deep that*

> *those roots are. I was very grateful for the opportunity to learn Chinese, and I'm still learning about the culture from my parents, and I'm still learning about it in my own time. I think it's something to be really proud of.*

The case of Teresa highlighted that heritage language maintenance was closely tied to her cultural and ethnic identity. As she grew up, she gradually understood her mother's insistence on maintaining Chinese. Such understanding further stimulated her desire to get to know more about her original culture.

6.2 Perceptions towards education system in China compared with that in New Zealand

Chapter Two has already indicated that the deep cultural traditions and social reality of the two countries in question have resulted in many differences in their educational styles. Here, in this subsection, the 1.5 generation could provide a vivid comparison of the teaching styles of these two countries based on their lived educational experiences.

6.2.1 Teacher-led versus student-centred teaching style

Selena, 1.5 generation, migrated to New Zealand when she was three years old. After finishing preschool learning in New Zealand, she went back to China for primary school study. Then she came back to New Zealand to attend intermediate and high school. She was in her second year at university overseas when interviewed. She commented:

> *In China, teachers generally open a textbook. Students turn to the same page. The teacher writes key points on the blackboard. There will be a lot of things you have to take notes about and memorise. While over here, everyone has a tablet, we take notes with it. It is more interesting. We don't have to memorise too many things. […] Here [New Zealand] teachers focus more on creative thinking. Teachers encourage you to think about problems from many perspectives. Teachers in China generally teach in a simple way, there is not much room for students to*

> *think. Students generally follow teachers' instructions and textbooks* (国内老师的话他讲知识一般都是翻开一个课本，大家都翻到第几页，老师在黑板上写板书，你要记下来、背的东西会很多。在这边的话，大家都会有个电脑，可能都是记电脑上的，画的比较多一点，可能更有趣一点，没有很死记硬背书本知识。…这边（新西兰）会更 creative thinking 一点，老师会激发你从很多方面去想这个问题，国内的话很单一的，学生不会有太多思考的空间，主要是跟着老师的思路走，跟着书本走。)

As Selena remembered, the teaching style in China was more teacher-led, where teachers were the authority transferring knowledge to students, and students were expected to follow and respect their authority. Students' comments or criticisms were not appreciated since they challenged teachers' authority. They were expected to comply with the norms. Chinese educational convention also dictated much memorisation by students to comply with the requirements of frequent tests. Consequently, students growing up under this educational circumstance were inclined to be dependent on their teachers for guidance in schoolwork, suppressing any ideas that differed from those of their teachers. In New Zealand creative thinking and applications of theories were highly encouraged. Teachers would inspire students to speak out about their ideas, in pursuit of constructing new knowledge by drawing on existing knowledges, experimentation, observation of the world and discussion with others. Students were encouraged to take initiative in learning, while teachers acted as facilitators and cheerleaders supporting students along their leaning process (Chang, 2021).

Predictably, the differences in educational philosophical underpinnings in the two countries created learning difficulties for students when they come across the two education systems. Alice, another 1.5 generation, commented on the difficulty she encountered in her process of learning in New Zealand:

> *In China, you [referring to students or herself] just need to learn what the teacher gives you, knowledge is passed down*

> *from teachers to you. However, in New Zealand, you need to explore yourself, get your own ideas, then teachers would work with you together to figure out the questions. It's quite different between these two counties. […] Now my independent thinking skill is getting much better, but sometimes there is a mindset, where I would expect teachers just to give me the point, then I can learn from it. I don't want to explore it myself, because the process requires a lot of reading and thinking, and I don't want to do that. This is very different from the textbook-based teaching in China.* (之前在国内的时候都是老师给你什么你就学什么，但是这边更多是让你自己去探索。整体会很不一样。国内更多是给你，这边是你要自己去想，老师再配合你，而不是老师完全什么都给你。…现在我这方面的能力会好很多，但是有时候还是会有一些固性思维，会觉得你就把这个东西给我好了，然后我去学。你不要让我想，自己去想太累了，需要大量阅读和思考。这和国内以教科书为主的教学是很不一样的。)

As Alice revealed, the comparison she made regarding the teaching style in China and New Zealand showed the different role of teachers and students in classes. While teachers took the lead to progress the learning process in Chinese schools, students in New Zealand schools were encouraged to explore and self-direct their learning (Ministry of Education, 2007). As 1.5 generation, it was not easy for Alice to get fully accustomed to the student-centred teaching style in New Zealand. Even after around an eight-year learning experience in New Zealand, sometimes she still could not help leaning on the Chinese teaching style. This situation indicated one of the common challenges faced by the 1.5 generation after migrating to the host country, namely, their mindset of how to learn in their home country. This mindset was difficult to replace with new methods of learning they were supposed to adopt in the host country. In the case of Alice, the Chinese teaching style she was once comfortable with was the past she could never return to; in comparison, the New Zealand teaching style was the tomorrow she had to learn to adapt to.

6.2.2 Fierce competition versus relaxed academic pressure

Meanwhile, the research found that another significant difference between the Chinese and New Zealand education systems was about academic pressure. As Alice commented:

> *The course here was simple, high school was also very simple, there was no need to get after-school tuition. During Year 11 and Year 12, no additional learning time was needed for homework, it could be done during class, during lunch breaks or in a few hours in the evening. It was a little difficult in Year 13, but overall, it was much more relaxed compared with my friends who were studying to prepare for Gaokao, some of them had to study until early morning at that time in China.* (这里的课程很简单，高中也很简单，没有必要补习。高中前两年都不需要额外的学习时间，上课差不多都可以做完课后作业，或者是利用午休或者晚上几个小时就可以了。最后一年会难一点点，但是整体上来说肯定比国内当时我的同学们对比起来会好很多很多，不用熬夜写作业到凌晨。)

The quote above revealed that the strong contrasts that Alice firstly felt regarding the educational difference between China and New Zealand were the level of difficulty of the learning and the after-school workload for students in China. Based on her comments, Chinese students were studying at a more demanding level than those in New Zealand, and also the homework load was much lower in New Zealand. While students in China had to stay up late to finish the homework, this was quite a rare experience for their counterparts in New Zealand.

Another difference that Caroline commented on was the different pressure level in class of these two countries:

> *The level of pressure was completely different. The education in China was too exam-oriented, teachers pushed students like*

rushing ducks to the shelves. The pressure of the teacher standing on the podium naming every student was really unbearable. The papers were handed out one by one, from the highest score to the lowest. The last few could be really upset. There has never been such a situation in New Zealand, and the teacher will not keep pushing you like chasing ducks, making you feel tense all the time. （压力程度完全不一样，国内太应试教育、太赶鸭子上架了，老师站在讲台上面一个个报分数的那种压力感真是有点受不了，一个一个发卷子，从最高分发到最低分，你在最后几名就真的是挺难过的。在国外从来没有过这种情况，老师也不会像赶鸭子一样一直 push 你，让你精神一直紧绷着。）

In China, learning and scoring higher were the priority for students, as well as the aim of teachers' endeavours. Because academic scores were regarded as the most important criteria to assess students' performance, they were also the focus of students' learning outcomes and teachers' performance results. Consequently, giving out students' papers in the sequence of their rankings was employed as a useful strategy to inspire students to compete with their peers and to achieve higher grades. In comparison, academic performance was not the only goal for students in New Zealand, they were encouraged to develop self-directed learning skills and to be self-motivated. One of the most striking characteristics of students in New Zealand was being encouraged to take extra-curricular or outdoor activities. Blair, who was 1.5 generation, arrived in New Zealand when she was seven, and had graduated from university and was working when interviewed. She commented, "I feel that going to school here is not merely about learning, we have so many activities to take part in. I think it is a cultivation of diverse aspects, where we can learn a lot of things related to daily life." (觉得在这里上学不只是说学习，还有很多活动，感觉是各方面的培养，还有很多和生活经历相关的活动。)

The above quotes show the fundamental difference between China and New Zealand education system and environment. As discussed in Chapter Two, this was highly

related to the university entry difference in these two countries. While education in China was exam-oriented, the priority for both students and teachers was to enhance students' academic performance so as to gain admittance to prestigious university. Students in New Zealand had comparatively less pressure of getting into a university, which was dictated by the open entry admission system.

6.3 Parent-child relations

While new Chinese migrant parents living in the host country, held their own perceptions and expectations towards their children's schooling based on their lived and transnational experiences, their children were engaging and adapting to the educational and society circumstances in New Zealand on a daily basis. The inter-generational differences of lived experiences might lead to conflicts in how these two generations perceived major selection and occupational preferences and related parenting style issues in the family domain.

6.3.1 Pressure from parents' high educational expectation

New Chinese migrant parents generally have particular preference towards their children's prospective university major, tending to guide their children into specific subjects of study, such as science, medicine and engineering. This strategy is generally instrumental and outcome-driven because Chinese migrant parents believe that a credential in these subjects is highly likely to lead their children to well-paying professional jobs (Zhou & Wang, 2019).

Alice's parents' most desired major for her was medicine, and her quotation below provided a case in point:

> *It's a sure thing that I had to choose a major from the medicine field. … Most Asian parents think that the medicine-related major can bring their children a "iron rice bowl", a promising career. My parents are among them, they think it would be awesome if I could get a stable job, and they believe a medicine-related major can get me there* . (一定要读跟医学相关的。…

> 亚洲家长不都觉得医学等类似的一定是个铁饭碗，一定是一个很好的职业，特别对于女生来说有一个稳定的工作，我父母觉得你可以去上班，下班比较稳定的这种，他们就会觉得很好。)

Alice's case indicated that migrant parents' preference for certain majors was highly related to the potential career for their children, which further revealed the future-oriented tendency of new Chinese migrant parents for their children's disciplinary and subject areas of study. "Iron rice bowl" referred to tenured jobs generally provided in state-owned enterprises and government organisations in China, and these positions were well known for their high stability and nearly impossibility of layoffs (Berkowitz et al., 2017, 2017; He et al., 2018). They were highly desirable among Chinese parents who took a pragmatic stance on the occupational career future for their children (Zhou & Wang, 2019).

However, the expectation from parents was one thing and what migrant children envisioned for themselves was quite another. This was embodied by Alice's tortuous experience of selecting a major along her study journey at university.

As Alice recalled, under the consideration that a medicine-related major would bring her a stable and secure future, as well as a promising qualification to apply for New Zealand residency in case of the possible failure of her mother's residency application, she initially chose a major in the medicine field. After her family's residency application was approved, she chose to go for her own interest, choosing a media major, and her parents were not unduly concerned about allowing their daughter to pursue the major she really aspired to, since they were now free of the pressure of achieving residency. However, the Covid-19 pandemic broke out in that period of time. After that, a company where she had worked as an intern went bankrupt, which undermined her confidence in her job prospects after graduation. These two events prompted her to question if it really made sense to study this major. Meanwhile, her parents became very concerned about the insecure future of the media major. She finally decided to switch from media back to medicine, which her parents were quite thrilled about, feeling she was finally choosing a practical major and coming down to earth. As she

expressed it, “my parents felt reassured when I chose to go back to the medicine major, because this major would lead a clearer path ahead for me, rather than studying in media like a headless fly with no direction of life”.

In this case, the decision came from Alice, influenced by her parents, but determined by her own belief that the choice of media could not permit a secure career. By contrast, Jack made the choice out of his filial piety to his parents.

Jack, second generation, was born in New Zealand but was a Year 12 student in high school as of this interview, He expressed his frustration about the divergence with his parents regarding the potential major in university:

> *They [parents of Jack] feel as if you're not a doctor, you're not gonna be able to survive. That's essentially their abroad experiences. Essentially, if you're not a doctor, we're essentially gonna be in poverty. And it's not true, but I don't really have anything to say to them. […] The sad thing is even if I do well in my interest, it's just an interest, right? Well done for doing well in your history competition. I'm still going to force you to learn science. […] I'm not gonna be able to, currently the situation doesn't seem like I can go the way I want. That means that I'm probably going to take my interests as a minor in university, rather than like a major, which I guess is a fair compromise, but obviously it's not too ideal. It's not what I want.*

Jack’s case, firstly, showed a high intervention of his parents towards the major that they would encourage him to pursue, namely, the medicine field. From the perspective of his parents, majors other than medicine would lead him to a lower-paid job and a bleak professional future. Even though his parents knew well that he was interested in humanity subjects, and Jack worked hard, participating in and winning a history competition in the hope of convincing them to allow him to choose history as his major, they showed a mild interest in his achievements only as a polite gesture, and still expressed their persistent desire for him to study medicine. The underpinning reason for his parents’ preference towards medicine was highly likely linked to their

transnational migratory experiences. As Jack implicitly commented in the quote, which was also confirmed by his father in this research, his parents, as first-generation migrants, hold educational qualifications in arts and humanities. This education background had brought them difficulties to find comparable jobs after they moved to New Zealand, where people with science or medicine background had easier access to the labour market. This was not just limited to Jack's family, it was also applicable to other parents with similar experience. These cases reveal the fact that migrant parents might reflect their migratory experiences in the educational arrangements for their children. They tended to use their own lived experience to guide their children so as to circumvent the difficulties they had suffered as first generation migrants and to secure a stable future for their children. As Blair commented on Chinese parents' preference,

> *It is understandable that the idea of parents is to ensure their children live better. For migrant families, there are usually certain difficulties. Some parents may be high-level intellectuals in China, but they have to give up that to come here, so they want their children to achieve a higher social status by pursuing a promising major at university.* (是可以理解的，父母唯一的想法是想孩子好一点。感觉对于移民家庭来说的话，通常都有一些困难，或者可能自己在国内是高级知识分子，但是来了以后那些都得放弃了，所以他们可能想让孩子能在这儿社会地位高一些)

As Blair indicated, first-generation migrant parents generally confronted employment difficulties when they came to the host country due to their lack of language proficiency, the educational certification from their host countries being unrecognised by the labour market and industries of a host country, or the lower popularity of their major or working experience in a host society. Those migrant parents somehow had to make compromises, willingly or reluctantly, downgrading their occupational career for the sake of settling the whole family in the host country. Consequently, those parents would hope their children could circumvent what they had suffered in the process, expecting their children could achieve upward social mobility through their efforts instead of getting trapped in a vicious circle and facing the risk of a possible downward mobility

(Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou & Wang, 2019).

However, as a New Zealand-born Chinese child, Jack grew up outside the culture of his parents' home country, but he was also to some extent outside the culture in the host country. He was situated in the "interstitial culture or culture between cultures" (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001, p. 20). In the host country, Jack was encouraged to pursue his own dream. However, under the influence of the culture in their country of origin as well as their challenging experience of migration, his parents reinforced their belief in the value of pursuing the medicine major. He grew up under the impact of two different cultures, and it was hard for him to simply pursue his interest without taking any account of the expectation of his parents. It was also impossible for him to wholeheartedly follow his parents' advice while neglecting his own aspiration. The acculturation dissonance (Waters et al., 2010) in this family possibly predicted greater parent-child disagreement and a different life path ahead of these two generations.

Unlike Alice, Jack was not beset by doubts about the value of his choice, but was responding to the unequal power relations in his family, where the parents were in the dominant position, and the child was subordinate. This reflected one of the Confucian family values, filial piety, as discussed in Chapter Two. When asked about the potential major he would actually choose in university when the time came to make the decision, Jack commented he might have to make a compromise between his own interest in the humanities and the expectation of his parents. He would probably take medicine as his major and take his interest, humanities, as a minor. In this case, the compromise reflected his powerlessness and frustration in convincing his parents, and his filial piety as a child within Chinese culture, where he was expected to obey his parents' guidance (Ho, 1996). On a positive tone, Jack's case also shows how migrants' children can become sufficiently resilient to make a balance between their own desire and their parents' expectations and between their home culture and broad societal influence.

6.3.2 Negotiating parenting style

As discussed in Chapter Two, Chinese parents typically believe that, based on Confucianism, self-cultivation towards morality is a life-long journey, and one should never be satisfied with the current achievement. In practice, Chinese parents are devoted

to self-perfection, which informs their emphasis on the continuous improvement their children should pursue regardless of their achievement (Li, 2009). Consequently, Chinese parents take it as their responsibility to point out the weakness of their children so as to help them perfect themselves, and to train them to be morally responsible (Lieber et al., 2006). However, in the New Zealand context, this habitus was perceived by the migrant children as discouragement. For example, Blair commented:

> *If it wasn't all the best, they [parents of Blair] wouldn't say it was okay or something, they would say it wasn't good enough. In this way, I would make high demands on myself, and feel that no matter how well I do, it is not good enough. It's not a very positive feeling, not that I can always improve. On the contrary, it makes me feel that it is never good enough, I'm not good enough.* (如果不是都是最好的话，他们觉得这样不够好，不会说还行或者怎么的，会表达说不够好的那种感觉。这样子的话，我对自己的要求就会很高，觉得自己做得多好也不够好的感觉。不是一种很正能量的那种感觉，自己 always can improve 的那种，反而是那种反过来的，是 never good enough 的那种。不是说我可以更好，但是是那种我不够好的那种反面的感觉。)

As Blair revealed, when she was not doing the best in study, her parents would not even acknowledge what progress she had made; rather, they would straightforwardly say it was not good enough. While this behaviour pushed the children to set high expectation for themselves, it also resulted in negative feelings about themselves. The sense of "never good enough" might lead to lack of self-confidence among migrant children. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Chinese community, as Blair later mentioned, "Some Chinese friends around me basically have the same experience as me, they feel that their parents have never encouraged them."

Jack provided a similar point of view,

> *They [parents of Jack] are fairly demanding about my*

performance in school. They often hint about it. So it's more of a subconscious thing, they mention it subtly, they don't say it outright. To be honest, I don't feel as any better, because it creates a sort of a feeling of pressure really. Even though my parents are essentially, as long as you're doing well, I'm going to let you do your thing, it creates a lot of mental pressure. […] From my perspective, I could interpret it as you're not doing good enough or something like that.

The case of Jack firstly revealed that his parents prioritised academic performance over everything. He had to perform well academically so as to do the thing he was interested in. This echoed the focus of one's life trajectory in their early life stage, where education is highlighted as the priority for Chinese children, as discussed earlier in Chapter Two. Secondly, this case underscored the discouraging nature of the parent-child interaction, where parents' feedback about children's performance was generally less cheerful or even negative, leading children to question their skills or capabilities, and likely resulted in low self-esteem. Further, it was likely to make migrant children internalise the problems or challenges they faced and become self-restrained, hesitating to seek for professional help, as Blair stated:

When I have a problem, I may not go to the teacher for help, I will solve it by myself, I cannot ask for help just like the locals.
(当我遇到问题时，我可能不会去找老师help，都是我自己来解决，我做不到像本地人那样 ask for help。)

This self-absorbing and internalisation of problems might result in mental stress to the children of new Chinese migrant parents; for example, as Jack discussed: "I'm really annoyed about the subconscious pushing thing, because it often pressures me. I have to think a lot about their words to figure out what they're trying to tell me."

6.4 Perceptions of home and sense of ethnic identity and cultural belonging

Growing up under a transnational migratory background, it is complicated for migrant

children to define their ethnic identity and sense of home and cultural belonging. Their belonging to the wider New Zealand society and to their own ethnic community created a competing feeling about themselves; namely, who they are, where they belong, and where their home is. Some, such as Caroline, felt more of a sense of belonging to New Zealand:

> *I feel like New Zealand is my home, because many of my concepts and consciousness were formed here, and I am very familiar with daily life here, I attended my middle school and university here, and I did some part-time jobs here. Most of my friends are here, as well as my hobbies, my business is here. Although it is small, it is also my own business. There is more connection and concern for me here. I have my own life, my own car, and my own daily arrangements, so I think I am actually half a New Zealander.* (我感觉这边像家一样，因为我的很多的观念和意识是在这边形成的，对这边日常生活很熟悉，相当于我中学大学是在这边，一些 part time 也是在这边，后来沟通比较多的朋友，以及我的兴趣爱好，我的生意都是在这边，它虽然很小，但也是我的一个 own business。这边和给我的联系跟牵挂比较大，我有我自己的生活，我自己的车，我自己的日常安排，所以我觉得我其实算是半个新西兰人。)

As can be seen, Caroline identified herself strongly with New Zealand. This is because her deep embeddedness into New Zealand from every walk of her life, from daily life to academic pursuit, from socialisation to envisioning her future, all relational connections closely linked her to New Zealand. That is to say, her “way of being”, namely, the actual everyday practices and social relations she engaged in in the host country informed her identification with where she felt she belonged (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004).

In contrast, some young people felt they belonged to China more. Their strong sense of belonging to China could be particularly manifested through the discussion of their

sense of home. Taking Alice as an example:

> *I feel that China is still my home, it is still my hometown, because I was born and raised there, I still have a strong feeling for it, and I also have a sense of belonging. When I go back to China, I feel at home. New Zealand is my second hometown. With the longer time I will spend in New Zealand, it may replace China. But the status of China is still there, however, because my social circle of friends or my future life may be more rooted in New Zealand, and my future emotional connection will be in New Zealand. Many major changes and developments have happened in New Zealand, while China has more to do with my past.* (我觉得中国还是我的家，它还是我的家乡，因为我在那出生长大的，对它还是有很强的感情，也有一些归属感，觉得到了那里，这就是我的地方，就是这种感觉。这里应该算我第二个家乡，以后可能时间长了，可能这边也会取代中国。但是中国的地位还是在那里，因为我现在的交友朋友圈或者是我以后未来的生活可能更多是扎根在这边了，我未来感情连接更深的还是会在新西兰。因为我人生很多重大的改变、发展都在这边，国内直到初中就结束了。所以记忆和感情可能只停留在那边，但是未来更多可能都在这里。)

The above quoted narratives demonstrated how crucial the conceptualisation of home is in defining one's sense of ethnic belongingness (Liu, 2014). For Alice, her emotional connection with China as her perpetual home created her sense of belonging to there; however, she also acknowledged that her life experience in New Zealand also played a significant role in the way she identified her sense of belonging to the host country. As she mentioned, the anticipated gradually increasing social relations with New Zealand would further re-ground her in the host country. The longer time migrant children lived in the host country, the more material and immaterial attachment they would develop to it, including to the physical property they owned and the emotional

attachments and feelings they sensed. As Gorman-Murray and Dowling (2007) claimed, the conception of home cannot be limited to a physical locale of dwelling, it also involves ‘a space of belonging, intimacy, security, relationship and selfhood’. Gradually, with more and more significant personal events taking place in the host country, increasing social and personal connections were formed, migrant children would become closely connected with the immigrant destination country. As Ahmed et al. (2003) concluded, this process is an on-going practice of migrant children uprooting themselves from the country of origin and re-grounding themselves into the host country.

As also can be seen, although Caroline and Alice provided two contrastive cases about their sense of belonging, what is in common is that the sense of belonging to New Zealand had been firmly inscribed into the way they saw themselves, especially how they foresaw their future.

Meanwhile, the above quotes also implied that how the migrant children see their relationship with their host and home countries was a dynamic process, it was not a fixed perception or construction. It changed with the lived experience of migrant children from one country to another (Gorman-Murray & Dowling, 2007). Although Caroline and Alice were born in China, the duration of their lived experience in China was a past of their lives, and their lives in New Zealand, as they indicated, was presumably highly likely to be the more significant part in their life trajectories. They had emotional attachments to both their country of origin and host country, and these emotional attachments could arise out of migrant children’s everyday routines and practices. In this sense, their sense of home may change over time, and they may attach new feelings of home to different places as their transnational trajectory proceeds. This process is called “home-making practice” (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 199), where migrant children are involved in an on-going and mediated interaction between self, others and places (Liu, 2014). Their negotiation of home is closely related to the ways in which they perceive their identity and sense of belonging, varying from physical dimensions to the emotional and cultural, are attach to their lived experiences across at least two places (Liu, 2014).

6.5 Summary

This chapter has looked into the educational experience of children of new Chinese migrant parents in the terrains of migrant families and school. Language-related issues under the context of transnational migration were discussed. including the most discernible English adaption issues for 1.5 generation and second-generation children raised in Chinese-only families because of their parents' limited competence in English and the high value attached to Chinese language. Another aspect discussed was the Chinese language heritage inter-generational divergences existing in new Chinese migrant families, where the second generation resented their parents' persistence in enforcing Chinese language transmission when they were young, although in some cases they later turned out to appreciate being bilingual. The 1.5 generations' perceptions of the education systems of China and New Zealand in aspects of teaching-learning styles and the learning atmosphere were also investigated. Later, inter-generational divergences in the selection of disciplinary and subject areas of study indicated that migrant parents and their children were positioned at different places of integration into the host country, where migrant parents made expectations of their children according to their lived and transnational experiences, which might not correspond with what migrant children aspired to pursue for themselves. Migrant children's reflective accounts of their parents' parenting style revealed parenting difference in China and New Zealand, and possible inter-generational parent-child conflicts. How 1.5 generation conceptualise their home and identity was explored in the last section, indicating these perceptions are fluid and in an on-going process, not static.

Chapter Seven

Local Educators' Accounts of Their Experience with New Chinese Migrant Families

This chapter presents the findings based on one-on-one interviews with chosen local educators in New Zealand schools, ranging from primary school to high school, from state school to private school and a Chinese ethnic community school. There are twelve interviewees in this research cohort, including one principal and eleven teachers (see Table 7.1). This chapter mainly reports on these educators' accounts of their encounters with new Chinese migrants' children and their families.

The chapter consists of four sub-sections. Section 7.1 targets these educators' impressions of new Chinese migrants' children, including their attitude towards their study and their academic performance in the school. Section 7.2 describes the recognised challenges faced by those children in the schooling system in New Zealand. It is followed by section 7.3 which illustrates these educators' perceptions of new Chinese migrant parents with focuses on their educational expectations for their children. The last section 7.4 reports the difficulties the local educators encounter in communicating with new Chinese migrant parents. These four sub-sections go hand in hand to answer the research question regarding how local educators perceive the experience of new Chinese migrants' children in New Zealand, as well as their parents' educational expectation and orientation for them.

Table 7.1 Profile of the Interviewed Local Educators

Name	School category	Gender	Ethnicity	Years of teaching	Role	Teaching subject(s)	The major of the highest education qualification
Mason	State school	M	Pakeha	11~15 years	Hard technology teacher	Digital tech, Product development	Graduate Diploma, Teaching and secondary learning
Frank	State school	M	NZ	More than 25 years	Part-time teacher	N/A	Geography, Physical education
Rebecca	State school	F	Chinese	4~6 years in NZ, 4~5 years in PRC	Chinese teacher, Chinese parents liaison	Chinese (Mandarin)	Master, Language teaching and Translation studies
Tina	State school	F	Pakeha	16~20 years	Head of language learning area	Japanese, te reo Māori	BA Honours, Linguistics
Mia	State school	F	Chinese	More than 25 years	Teacher	Chinese language	Bachelor, Pedagogy
Lisa	State school	F	Chinese	4~6 years	Teacher	ESOL and Chinese	Master
Sarah	State school	F	Chinese	0~3 years	English language learning assistant	ESOL	Master
Logan	Private school	M	British	More than 25 years	Executive principal	English, Drama	Master, English literature
Ann	Private school	F	Chinese	11~15 years	Chinese language teacher	Chinese	Postgraduate, Applied Linguistics
Amy	Ethnic community supplementary school	F	Chinese	0~3 years	Campus manager/Chinese tutor	Chinese (Mandarin)	Master, Environmental planning
Lillian	Language Institute	F	Chinese	More than 25 years	Teacher/tutor	English	Bachelor, English education
Sherry	Self-employed teacher	F	Chinese	16~20 years	Teacher	Art	Bachelor

7.1 General impression of Chinese-background students

This section discusses local educators' observations about the performance of new Chinese migrants' children at New Zealand schools, and possible explanations they raised based on their understandings.

7.1.1 Excellent academic performance and emphasis on education

The research finds that the interviewed teachers overwhelmingly thought Chinese students' academic performance was good in general, and the good academic performance was largely because of their parents' emphasis on education. For example, Ann discussed those children's overall good academic performance, and attributed it to Chinese parents' emphasis on the education of their children:

> *Chinese parents often pay greater attention to their children's study, and there is an atmosphere, so Chinese-background students generally attain good grades, with occasional poor ones, but very few.* (华人家长普遍比较重视孩子学习，氛围是有的，所以华人学生普遍成绩是不错的，偶尔差的也有，但是不多，真的不多。)

The interview quote above highlights the critical role of parental expectations in contributing to their children's academic achievement (Hoge et al., 1997). It also reveals a common phenomenon among members of the new Chinese migrant community – that is, Chinese parents usually attach high value to the education of their children. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Chinese parents' high expectations for their children's education are deeply rooted in Chinese cultural tradition which inspires children to achieve high academically (Gu, 2006; Liu & Wu, 2006), particularly for families confronting the fierce educational competition in contemporary China (Cockain, 2020; Han et al., 2021). Meanwhile, Chinese children's academic success is not merely perceived as an individual business; rather, it is a family matter.

Similarly, Frank underscored the Chinese students' aspiration for high achievement and their disproportionate achievements in school compared with children from other

cultures. Further, Frank explained the critical reason of this reality from a cultural perspective:

> *The [Chinese] kids fundamentally want to do well. They want to do well. It is a cultural thing. In my studies and in my visits to China and everything there, I know how difficult it is to get into university over there. So it is in the blood for Chinese to achieve high. So when they come here, not only are they immigrants, but they want to achieve. So you just go to look at the prize giving at some of the schools to see how many Chinese students get the prizes.*

According to Frank's quote, he related Chinese-background students' motives to perform better to their culture. In this case, Frank referred to the fierce educational competition of obtaining a place in university in China. This was in line with what has been discussed earlier in Chapter Two, the NCEE was viewed as the primary pathway for the majority of students to be admitted into university and, consequently, to secure those students a promising future (Liu & Wu, 2006; Yu & Suen, 2005). In this sense, the importance of education is consistently emphasised by Chinese families, including the overseas Chinese migrant families.

Frank's comment further indicated the correlation between Chinese parents' high expectations of education and the competitive atmosphere in China, which is evidenced by the discernible presence of new Chinese migrants' children as receivers of prizes in schools. It is worthy of mention that the culture of emphasising children's education in the Chinese migrant community is also partially because of the transnational migration experiences of new Chinese migrant parents. The migrant parents were rewarded for being well educated with a lucrative career and resourceful economic and social capital. Meanwhile, as the first-generation new migrants, they knew well about the challenges migrants might face. This made them believe that education was a solution to overcome the challenges; and therefore they pushed their children to achieve well academically; thus dictating their focus on their children's academic performance. As Frank pointed out in the quote, "it is in the blood for Chinese to achieve high". These Chinese parents came to New Zealand with the belief in education and implemented it in the educational

arrangements for their children.

7.1.2 Low participation in classes

Compared with the excellent academic performance of the new Chinese migrants' children, the interviewed teachers indicated that their participation in classes was less impressive. Although they respected teachers very well, their classroom participation was not active at the same level as their academic achievement. Frank asserted that the migrant children respected their teachers:

> *Basically almost all the Chinese students that I have been involved with directly or indirectly, show respect for authority, respect for education, and they are willing to get involved in class.*

The respectful feature of new Chinese migrants' children attitude towards their teachers is because in traditional Chinese culture, teachers are representative of knowledge and authority, and students are expected to respect them and to follow their instructions, and not to challenge them (Li & Du, 2013).

Despite this respectful feature, the other teachers interviewed were less impressed by the migrant children's classroom participation. Lisa's opinion contradicted Frank's positive perceptions towards the Chinese children's involvement in classroom discussion, and underscored their limited willingness to be involved in classroom activities and discussion, as she stated:

> *I think it's not merely limited to the Chinese students who immigrated to New Zealand halfway through their schooling, it's similar to those Chinese students who were born here. They don't know how to express themselves in class, they are unwilling to participate in class discussion, and they don't tend to like raising their hands. Even though they know the answers, they are still less inclined to raise hands and tell the teacher their response. This is a common phenomenon.* (我觉得这不单

> 是中途移民过来的中国孩子，有很多出生在这边的中国孩子也是这样，他们不太懂得如何在课堂上表现自己，在课堂上都不愿意讨论，比较不爱举手，即使会的问题，他们也不太愿意主动举手跟老师说。这是一个普遍的现象。)

Further, Lisa explained this phenomenon from her perspective:

> *For international students or students who are not good at English, it is definitely because of the English language issue. For students who were born here and are fluent in English, they may not be willing to raise their hands as well. I think this may have something to do with our Asian personality.* (对于国际留学生或者是英文不好的学生来说，肯定是因为语言问题。对于出生在这边英文已经很好的学生，他们可能也不愿意举手，我觉得这可能跟我们亚洲人的性格可能有关系。)

Firstly, the English language issue was pointed out as a part of the reason for new Chinese migrants' children's lower classroom participation. The language problem will be further detailed in section 7.2.1. Moreover, this English language problem was confirmed by what the 1.5 and second-generation migrant children shared in their schooling experience at New Zealand schools, as discussed in Chapter Six. Secondly, a possible cultural underpinning of these students' reluctance to actively interact with teachers and their peers was mentioned. Being humble was not a sign of a lack of competence in Chinese culture; on the contrary, it was regarded as a good moral trait worthy of encouragement (Li, 2009). Rather than posing questions and challenging teachers, this good moral trait was often regarded as a manifestation of one's respect to teachers, and desire for self-reflection and thirst for knowledge.

7.2 Challenges faced by new Chinese migrants' children from local educators' perspective

This section reveals two common difficulties identified by the interviewed teachers that new Chinese migrants' children confronted in the process of getting accustomed to the

schooling in New Zealand. One is the English language barrier, and the other is critical thinking skills.

7.2.1 English language barrier

Language is the first and most predictable challenge for many new Chinese migrants' children. In discussing this, it is important to bear in mind that school is not just an arena for academic endeavour, but an important site for social connections. As Rebecca explained:

> *The Chinese-background students who came to New Zealand in high schools may have some issue with socialising because of their language barrier. They may not feel comfortable with using English, and their English hasn't developed to the level that enables them to communicate with others well. Therefore, they are reluctant to participate in activities.* (高年级移民过来的孩子可能因为语言问题影响社交，因为他可能会觉得不是特别舒服，他的语言没有达到那个程度可以去和其他人交流，所以他就不愿意参加课外活动。)

Rebecca's quote suggested that it was difficult for new Chinese migrants' children who came to New Zealand half-way through their education to adapt to the schooling immediately, and the language barrier was the first barrier for them. Their English may not be a major impediment to academic activity, nonetheless, using English to socialise with peers was still an effort. They may be good at writing and understanding, but they have issues integrating into the culture and using the language with peers in social contexts. This issue spoke back to how Alice (a 1.5 generation child) confronted the English issue as discussed in Chapter Six, where spoken English was the most discernible challenge in the earlier few years attending a New Zealand school after migration.

Further, the language barrier could affect their willingness and ability to socialise with their peers at school. As Mason further asserted, "Friends, I mean obviously, if they're able to talk to people clearly, that's fine. But if they are struggling with the language,

getting friends in each class is hard for them."

Moreover, Lisa highlighted that the lack of self-confidence of these children due to English language deficiency could further affect their performance in other courses, not just limited to language courses:

> *For [Chinese] students who migrated to New Zealand after they had attended school in China... English is the most discernible difficulty for them. Because of this, they are not confident to learn other subjects at school as well...The biggest obstacle that affects their learning is English competence.* (中途移民过来的孩子，我觉得语言是他们最大的障碍，因为语言不好导致他们学别的课的时候也就没有信心。…阻止他们学习的最大的东西就是英文。)

This might correlate with the fact that the first language they used was not English. Studying in New Zealand required them to be fluent in English, conversationally and academically. The requirement for English proficiency could be far beyond the skills they had acquired before migration when they were in China. Moreover, being born and raised in a migration-background family and bilingual circumstances may not have provided them with opportunities to quickly grasp English as a second language. It could take a period of time for them to become competent in English language and to be comfortable with learning in English at school. Furthermore, the English language issue could possibly engender some other negative consequences for these students, such as social isolation, and creating a barrier to cognitive development in language-rich subjects. Nevertheless some of them were high achievers.

7.2.2 Lack of critical thinking skills

As discussed in Chapter Two, China and New Zealand have different educational paradigms and social realities, which dictates different development for students, including their critical thinking skills. Two quotes below show evidence of this point.

- *Many exams in high school here are designed to test*

students' critical thinking. Chinese children, especially those who had learning experiences in China, may have become accustomed to that teaching and learning style. The teachers give you the knowledge, and then you memorise it. But they [students] don't like to think, or even explore it through deep thinking. (这边高中很多的考试是考 critical thinking，中国的小孩子，尤其是那些在国内受过教育的小孩子，可能他们习惯了国内的教育模式，老师给你东西，然后你去背、去记下来，但他们不喜欢去想，他们不会更深入的去想这个问题。) (Rebecca)

- *We need to "brainwash" the students who have just arrived from China, because they tend to use the set of thinking they were taught in China to do homework here, and such a mindset doesn't work here. Especially when they switch to a Western examination system, which requires them to develop their own opinions and thoughts and then to express their ideas. I can feel that their learning experience in China has brainwashed them, students appear to have lost their ability to develop independent opinions, and that ability must be reawakened.* (刚从国内来的孩子我们要给他"洗脑"，因为他拿国内的那一套思维在这里头做作业，思路肯定是不行的，尤其是你要用西方的考试系统，它要你有自己独立思考的能力。感觉国内成功的把你洗脑了，学生好像有点失去形成自己看法的能力了，你必须把那个能力唤醒。) (Ann)

The quote from Rebecca indicated the difference between teaching pedagogic practices in China and New Zealand. As discussed in Chapter Two, the teaching practices in China are commonly teacher-led, where the teachers are responsible for passing on the

knowledge to students. Consequently, students are expected to follow teachers and memorise what is taught in class (Liu & Wu, 2006). On the contrary, students in New Zealand are taught to explore the knowledge with the assistance of their teachers (Ministry of Education New Zealand, n.d.-b), instead of acquiring knowledge directly from their teachers.

Ann's quotes criticised the impact of the Chinese teaching pedagogic practices on students – that it could be challenging for students with learning experiences in China to develop viewpoints on their own. For Ann, the use of the metaphor, "brainwashing", is not a proper way to develop students' critical thinking skills. She saw brainwashing as having a negative outcome under the education system of China. Her quote, to some extent, is expressive of her concern about the challenge of teaching critical thinking skills when other ideas have been deeply entrenched. This challenge echoed what a 1.5 generation migrant child (Alice) shared in Chapter Six about the significant change in teaching and learning styles between China and New Zealand schools. Even after about an eight-year learning experience under the New Zealand education system, it was still hard for her to fully adjust to the pedagogic practices in New Zealand schools. From the perspectives of local educators, how they assisted these students in their transition from one to the other educational system was an issue in question.

7.3 The impression of new Chinese migrant parents

This section demonstrates local educator's impressions of new Chinese migrant parents, mainly including new Chinese migrant parents' enthusiasm for sending their children to prestigious schools, their high educational expectations and their preference for specific subjects or majors for their children.

7.3.1 Enthusiasm for sending their children to a better school

School selection is one of the most striking demonstrations of how seriously the new Chinese parents were about their children's education. Ann revealed how important a good school zone was for new Chinese migrant parents when choosing their residential areas:

> *Parents of Chinese-background value education, and they would like to reside in a zone where highly reputable schools are. This is a clear evidence of how much they value the education for their children.* (华人重视教育，会朝名校聚居，这是华人比较重视孩子学习的一个很明显的一个 evidence.)

As Ann pointed out, new Chinese migrant parents were inclined to buy houses in expensive areas where schools with high reputations were located. The most fundamental reason that led to this decision was the importance they attached to their children's education. This corresponds to what Chinese parents did in China, as discussed earlier in Chapter Two. They try their best to buy into good school zones to ensure their children can obtain good quality education (Han et al., 2021). This practice was adopted by parents who migrated to New Zealand. They tended to purchase houses in a zone of a school they believe to be of high quality so as to secure access to better educational resources for their children.

Beyond the role of education in house purchasing decisions, Mia commented on another effect that parents' beliefs have resulted in:

> *Most parents of Chinese-background tend to send their children to high-decile school, believing that students in these schools generally have good family backgrounds and perform well academically, and they want to provide such an environment for their children. Some parents even send their children to private schools, not necessarily in this city, some of them send their children to boarding schools in other cities in New Zealand.* (华人家长大多会把孩子送到 high decile 的学校，认为（high decile）学校的学生群体家庭背景都比较好，学习成绩也比较好，想给孩子那么一个环境。甚至有一些家长还把孩子送到私立学校去，都不一定是在 Rotorua，甚至送孩子到别的城市去寄宿都有的。)

Mia's comment can be explained by two aspects. First, it underscores the idea of

"migration as a class-based consumption" (Liu-Farrer, 2016). Selecting the high-decile public schools usually entailed a relatively large amount of monetary payment for those in-zone houses, and well-off migrant families could afford it. Moreover, children's educational success in the immigration destination country could be converted into economic capital later on and was viewed as a way to maintain the social and economic class of the families.

The second aspect is the effort that new Chinese migrant parents would make to enrol their children in a prestigious private school if they did not reside in a good school zone. As Mia indicated, local schools were not the only options for new Chinese migrant parents. When they thought that local state schools could not provide their children with the appropriate resources they aspired to, they would rather turn to schools in other cities. Even though extra economic and non-economic input was needed for this arrangement, for example, relatively higher fees and accommodation costs in private schools and the resultant separation from their children because of the distance, it appeared that some new Chinese migrant parents would make this choice.

One thing that needs to be mentioned here is that even though new Chinese migrant parents prioritised academic results in their talk, peer influence and the social standing of the schools did seem to be a factor, so they may have been wanting their children to have friends from high socio-economic backgrounds. This is because the parents believed that school friends from a high socio-economic background would exert positive peer influence on their children and those friends might be an excellent resource for their social networks.

Further, teacher Rebecca shared with me a survey she had conducted with new Chinese parents in an intermediate and a primary school. This was a survey about the factors that Chinese parents valued when choosing a high school for their children. Based on the collected results, the option most often chosen by Chinese parents was "a school which succeeds well academically". On the contrary, no parent chose the option of "child's preference, to be with friends". The information shared here highlighted academic improvement as the most important consideration of Chinese parents in determining the high school choice for their children. From the perspective of new Chinese migrant parents, their children's academic performance in high school stood

out among all the other aspects that they considered for their children. In this chapter, previous sections have indicated that local educators identified other concerns about Chinese-background students (not just applause for being academic high achievers), for example, possible social and developmental issues. Those factors, for example, children's preference or aspiration to be with peers, certainly seemed important to the teachers (especially Rebecca and Frank, 7.2.1), but were not of high importance to the parents. This finding corresponds with the consideration of new Chinese migrant parents' self-reported focus in their school-selection process and experience of transferring their children between schools discussed in Chapter Five, where the academic profile of the school served as the most critical factor.

7.3.2 Undergraduate degree is a minimum expectation

This sub-section primarily investigates new Chinese migrant parents' educational expectation for their children from the local educators' perspective, particularly in the aspect of what academic degree they would like their children to obtain, and the underpinning reason for the expectation. Rebecca mentioned this expectation based on her experiences with Chinese parents:

> *Basically, I think nearly all of the Chinese parents want their children to go to university, and most of them want their children to go to the University of Auckland instead of others. They don't favour AUT or Massey University. Basically, if their children can get enrolled in the University of Auckland, then they won't take other universities as an option. […] For some children, even if we [the teachers] think it may be difficult for them to go to university, it is still difficult to persuade parents to let their children study some practical courses, which involve skill-focused work, but it is very difficult to convince these parents.* (基本上我觉得 98%甚至 100%的中国家长都希望小孩子要上大学，而且大部分的家长都希望学生去上奥大，而不是上其他的（大学）。他们不喜欢 AUT 不喜欢梅西，基本上都是如果能上奥大，就上奥大，不上其他的大

学。…有一些小孩子即使我们感觉他上大学可能比较困难，但是很难去说服家长让孩子去读一些比较实用的课程，不要去上大学，或者是做一些可能比较适合孩子的一些工作，比如技能方面的工作，但是基本上很难。)

Two points can be taken from Rebecca's quote. First, the local educators observed that new Chinese migrant parents insisted their children must obtain formal university education although in some cases the children's academic performance did not allow them to get into university. As far as a polytechnic education was concerned, Chinese parents usually did not regard it as a proper proof of tertiary education because they believed that the admission threshold for polytechnic education was much lower than for the university education. Further, the career difficulties they envisioned for polytechnic graduates was another concern for Chinese parents. Given the broadly recognised social norm in China – without a degree from university, no decent jobs could be guaranteed – potentially, a qualification from a polytechnic seemed to promise a bleak career pathway. Therefore, Chinese parents were enthusiastic about getting their children admitted to a university if at all possible. Later, Rebecca shared how challenging it was to persuade Chinese parents to be reasonable about their children's higher education: "it is hard to convince parents to take an alternative pathway (getting a certificate in polytechnic) when their children have little chance to be admitted to higher education… it took us almost two years to persuade a parent". The quote here also indicated that in spite of what Frank had said about the new Chinese migrants' children's disproportionate winning of prizes at schools, not all Chinese students excelled academically.

Second, new Chinese migrant parents pushed their children hard to enrol in high-ranking universities. As Rebecca implied, this was a perpetual feature in Chinese community. Further, it spoke back to what the Chinese migrant parent Ding envisioned for her daughter's higher education in a highly reputable university rather than an average one, as discussed in Chapter Five, where she believed that the positive atmosphere in a prestigious university would benefit her for life.

Mia provided a vivid example of how Chinese parents would react when their children

chose to take a vocational pathway:

> *There was a student who did not go to university after graduating from high school. His parents were quite disappointed with him and thought that he should attend a university, because his grades were very good. However, he wanted to pursue something he was interested in, so he went to a polytechnic school to study.* (有个学生高中毕业以后没有上大学，他的父母对他很失望，认为他不应该不去上大学，因为他完全可以上大学，他成绩很好的。但他想做自己喜欢的事情，他就去技校学习了。)

The above quote implicitly indicated the possibility of inter-generational tensions, even conflicts, regarding pathway selection in Chinese migrant families, where the parents urged their child to stick with an academic pathway for university, while their child would have liked to go for the field that interested them. One thing needs to be pointed out here is that the son's decision prevailed, so we see that his parents recognised the limitations of their authority within this context. It indicates a movement between Chinese and New Zealand culture.

Ann provided a view of another possible reason why new Chinese migrant parents emphasised the significance of an undergraduate degree for their children so highly. As she commented:

> *We Chinese have a deep-seated belief that if you don't have a good qualification, your destiny will be bound to a specific class. This is Chinese parents' understanding. Thus we give greater attention to children's education. At the very least, you need to graduate from university, so that you can find a decent job.* (我们中国人都有一个根深蒂固的认识，如果你没有一个好的文凭，你的命运就会固定在某个阶层。 这是我们中国父母的理解，所以我们比较重视孩子的教育，至少要大学毕业，这样才能找到工作。)

Ann's quote underscored the Chinese parents' belief that the importance of an undergraduate degree for children was associated with social class. The formal tertiary degree paved the way to possible upward social mobility for their children. As discussed in Chapter Three, educational credentials, acting as cultural, social, economic and human capital, can be obtained through education (Bourdieu, 1984; Waters, 2005). Meanwhile, these different forms of capital are highly important in social reproduction (Brown, 1995; Ong, 1999). The middle-class can reproduce their social status across generations by the effective accumulation of cultural and economic capital as a result of accessing professional occupations (Brown, 1995). Chapter Two discusses China's new emerging middle-class (Ponzini, 2020; Tsang, 2013). As a matter of fact, many new Chinese migrant parents are positioned at such an economic and social class, and they tend to push their children to preserve such economic and social status through education (Ponzini, 2020; Tsang, 2013). Middle-class Chinese migrant parents are increasingly aware that the acquisition of educational credentials has become perceived as the fundamental precondition for their children to seize the opportunities to step into professional industries, thus, preserving the middle-class status. If this is not the case, it is barely possible for them to achieve social reproduction, being stuck in a relatively lower social class.

7.3.3 Emphasis on specific subjects or majors

This sub-section discusses the study subjects and fields new Chinese migrant parents preferred for their children and the fundamental forces that led to these preferences. For example, Tina named medicine as one of the most desirable majors for Chinese parents:

> *Generally speaking, there is a high expectation from the parents about what career path they want their child to go into, such as medical school. [...] At parent-teacher evenings, Chinese parents may go see the math and science teachers because those are subjects that they might put more value on.*

Based on her own experience with Chinese parents, Tina found that medicine was one of the majors that most Chinese parents aspired to for their children. This could even be evidenced by parents' communication preference with certain subject teachers. In

such a case, Chinese parents preferred to talk with teachers from science subjects rather than humanity or social science subjects. They also proactively sought those teachers' advice on their children's school performance. The reason was because those science subjects were directly related to pursuing medicine in the views of those new Chinese migrant parents, while subjects in humanities and social science which were not compulsory for pursuing medicine could be overlooked.

Furthermore, Sherry connected the popular majors among new Chinese migrant parents with the driving force behind their selection:

> *Most Chinese parents want their children to study a science-related major. Almost all Chinese parents want their children to study medicine, law or engineering, and there are few Chinese parents who want their children to choose a major in design or art. […] Because positions are plentiful and the future prospects of these majors are promising, parents tend to encourage their children to study in these fields*. (大部分华人家长还是希望自己的孩子学一些像science有关的（专业），想从事 design 或者 art 的华人小孩并不多。… 据我了解，这边华人的家长都是很希望孩子要不从事医学学医，要不是法律，要不工程，这三方面，基本上我看 99%的都是这样。…都是就业机会比较大，而且就是说将来前景也不错，所以家长还是希望孩子学这一方面的。)

As Sherry stated, new Chinese migrant parents' preferences for majors like medicine, law and engineering over design and art were highly relevant to the envisioned bright future these majors could lead their children to. Here, their children's employability in the future labour market was the foremost consideration for migrant parents. This was possibly related to their understanding of the increasingly fierce competition in the contemporary Chinese or global labour market, where an instrumental approach had to be taken to consider their children's employability in the long run.

While Sherry indicated new Chinese migrant parents' emphasis on the employability

of the preferred subjects or majors for their children, Ann revealed another aspect of parents' preference, namely, the pressure of other parents:

> *There was a boy who migrated to New Zealand when he was in Year 10. He was not doing so great academically, so he might even have been challenged to graduate from high school. However, his mother often asked me whether he could study medicine at the University of Auckland. I thought it would be good for him to finish high school, never mind thinking about studying medicine. I asked the reason why she wanted him to study medicine. She said it was because all the parents she knew would like their children to go for medicine. […] This is an unrealistic expectation.* (有一个孩子是十年级时移民过来的，成绩不太好，可能高中毕业都有困难。但他妈妈却常问我这孩子能不能上奥大医学，我心想能高中毕业都不错了，还想上医学。我问他妈妈为什么想让孩子上医学，他妈妈说周围的朋友都是这样的...父母的这种期望太不切实际了。)

Ann provided an extreme example of how eager a Chinese migrant mother would be to encourage her child to pursue higher education in medicine. As the quote demonstrated, even though the mother was aware that her child might fail to graduate from high school, she persistently showed her aspiration to medicine for her boy. The persistence was perceived as unrealistic from the perspective of the teacher, Ann, because she did not take her child's actual academic performance into account in the process of selecting a major. This scenario would be likely to result in painful family dynamics, as discussed in Chapter Six, where, for example, the parents aspired for their child to study medicine while the second-generation child was more interested in history. Though the child won a history competition, his parents were not convinced by the efforts and chose to stick with their own expectations for him. It also implied the high popularity of a medicine major in the Chinese community, and the significant influence of other parents on new Chinese migrant parents' educational expectations for their children. The influence of

other parents worked as a community force that drove migrant parents' aspiration for their children's tertiary education in certain areas (Zhou, 2008), including their preferences for majors for their children.

7.4 Challenges faced by the local educators

This section will particularly focus on challenges local educators encountered when dealing with new Chinese migrant parents. Firstly, when asked about what Chinese parents cared about most for their children, teachers felt that new Chinese migrant parents generally paid much attention to their children's academic performance, as Mason expressed:

> *Generally, they're not so fussed as long as the student is passing, but they want to know what they can do to be better next time. There's a lot of that sort of, my girl got 'Achieved' in that, that's ok. How can we get her to 'Merit'? What do we need to do?*

As Mason stated, new Chinese migrant parents tended to let the teachers know that they were not satisfied with their children just passing the tests. They expected them to be able to achieve higher results. Therefore, these parents turned back to teachers for advice to help their children achieve well. This tendency indicates that new Chinese migrant parents significantly emphasised the academic achievement of their children above all other schooling activities. Local educators believed that teachers were the ones to manage the classroom atmosphere to encourage students to get involved in their learning and meet the needs of students, which were not confined solely to academic achievements. Putting students' academic performance into the spotlight could somehow neglect their needs in other areas.

Furthermore, teachers felt frustrated when they found that new Chinese migrant parents would put most value on some particular subjects. For example, Sherry (the art teacher) highlighted:

> *According to my observation, I think Chinese parents pay great attention to subjects such as math and English, they would*

arrange after-school tuition for investing their children in these subjects consistently. But for music, such as piano or violin, painting, singing or dancing, these activities can be less prioritised, comparatively. If parents feel that there is not enough time for these learning activities, or the child doesn't achieve well, they will reduce their investment in them, and even remove them from their children's schedule.[…] They do not really value their children's interests in music or something like this, it's a pity for talented kids. (根据我的观察，我觉得他们父母还是很注重学科类的，像补习数学、英语科学这一块是不会减少的，只有持续去。但是像音乐的，像钢琴或者小提琴或者画画，或者唱歌舞蹈，他们是会减的。如果他们感觉到时间安排不下来，或者孩子在这一方面好像学的也不怎么样的话，他们就会把他删除掉…对孩子自己在音乐等方面的兴趣并不很看重，这对有天分的孩子来说挺可惜的)

As can be seen, Sherry did not completely agree with the priority that new Chinese migrant parents would set for their children in after-school tuition arrangements. She believed that emphasis only on academic performance was not enough. She disagreed with the cancellation of those children's after-school tuition in sports or arts for the sake of ensuring high academic performance in critical subjects that might determine the academic results for their children, like math, science, and English. Those subjects were generally perceived as the most fundamental ones for their children to keep up with their peers or direct them to popular fields that Chinese parents would like their children to pursue, for example, engineering, medicine, or law. However, in Sherry's opinions, such priority was not balanced.

Thirdly, local teachers felt it was unfair that many new Chinese migrant parents criticised New Zealand's learning atmosphere as relaxed compared with that in China. While the learning context in New Zealand was well-known for its inclusiveness and more relaxed attitudes, Frank provided a case in point regarding how new Chinese

migrant parents perceived this relaxed learning atmosphere differently:

> *There is a perception, reality, not too sure, that, for instance, like mathematics. The mathematics we teach here is at a much lower level in comparison to the equivalent at that age in China. […] Some parents feel it is important that they ask their children to do extra tuition out of school.*

Frank's discussion shows his experiences with some new Chinese migrant parents' feedback about the teaching content or procedure at school in New Zealand. There was a gap between what was actually taught in New Zealand schools and what these new Chinese migrant parents expected their children to learn from the school. It could be a challenge for local educators to convince new Chinese migrant parents to comprehend and accept how the schooling system operated in New Zealand, particularly for parents who contrasted their children with their counterparts in China.

Further, Rebecca confirmed that new Chinese migrant parents used after-school tuition as a strategy to counter the relatively relaxed learning atmosphere in school:

> *There is a year-10 student who studies an extension math while taking the NCEA (National Certificate of Educational Achievement) exam this year. Her mother told me that her daughter has already finished the NCEA math level one learning during a holiday, and she has already done all the NCEA level one tests. So I think, basically if parents think the school progresses the content knowledge too slowly, they will seek out other resources out of school for their children to make more progress.* (有一个 year 10 的小女孩，她今年是在数学快班，她今年要考 NCEA，她妈妈跟我说假期的时候她女儿已经把 NCEA 数学都已经补好了，在假期的时候已经把 NCEA level one 的数学学过一遍了。所以我想基本上如果学校讲的太慢的话，家里面可能都会提供一些机会让她自己（补上）。)

The case Rebecca described revealed a Chinese migrant parent's discontent with the teaching schedule in her daughter's school; further, she thought learning in an extension course was not enough for her daughter, so she arranged after-school tuition for her. Generally, students in year 11 would take the NCEA level one exam; the case here demonstrated Chinese parents' urge to prepare their children in advance for exams, aspiring to keep their children one step ahead of the learning progress the teachers set up. The arranged after-school tuition worked as a booster in support of their children's academic development.

Finally, Logan criticised the result-driven attitude of new Chinese migrant parents. He mentioned those children's outstanding mathematic performance in the school first: "Oh, I know that they're getting the top marks", then asserted, "but they've just been drilled. They're not doing the real thinking behind it". Logan went on to explain this perception: "Cognitively, they[Chinese students]'re been stretched at a very early age, and that's what's happening increasingly". Here, Chinese parents' emphasis on their children's academic performance clashed with local educators' focus on children's cognitive development pace.

7.5 Summary

This chapter primarily explored the local educators' perception of their experience with new Chinese migrant parents and their children in New Zealand. Based on their interaction with new Chinese migrant parents, the local educators asserted that Chinese parents generally prioritised their children' education, which was evidenced by the school selection, educational credential expectation and preferences for majors for their children. They also found that many new Chinese migrant parents were concerned about the relatively relaxed learning environment in New Zealand, worrying that their children would fall behind their peers. This indicates that those parents' belief in their children's education was markedly different from the local educators.

According to these educators' observation of the new Chinese migrants' children, they observed that the children's focus was largely on academic performance. The possible underpinning driving forces were derived from the expectations of their parents. The educators also noted the teaching practice differences in the education systems of China

and New Zealand, and the possible challenges they perceived that Chinese migrant parents and their children might confront in adapting to the schooling system in New Zealand, and the inter-generational conflicts that occurred in new Chinese migrant families during the process.

Chapter Eight

Discussion

In the preceding three chapters, detailed empirical findings from three related participant cohorts have been presented respectively. This chapter focuses on highlighting and discussing some significant empirical findings along with relevant existing literature. It also focuses on comparing the three researched cohorts to identify relevant convergence and divergence existing among them.

8.1 Children's education as a significant driving force for migrating to New Zealand

Among 17 new Chinese migrant parents, 11 of them migrated to New Zealand between 1992 and 2009, and another six parents arrived in New Zealand after 2012. Among the 11 early arrivals, nine of them arrived in New Zealand with no children and had their children later. They came to New Zealand to seek academic or career developments for their spouse or themselves, or to reunite with their spouse. Among the six parents who arrived in New Zealand after 2012, all of them arrived in the country with children. They migrated to New Zealand as a family unit for the better lifestyle and environment and the career development for their spouse; most importantly, five of these six parents indicated that the consideration of their children's education was a significant part of their migration decision-making. While this research is not quantitative *per se,* the choice of a case study design, and the inclusion of the educators' perspectives do give the author sufficient basis to suggest that the developed insights may be shared more broadly beyond the interviewed participants. This finding echoes the existing research by Liu and Wu (2017) and Spoonley et al. (2009), which finds that economic opportunities in New Zealand are no longer the primary incentives for the migration of many new Chinese migrants, rather, they are often inspired by non-economic considerations, including the education for their children.

The interviewed new Chinese parents indicated that their children played a role as a pull factor for the families to migrate to New Zealand. For instance, one father stated

that migrating to New Zealand was employed as a strategy to tackle his daughter's possible failure in the NCEE, while other parents expressed that their concern about the extremely competitive academic atmosphere in China, which was not ideal for the well-rounded development of their children, pushed them to emigrate. This finding is consistent with previous research on transnational education (Waters, 2005, 2006) which concludes that migration was a child-centred familial strategy in pursuit of the accumulation of human and cultural capital within migrant families. It also confirms the pivotal role of children's education in shaping migrant families' migration trajectories.

Apart from this finding, the research also finds that the migration pathway of these interviewed families is distinct. As Chapter Five revealed, the majority of those families who arrived in New Zealand after 2012 (five out of six) applied for New Zealand residency under the business/investment category. This status reflects the higher socio-economic background of the "China-rising" migrant generation[9] which is a part of the new emerging middle class in China, which is financially capable of meeting the high financial threshold required by New Zealand's business/investment migration category. This financial capability provides monetary infrastructure for those families to pursue education-motivated migration for their children (Liu et al., 2022; Liu & Wu, 2017).

This finding also speaks back to the research conducted by Liu-Farrer which found that migration to the United States is a class-based consumption for wealthy Chinese families, and migration is used as a strategy for class reproduction and a way to convert their economic resources into social status and prestige (Liu-Farrer, 2016). Similarly, migration to New Zealand for many new Chinese migrant parents is undertaken to seek the transnational education they aspire to for their children, and to use transnational education to preserve their social-economic class then further facilitate the accumulation of cultural and social advantages and mobility across generations. This phenomenon also reflects a general observation which suggests that parents' socio-economic status and possession of different forms of capital dictate their children's

[9] The China-rising generation refers to Chinese migrants who have emigrated from China during the post-new millennium era and benefitted from the fast-booming economy of China which equips them with a great deal of capital mobilisation.

access to differential educational resources, and then strengthens their children's academic achievement (Bourdieu, 1998; Coleman, 1988; Waters, 2006). Further, this finding also corresponds to Tsang's (2013) research on middle-class Chinese families who seek transnational higher education for their children so as to promote inter-generational mobility. These middle-class parents are rich in a series of capitals so that they can even afford to send their children to joint-partnership private universities and further transit to overseas study; thus, passing on their social-economic class status and mobility to their children.

Another notable finding about the value of children's education manifested as the so-called "double return" phenomenon. For example, for two families I interviewed, the migrant mothers first returned to China to advance their professional careers after being granted New Zealand residency, then the stressful educational atmosphere and unsatisfactory natural and social environment in China emerged as a foremost concern for their children's education and well-being. Therefore, these two families made their second return decision to come back to New Zealand. This finding is in line with the research of Ley and Kobayashi (2005) which found that migrants' movements between their country of origin (i.e. Hong Kong) and immigration destination country (i.e. Canada) are dependent on the changing priorities in their life courses. In my research, the first return was for the parents themselves to go back to China, especially for their career and business opportunities, and the second return was to come back to New Zealand for their children's education.

This section suggests the increasingly significant role of children's education in motivating new Chinese families to emigrate from China to New Zealand, which is discernible among the new Chinese migrant families during the past three decades in other Anglo English-speaking immigration countries around the Asia-Pacific Rim. The "double return" phenomenon further underscores the role of children's education in shaping migrant families' transnational migratory movements.

8.2 New Zealand as a strategic and temporary stay for children's education

Apart from the "double return" phenomenon of some new Chinese migrant families,

several parent interviewees expressed their plan of later going back to China for retirement, taking care of the parents they had left behind in China, or accompanying their children for overseas higher education elsewhere. This is a recurring theme particularly for those migrant parents who arrived in New Zealand after 2012, and is highly related to two structural barriers. The first is that they confronted barriers to seeking immigration settlement and congenial employment that matched their educational qualification and professional skills. The second is the barrier derived from the increasing threshold to sponsor their aging parents to apply for residency in New Zealand. Here, the transnational strategies employed by these migrant parents created "an on-going and dynamic process in which the migration trajectories are contingent, and often depend on one's or one's family's changing needs at different stages of life" (Liu, 2018, p. 76). In this present research, some new Chinese migrant parents viewed their migration to New Zealand as a strategy to tackle the fierce educational environment for their children in China, and as a stepping stone to a third country for their children's higher education. Their migration to New Zealand was a temporary stay prior to their later return to China or a third country.

The difference here between these parents' migratory trajectory in this research and the research conducted by Liu and Wu (2017) is that the destination for their retirement in their later life course diverged. Parents in this research indicated their future plan to go back to China for retirement as a result of their frustration with the mismatch in professional career transferral to New Zealand, the necessity of taking care of their aging parents, and the feeling of China as the comfort zone. In contrast, Liu and Wu's research indicates that New Zealand is considered as a destination for retirement. The divergence is that in Liu and Wu's research, new Chinese migrants' transnational mobility was demonstrated as proactive movements to leave New Zealand to seek their career ambition back to China or a third country where business and economic opportunities are abundant. In their later stage of life, they would like to withdraw themselves from those big economies to come back to New Zealand for relaxed retirement life. In contrast, my research shows that these new Chinese migrant parents would like to return to China for retirement or reunification with family in a cultural comfort zone. The possible reason behind such divergent research results is perhaps because of the generational division of the new Chinese migrant group from PRC.

Research conducted by Liu et al. (2022) outlines that the most recent “China rising” generation of new Chinese migrants from China are more attached to their country of origin and tend to enjoy the recent development offered by China; and therefore, it is natural for them to choose China as their retirement destination. In contrast, the generations before the “China rising” generation stay in New Zealand for a much longer time, have already had their firm footprints in the immigration destination country, better integrate into and have commitment to New Zealand society. Although they move around across national borders and show considerable transnational mobility before their retirement age, they intend to set up their retirement destination in New Zealand which they have more connections with.

8.3 The dilemma between the emphasis on children’s education and concern about their well-being

The research found that academic outcomes were not the only consideration that directed new Chinese migrant parents’ school selection for their children; their children’s physical and mental health was another important consideration in school selection. New Chinese migrant parents did appreciate the diverse educational dimension in New Zealand, where they thought the well-rounded development for their children in the New Zealand education system was particularly helpful for their children’s mental and physical wellbeing. This wellbeing could facilitate a happy childhood, which was actually one of the significant motivations that pushed them to emigrate out of China.

However, this did not mean that their children’s academic performance should be undermined. This is evidenced by the fact that many new Chinese migrant parents deliberately selected a school with a very low presence of Māori and Pacific students, who they believed underperformed academically and might have an unsound influence on their children’s academic development. The fundamental reason for this concern was based on their perceptions that close contact with these two ethnic minorities were socially, economically, and academically disadvantageous; and therefore they might have possible negative peer impact on their children. The importance of this perception was confirmed by some local educator interviewees; for example, Mia indicated that

new Chinese migrant families generally chose to reside in the catchment area of high-decile schools, or send their children to private boarding schools out of town where schools had a much lower percentage of Māori and Pacific students. This finding is similar to the research conducted by Beck and Nyíri (2022), where their ethnographic fieldwork results indicate that one factor that influences Chinese middle-class migrant parents' school selection for their children is the nature of the profile of other children enrolled at the school. The underpinning reason is that these parents believe that the presence of disadvantaged children with a negative reputation among the local community is not conducive to the "happy education" they imagine for their children (Beck & Nyíri, 2022, p. 2). This finding is also in line with the research conducted by Liu et al. (2022) which shows that one crucial factor that influences the formation of Albany as a new emerging Chinese ethnoburb in New Zealand is because the suburban area hosts two prestigious private schools, which are favourable for new Chinese migrant parents with a great deal of financial resources.

New Chinese migrant parents' emphasis on their children's academic performance is also explained by the arrangements they made for their children to change schools. The decision to transfer their children between schools was driven by the assertion of some of the parents that their children learnt nothing but happiness from state schools, and therefore, they had to shift their children to private schools to learn more knowledge. Two of the parents interviewed transferred their children from a high-decile public primary school to a private school after they had attended the public school for several months, because they worried that although their children were happy in their schools, they could not obtain enough knowledge and academic training. Here, new Chinese migrant parents' investment in school selection for their children indicated how socio-economic standing and education were so intertwined – they influenced school choices in the present, which they believed would consequently result in better educational and career outcomes in the future. The investment was expected later to convert into their children's cultural, human capital and social capital (Jamal Al-deen & Windle, 2015; Ponzini, 2020; Tsang, 2013), and further achieve social reproduction across generations (Bourdieu, 1986; Brown, 1995).

Further, parents' decision to transfer their children from state school to private school

indicates the complexity of migrant parents moving between the two different educational ideologies and practices of their home country (i.e. China) and the host country (i.e. New Zealand). This finding harks back to the research of Beck and Nyíri (2022), in which the state education system in Budapest did not provide what these Chinese migrant parents had expected, namely, a relaxed and caring educational environment for their children. The reality they encountered in Budapest was a book-and-discipline-based curriculum, and there were not any institutionalised policies assisting non-Hungarian-speaking students to adapt to local schooling. As a result, those parents preferred private schools where they believed a more child-centred curriculum which focused less on content delivery and more on creativity, was accessible for their children. This is exactly what they sought when they decided to move to Budapest. In their research, the reason that these parents wanted to transfer the school for their children was because the state schools in the host country were too similar to Chinese ones, whereas in New Zealand the reason for new Chinese migrant parents who intended to shift their children from public schools to private school was for high academic achievement.

In detail, some new Chinese parents migrated to New Zealand to escape from the fierce educational competition in China. However, when their children entered a state school in New Zealand, they turned out to be concerned about the asserted relaxed academic atmosphere. They believed that such a relaxed academic atmosphere would affect their children's academic development; therefore, these parents made the decision to transfer their children to a private school, as they believed the school would be more academic-focused, meeting their academic expectation for their children. This complexity indicates these parents' persistent emphasis on academic performance, even though they claimed their migration was an escape from the intense academic pressure in China. Research evidence shows that they were not necessarily ready to push their children to another end, namely, neglecting their children's academic competency and focusing more on their happiness which is emphasised by the public schools in New Zealand from their perspective. The parents reacted against Chinese education but then reacted against the New Zealand education they thought they preferred. In other words, they were caught by both Chinese and New Zealand education systems for different reasons.

8.4 New Chinese migrant parents' persistency for securing a stable future for their children

Unlike a few parents who commented that it was too early to have expectations for academic performance at the primary or intermediate level, several parent interviewees clearly expressed that they wanted their high-school-aged children to take specific courses of study in higher education, such as science, medicine, engineering and law. This finding is in line with the research of Zhou and Wang (2019), they found that Chinese migrant parents' preference for specific subjects of study for their children is shaped by the desire to help their children circumvent structural barriers and eventually move ahead in society. Similarly, parents in this present research also had subject preference for their children. One important reason for such preference was because of the difficult migration settlement and labour market adaptation process the migrant parents experienced after arriving in New Zealand. For example, they asserted that English language limitations, and lack of transferability of the education and professional credentials and competency acquired in China are the most discernible challenges they confronted after arriving in New Zealand. It is worth mentioning that these obstacles are structural. In order to overcome these obstacles, they had to go back to study for a certificate or a degree granted by local educational institutions, or they had to step back to take a lower-level job to support their family. One parent shared that her spouse was in danger of losing his arts-related job during the pandemic, which reinforced their preference for majors such as computer science or mathematics for their senior high-school-aged child. These frustrating resettling experiences they had been through and their gloomy visions for the future in the arts field together shaped their educational expectations for their children. Namely, it was a necessity to choose a major that could equip their children with long-term sellable employability in the labour market so as to help them avoid the same challenges they had been through and secure a stable and prosperous future in the long run. These parents' personal experience and struggles related to their own adaptation to the New Zealand society had implicit impacts on their consideration of choices made for their children's education and future pathways. This dynamic family situation is not uncommon and has resulted in new Chinese migrant parents' persistency of helping their children to secure a stable future. This expectation resonated with their focus on their children's education that led to

potential opportunities and diversity of pathways.

One thing that stands out here is the possible university or career destination that new Chinese migrant parents envision for their children, which is not merely confined to New Zealand. Some teachers perceived that the majority of new Chinese migrant parents would like their children to enrol in the top-ranking university in New Zealand, namely, the University of Auckland, while the other universities were less preferable. In extreme cases, none of the universities in New Zealand were seen as the final destination for their children. Their vision for their children's future reached beyond New Zealand, extending to their home country, China, and also the global context. Quite a few new Chinese migrant parents indicated that they were making plans for possible overseas study or career pursuit for their children and arranging their education-related activities accordingly with this guide.

While a bachelor's degree for many new Chinese migrant parents was the minimal requirement for their children's education, to be admitted to a prestigious university was expected by many new Chinese migrant parents. Against this finding was the backdrop of the long-standing merit-based selection mechanism in China, and the fact that academic success nowadays has been closely linked to promising occupational and upward social mobility for Chinese families (Liu & Wu, 2006). The education fever phenomenon existing among Chinese parents is unprecedented because of the higher education expansion and the intense competition in the globalising labour market in combination with the fact that China is basically a meritocratic society (Elman, 2009; Liu, 2016). Specifically, the increasing globalisation and the knowledge economy endorsed by globalisation, and the Chinese government and its policy-making, have consistently emphasised the role of higher education and knowledge-centred technology in promoting economic development (Zhao & Sheng, 2010). The higher education expansion which commenced in the late 1990s aims at this goal and did expand the chances of Chinese to access higher education and to be rewarded by higher educational qualifications. Nevertheless, the rising higher education enrolments caused a challenge of employment for China in the following years. Rates of graduate unemployment rose under the circumstances of the mismatch between the higher education curriculum and the labour market demands, and the discrepancy between

graduates' professional aspirations and their employability (Bai, 2006). The Chinese Ministry of Education adopted the strategy of increasing the admission of full-time master students to mediate the hundreds and thousands of graduates with Bachelor-level degrees confronting the labour market (Zhao & Sheng, 2010).

At the same time, polytechnic qualifications, in Chinese called '职业学校 or 大专', were demeaned and not regarded as a 'proper' perceived proof of higher education. Employment data indicated that graduates from polytechnic are less favourably considered than those who had graduated from key universities in China (Bai, 2006). Clearly, this belief permeates among both the domestic and overseas Chinese communities. In addition, children's educational success is perceived as an honour to their families, and in the long run, the success can hopefully promote the social mobility for the whole family (Zhou, 2006; Rytter, 2011). As Chinese migrants move to New Zealand, they do not lose contact with family and relatives in China and their ties with their friends and frequent interactions with Chinese social media and news have allowed them to access considerable information and make comparisons. All these activities implicitly contribute to their evolving construction of knowledge and understanding of potential options of education and lifestyle that lead them to intervene in their children's educational pathway to ensure their children can have a stable and shining future.

8.5 The discrepancy between parents' expectations and younger generations' aspirations

There is an inter-generational discrepancy regarding the chosen disciplinary and subject areas of study. From the perspective of new Chinese migrant parents, as discussed earlier in this chapter, they urged their children to pursue specific qualifications in study areas such as science, medicine, engineering and law. The underpinning reason for this preference was based on their lived experience and challenging settlement experience as first-generation migrants in New Zealand. They would not like see their children go through this difficulty again. However, based on the responses of the younger generation, they had their say about the study fields to which they would like to commit. For the migrants' children generation born or raised in New Zealand, where the education system and mainstream society encouraged individuals to realise their

potential and to take ownership of their study and lifetime (Ministry of Education New Zealand, n.d.-b), they wanted something more than just having a job to make a living. This aspiration was exactly opposite to their migrant parents who regard finding a job as vitally important in the process of migration settlement (Zhou & Wang, 2019).

As Zhou and Wang (2019) suggested, in the United States context, this generation gap in the migrant families is caused by the inter-generational differences. Specifically, as discussed in Chapter Five, new Chinese migrant parents reflect their own migratory and settlement experiences in the educational goal orientation for their children. As first-generation migrants, the difficult experiences they went through in their lifetime as migrants reinforced their belief that an orientation around the most popular majors could presumably lead their children to lucrative jobs. Chinese parents' favouring of specific disciplinary and subject areas for their children reflects previous studies of Chinese or Asian Americans (Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Zhou, 2008; Zhou & Wang, 2019). Sue and Okazaki (1990) argued that education is perceived by Asian Americans as the only predictable and effective way to success. Similarly, Zhou (2008) emphasises that Chinese migrant parents' experience and their awareness of the structural constraints in the United States enable them to take a pragmatic view of their children's education. It further shapes their construction of a narrowly defined success frame in these specific study areas for their children (Zhou & Wang, 2019).

In contrast, the migrant children participants in this research held different aspirations for their academic and lifetime trajectories, and they tried to express their disagreement with their parents' stubborn obsession with the specific disciplinary and subject areas. For example, as shown before, participating in and winning a school competition in humanity subjects was not greeted enthusiastically by the parents and an interest in studying in this field were not approved by the parents either. The parents were not even thrilled about their children's achievement in the competition, and the transfer from a Science major to an Arts major was perceived as impractical for a career in the view of parents. This inter-generational gap in the migrant families indicates that the parent generation and the children generation were at difference paces of adaptation to the host country (Zhou & Wang, 2019). The children generation were immersed in the education system and mainstream society, socialising with their peers; therefore, they aspired to

perform like locals and hoped to pursue what they wanted for themselves. While migrant parents suggested these specific disciplinary and subject areas for their children, migrant children's aspirations for themselves could be qualitatively different from what their parents expected for them. Meanwhile, migrant children's dual frames of reference of the freedom that their local peers in terms of choosing what they aspire to could probably engender inter-generational contestations in migrant families.

Some teacher interviewees of the present research confirmed that new Chinese migrant parents preferred to pay more attention to subjects such as mathematics and English for their children, and therefore invested greatly in these subjects. However, the new Chinese migrant parents would cut off after-school tuition in subjects such as music and sports to keep their children focused on the academic performance and get ready for higher education.

8.6 Different educational perspectives and expectations between Chinese parents and local educators

The present research suggests that some new Chinese parents were discontented with local educators' obscure ranking of their children's test results, and excessively high appraisal of their children's performance. In general, the new Chinese migrant parents did not agree with local educators' appraisal of their children because they thought the appraisal was too high and not consistent with their children's actual academic performance. They would rather have received constructive criticism from the educators in order to help their children to improve. By contrast, local teachers expressed their struggle to persuade parents to develop practical and reasonable expectations for their children, to be more open to other pathway programs, and to compromise on the subjects that their children were not very competent in.

As for the assessment methods, in Chinese culture, teachers and parents are expected to play different roles with respect to students' education. In China, teachers are the authority in the class and this status might extend beyond school in their relationships with parents as well. Parents are in the role of cooperation with teachers, helping teachers supervise their children's behaviour at home and keep closer eyes on the content that the teachers advise their children to work on. That is to say, teachers lead,

and parents are expected to follow so as to assist their children to perform better academically. This is shaped by the competitive educational atmosphere in China, where the NCEE works as a "conductor's baton" directing teaching. Teachers' priority is to assist students to score higher and eventually to succeed in the NCEE. Chinese parents usually know their children's academic performance through school reports and test scores, and they make necessary adjustments for their children's learning arrangements as teachers advise. Unlike the Chinese assessment system in which specific scores are given to each subject, the formative assessment style in New Zealand otherwise focuses on students' overall performance and usually ranks students in different levels without specific scores. From the perspective of new Chinese migrant parents, such a way of ranking their children's academic performance was ambiguous and could not present correct feedback to students' learning. As a consequence, it was difficult for them to understand the positioning of their children's academic performance and then provide necessary mechanisms to help them to do better.

This finding speaks back to the research of Amigó (2017), which highlights the clash between immigrant parents' understanding of the Australian education system and what the schools in Australia show them. Specifically, these immigrants expect the education system in the host country to impart academic rigor, unambiguous marking and assessment systems, and an authoritative role for the educators in their children's education. Along a similar vein, in this present study, Chinese parents' different educational perspectives towards assessments and unfamiliarity with the New Zealand education system added to their disorientation and discontent with how the schools in New Zealand responded to them with regard to their children's academic performance.

From the viewpoint of the local educators, they expressed Chinese parents' stubborn aspiration for a university education for their children. It was challenging for local educators to convince new Chinese migrant parents to compromise about the university pathway for their children and allow them to take an alternative pathway (getting a certificate in polytechnic, for example) when their children had little chance to be admitted to higher education. From the Chinese parents' perceptions, a bachelor's degree is a well-acknowledged threshold for labour market entry since attending polytechnic is not regarded as authentic higher education from the perspective of new

Chinese migrant parents. It is unacceptable if their children fail the NCEE and do not enter university study, but turn to polytechnic, and it is also a failure for them as parents and for the whole family.

In local educators' eyes, the children of new Chinese migrants valued their education differently, and set up realistic goals they aspired to achieve for themselves based on their own interests. Some teachers in the study confirmed how disappointed the new Chinese migrant parents were when their child insisted on attending a polytechnic institution after graduating from high school. These shared experiences of local educators again confirmed the inter-generational discrepancy of disciplinary and subject areas of study selection in new Chinese migrant families. Meanwhile, it also revealed the inter-generational movement between Chinese and New Zealand culture. It was not always the case that new Chinese migrant parents' authority outran their children's aspirations in their cultural adaptation to the education system in the host country, and their children's interests could also sometimes prevail. Last but not least, it indicates the contestations between migrant parents' and local educators' differing educational values. While migrant parents expected local educators to tell them their children's academic assessment outcomes, the expectation was perceived as a violation of students' privacy for local educators; while migrant parents showed their passionate attachment to their children's academic performance, local educators expressed their concern about this view could potentially impede students' well-rounded development and the formation of personality (Zhou, 2013).

8.7 Challenges of raising children in a transnational context

The research also found that the family separation that accompanied migration led to emotional challenges for these first-generation migrant parents, such as concern about elderly care for their aging parents who had been left behind in China, the potential loss of their children's intimate relationship with their grandparents and other family members, and the difficulty of maintaining the traditional cultural heritage of family virtue. Given the increasing threshold to sponsor the elder grandparents for residency in New Zealand, and the long-term exhausting travel for elderly grandparents between China and New Zealand (Liu & Ran, 2021), it was increasingly difficult to achieve

multi-generational family reunification for new Chinese migrant families, particularly for recently arrived migrant families. With the lack of this family structure and absence of family unification, it was not easy to pass on to their children the family virtues and traditional cultural values that older generations value.

Moreover, when reflecting on their parenting skills, some new Chinese migrant parents mentioned that it was not easy for them to take a more encouraging approach to assist their children towards high achievement; instead, the new Chinese parents were more critical towards the mistakes their children made. From their perspective, there was no endpoint for one to perfect oneself. This belief reinforced their continuous emphasis on drawing attention to mistakes their children made and flaws in their children's character (Li, 2009; Lieber et al., 2006) for improvement. While these parents were truly aware of the necessity to encourage their children so as to assist them to build confidence as local parents did, and of the resulting consequence that their correcting instructions might put their children off in reality. The parental habitus of constant correction was perceived as discouragement by their children. Receiving constant negative comments from their parents made the children feel that they were not good enough in nature, thus diminishing their motivation to improve themselves. This inter-generational difference possibly correlated to the different living and growing settings between the parent and younger generation. The parents' parenting practices were influenced by how they were raised by their own parents and the instilled construction of good parenting. Meanwhile, their migratory process brought cultures of origin and the culture of host country together, thus, leading to cultural dilemmas and acculturative pressure for migrant parents' parenting (Sanagavarapu, 2010).

For example, Chinese parents would like their children to learn Chinese, which was shaped by their desire for their children to identify as Chinese, but also because learning Chinese could provide them with instrumental advantages such as bilingual language competency for their future career vision or life experience. However, this practice was perceived by their children as an extra burden. This finding is consistent with what Chan (2018) concluded in her research, that migrant parents enrich their repertoire of parenting from their migratory experience and knowledge from their homeland and the host country so as to enhance their children's chance of moving up. New Chinese

migrant parents in my research were developing their parenting repertoire of Chinese language heritage based on their own transnational migratory experience. Nevertheless, new Chinese migrant parents' habitus of correcting their children in the aspiration to help them to do better and the consequential low self-confidence among their children perhaps correlated with the cultural and integration-pace differences in these two generations. That is to say, the parent generation were nurturing their children informed by Chinese cultural traditions and practices, while their children's individuality and agency were less valued (Zhou & Wang, 2019).

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

In reviewing and synthesising the key findings of the current research, this chapter revisits the research questions in order to discuss contributions and implications of the research. Limitations and recommendations for future research are also discussed.

9.1 Research questions revisited

> Question 1: How prominently does the pursuit of children's education stand out among all reasons for new Chinese migrants migrating to New Zealand as family units? What is the impact of migration to New Zealand on new Chinese migrant families' wellbeing?

Based on 17 new Chinese migrant parents' transnational experience, this research reveals that the pursuit of child(ren)'s education is a significant driving force for new Chinese migrants to migrate to New Zealand, especially for those who arrived in New Zealand after 2012; namely, the "China-rising" generation. Meanwhile, the findings also suggested that the children's education-driven migration serves as a temporary migratory strategy to fulfil the needs of those migrant families for certain stages of their life trajectories. After their temporary needs are fulfilled, they may leave New Zealand to return to China to attend their left-behind parents, or to move to elsewhere to accompany their children for higher education.

This research also revealed that the elderly care issue for their ageing parents was a concern for many new Chinese migrants. For those who arrived in New Zealand after 2012, most of them were the only one child in their families. They need to undertake responsibility to take care of their elderly parents, which can be challenging because

the neoliberal immigration policy in New Zealand does not encourage elderly parents to reunite with their adult children and set up high financial threshold for the families to meet. The concern is about the welfare cost of elderly parents in New Zealand, but the impact of such neoliberal immigration regime on those new Chinese migrant families is the prolonged family separation and inability to provide care for the aging.

Question 2: What are the perceptions of new Chinese migrant parents and children of the education systems and schooling of China and New Zealand? How do they navigate the New Zealand education system?

With respect to the education system, parent participants in the research generally preferred the New Zealand education system to the Chinese one. They reported that they especially appreciated the student-centred teaching style of New Zealand and the informed capability it provided to children, such as creativity, research and communication skills, critical thinking capacities, and daily life-related skills. However, their great praise of the New Zealand education system does not mean they are fully satisfied with it. Most of them reported that they were concerned about school selection for their children. First, some parent participants specified that their children would learn nothing other than happiness in public school, even in a high-decile one. Therefore, these parents made the decision to transfer their children from public school to private school, which they believed would be more academically focused. Meanwhile, there seems to be a trend among the Chinese community that some parents were trying to enrol their children in private schools as early as they could, concerned that their children would be academically disadvantaged if they only got their children in the public education system.

In contrast, some parent participants embraced the education philosophy in New Zealand by deliberately sending their children to public school at primary level in search of a happy childhood and well-rounded development for their children, rather than an academic orientation. This indicated these new Chinese migrant parents' open-

minded perception towards the New Zealand education system and appraisal of the country's comparatively relaxed learning atmosphere and multiple pathways available for post-secondary education and career options.

One discernible challenge that these new Chinese migrant families confront in their adaptation to the New Zealand education system is the inter-generational discrepancy about what disciplinary and subject areas to pursue for higher education. While new Chinese migrant parents expect their children to go for fields in medicine, engineering, and law, their children have different interests to pursue. This discrepancy is well manifested by the tortuous experience of a 1.5 migrant's selection of a major, transferring and switching back to the original choice in university; and the frustrating experience of a second-generation young person's failure in convincing his parents with his preference for history. The different adaptation paces of these two generations and the corresponding different orientation for occupation are the fundamental reason for the discrepancy.

As for the migrant children, they face specific challenges. For the 1.5 generation in this research, they praised their learning experience in China for laying a solid academic foundation for them, particularly in mathematics, because they experienced less academic pressure in New Zealand. However, they also indicated that it was challenging for them to adapt to the teaching and learning style in New Zealand, which requires students to take greater ownership of their learning.

For the second generation, the conflicts they had with their parents were primarily concentrated in the heritage language policy practiced in their families. In the view of new Chinese migrant parents, they would like to raise their children to be bilingual for potential instrumental benefits for their children and they value its possible role in shaping their children's (cultural) identity. From the perspective of second-generation children, learning Chinese was perceived as an extra burden by some of them, which their peers did not have, and perhaps differentiate them from their peers.

Question 3: How do the local educators perceive new Chinese migrant parents and their children?

The research also demonstrated local educators' impressions and struggles in interacting with the new Chinese migrant parents and their children at schools. As those interviewed educators observed, new Chinese migrant parents usually have high expectations with regard to their children's education, which informs their housing selection in the zone of reputable schools, the after-school tuition arrangements for their children, and favour of prestigious universities. Meanwhile, local educators found out that parents often insisted on their choice for their children's academic pathway, for instance, their belief in attending university to obtain a bachelor's degree as a minimum requirement for their children instead of obtaining a qualification from polytechnic. They believed that a polytechnic certificate is not a proper qualification of higher education, and actually indicates their children's academic failure and their own failure with regard to education for their children. Meanwhile, some educators shared their frustration in convincing new Chinese migrant parents to be practical and realistic with their expectation for their children to pursue certain disciplinary and subject areas for future career plans. As some educators indicated, new Chinese migrant parents preferred their children to study medicine, engineering and law. Some migrant parents, as perceived by the educators, were impractical to encourage their children to pursue these preferred areas, although they were aware that their children had little chance to be admitted into the programmes.

In addition, the research revealed new Chinese migrant parents' eagerness of stretching their children, proactively or reluctantly, to overcome their worry that they would be academically disadvantaged compared with their peers if they do not attend extra-curricular programmes. In the views of local educators, new Chinese migrant parents' arrangements for various after-school tuition for their children did advance their children's outstanding academic performance, particularly in mathematics. However, the outstanding results did raise some educators' concern over the possible impact on

students' cognitive development.

9.2 Research contributions and scholarly implications

The findings of this research have far-reaching implications for many scholars who are interested in the topics regarding new Chinese migrants and their families in the New Zealand context. It embraces the intersection of research topics regarding transnational migration, transnational education and migrant parents' responses to the host country from the aspect of their children's education. Further, it lays the foundation for future studies to consider the perspectives of children of migrant parents and local educators to enrich the breadth and depth of the findings.

Practically, for Chinese migrant parents who are considering about migrating to New Zealand or other countries for their children's education, this research offers insight into the challenges migrant families would confront (for example, the difficulties that migrant parents might confront in the process to adapt to the host country, and the challenges they might encounter to raise their children within a transnational context); thus, informing their migration decision-making.

In addition, the migrant children's experience with the ESOL courses may have some useful information that policymakers can draw on. As migrant children recalled, the knowledge they learnt in the ESOL courses was not closely related to their daily lives, nor to the subjects they took at New Zealand school. Therefore, how to adjust the practicality of the courses to facilitate migrant children's settlement and integration into schooling and the host country is an area that policymakers need to be alerted to.

Another important finding that relates to policymakers is the settlement challenges for Chinese migrant parents and the consequential plan of returning to China. Several parent participants asserted that lack of English language competence, and the unfavourable transferability of their educational qualifications and professional experiences in China were the most challenging issues in their settlement into New Zealand. Together, feeling cut off from the familiar social life in China and having little chance to sponsor their ageing parents to apply for the New Zealand residency led them to envision their future of returning to China after their children's education in New

Zealand is achieved. How to cope with the settlement challenges and migrant parents' needs to bring their elder parents to New Zealand are not only issues that migrant parents need to tackle, but a pressing issue for New Zealand seeking to retain these skilled migrants in a long-term and sustained way.

For local educators who have close interaction with migrant parents and students, the findings of the research will offer them some insights and possible inspirations to work with immigrant-background parents and children in this superdiverse country – New Zealand (Spoonley, 2015). For example, the differing educational values regarding migrant parents' orientations for their children, and the consequential cultural contestations between migrant parents and local educators.

9.3 Limitations and recommendations for future research

Two limitations of the research need to be acknowledged. The research explored new Chinese migrant families' adaptation to the education system of New Zealand, which on the one hand, provided an in-depth investigation and a rich contextualised description and interpretation of the migrant parent participants alongside the accounts of children of migrant parents and local educators. However, on the other hand, it suggests the limited generalisability of the findings, and only reveals a part of the whole picture of how new Chinese migrant families navigate their children's education in New Zealand. Another limitation of the research is the modest sample size. The fieldwork of this research interviewed 38 participants in total consisting of 17 new Chinese parents, 9 Chinese migrants' children, and 12 local educators. The modest sample size further reduces the generalisability of the findings.

As an emerging researcher, it is important to take the opportunity to reflect on possible aspects for further research. First, it might be interesting to take into account the return migratory experience of the new Chinese parents after their children complete their high school education in New Zealand or their children start their journey for higher education in New Zealand or elsewhere. This transnational perspective relating to the migrant children's education is under-researched. In addition, as some parent participants shared their dissatisfaction towards the relaxed atmosphere and lack of intense schooling workload at New Zealand schools which therefore motivated them to

bring their children back to China to receive primary education, this high mobility of new Chinese migrant parents and return migration that are driven by the consideration for their children's education is an intriguing phenomenon and deserves detailed research. Whether these families would stay in China permanently, later come back to New Zealand or step to a third country so as to opt out the NCEE pressure in China for their children or to seek their own personal ambitions are questions that are worthwhile for further exploration.

Secondly, the research mainly involves migrant children's adaptation into the New Zealand education system from early childhood to higher education. I would suggest a longitudinal research is worth undertaking in terms of understanding the Chinese migrant children's education outcomes in New Zealand and their higher education and career trajectories. Their integration into the labour market after graduation and their plan for professional ambitions is an area worthwhile for investigation. These related issues would be helpful to enrich the understanding of migrant children's later plans for themselves, and the consequential impact on the child generation when some of these families' migration to New Zealand as a temporary strategy for transnational education is achieved. Such a research area has the potential to make a scholarly contribution to the exploration of the experience of 1.5 and second - generation migrant children.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval Letter

15/04/2020

Dear: Liping Chen

Re: Low Risk Notification - 4000022254 - How New Chinese Immigrant Families Adapt to New Zealand's Education System for Their Children.

Thank you for submitting a low risk notification for your research/teaching/evaluation.

This email is to acknowledge receipt of the low risk notification and to inform you that the details of your project have been recorded in our database for inclusion in the annual reports to the Health Research Council Ethics Committee (HRCEC) and the Massey University Research Committee (URC).

You may proceed with your research, though it is advisable to provide a couple of weeks before commencing, as all low risk notifications are checked for completeness and clarity by a Research Ethics Advisor. You may be contacted if your application is incomplete and/or further clarification is required.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis.

If a sponsoring organisation, funding authority (e.g., the Health Research Council) or a journal require evidence of ethical approval from a Human Ethics Committee (with an approval number), you need to complete a full Massey University Human Ethics application to be reviewed and approved by one of our Human Ethics Committees. Applications must be submitted and approved prior to the commencement of the research.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the Research Ethics Office, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz. "

Please include the following statement on all public documents (e.g., information sheet, consent form) related to your project:

> ***This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.***
>
> ***If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Massey University Human Ethics by email: humanethics@massey.ac.nz.***

I wish you all the best in your research, teaching or evaluation activities and appreciate your thoughtful consideration of ethics principles and practices.

Ngā mihi nui,

Professor Craig Johnson
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise
Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand T 06 951 6841; 06 951 6840
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz; animalethics@massey.ac.nz; gtc@massey.ac.nz

Liping Stella Chen | Ph.D. (Chinese Studies) candidate

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Liping.chen.3@uni.massey.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Information Sheet for Chinese Migrant Parents

How new Chinese immigrant families adapt to New Zealand's education system for their children

Researcher introduction: My name is Liping Stella Chen and I am conducting a research project investigating new Chinese immigrant families' adaptation to the New Zealand education system in New Zealand. This project has been ethically approved by Massey University. (Ethics notification number: 4000022254)

Project Description: This research aims to understand how the new Chinese immigrant families from China adapt to New Zealand's new environment, specifically insights of your educational orientations and expectations for your children, and how you cope with generational gaps and negotiate to settle yourselves in and engage with New Zealand's education system.

Who can participate in this research? As a parent from new Chinese immigrant families who wants to participate in this research, you need to meet all the following conditions: 1) you are originally from PRC; 2) you are the NZ PR or citizen; 3) you moved to NZ after the year of 1987; 4) you have lived in NZ for at least 3 years; 5) you are 16 years old or above; 6) you have at least one child who has attended school since primary level, alternatively, who is likely to stay in NZ to pursue education for the long term.

Project procedures: If you agree to participate, you will take part in one interview that lasts for approximately 60 minutes, and the interview venue will be a place of your pick for your convenience. You will be expected to discuss your experience with your child(ren)'s education

and the communication with the teacher or principal in your child(ren)'s school.

Your permission will be sought for:

A. The interview will be audio-recorded.
B. You will be re-contacted in case the need for clarification arises. However, you do not have to agree if you do not wish so.

Please note that the quotes from your interview may be disseminated in the forms of research articles or presentations arising from this research. However, your identification will be kept all time anonymous.

Data management: Your identifiable information will not be recorded and will not appear in the transcript. Quotes from the interview published will not identify you. All research data will be stored in a password–protected computer for 1 year after the project is completed. However, after the data collected has been analysed, all your identifiable information, including any hard copies, will be deleted from all the PI's records.

If you are interested in this research, you can request to review transcripts after the interview, and if you felt you didn't express yourselves correctly, you can make changes that you originally stated to ensure that it better reflects what you were trying to convey. Also, you can request a statement of findings (which will be offered in both English and Mandarin and emailed at the end of the study).

Participants' rights: You are under no obligation to accept this invitation, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

A. decline to answer any particular question during the interview.
B. ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.
C. provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher.
D. be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Project contacts: If you have any question or problem, please contact the principal investigator or the research supervisor.

Liping Chen (PI) **Dr. Liangni Sally Liu (Supervisor)**

Email: liping.chen.3@uni.massey.ac.nz Email: l.liu2@massey.ac.nz

Ethics

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Liping Stella Chen | Ph.D. (Chinese Studies) candidate

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Appendix 3: Information Sheet for Chinese Migrant Parents' Children

How new Chinese immigrant families adapt to New Zealand's education system for their children

Researcher introduction: My name is Liping Stella Chen and I am conducting a research project investigating new Chinese immigrant families' adaptation to the New Zealand education system in New Zealand. This project has been ethically approved by Massey University. (Ethics notification number: 4000022254)

Project Description: This research aims to understand how the new Chinese immigrant families from China adapt to New Zealand's new environment, specifically insights of your educational orientations and expectations for your children, and how you cope with generational gaps and negotiate to settle yourselves in and engage with New Zealand's education system.

Who can participate in this research? As a child from new Chinese immigrant families who wants to participate in this research, you need to meet all the following conditions: 1) you are the NZ PR or citizen; 2) you came to NZ after the year of 1987; 3) you are a 1.5 generation or second generation migrant; 4) you are 16 years old or above.

Project procedures: If you agree to participate, you will take part in one interview that lasts for approximately 60 minutes, and the interview venue will be a place of your pick for your convenience. You will be expected to discuss your studying experience in your home and school.

Your permission will be sought for:

C. The interview will be audio-recorded.

D. You will be re-contacted in case the need for clarification arises. However, you do not have to agree if you do not wish so.

Please note that the quotes from your interview may be disseminated in the forms of research articles or presentations arising from this research. However, your identification will be kept all time anonymous.

Data management: Your identifiable information will not be recorded and will not appear in the transcript. Quotes from the interview published will not identify you. All research data will be stored in a password–protected computer for 1 year after the project is completed. However, after the data collected has been analysed, all your identifiable information, including any hard copies, will be deleted from all the PI's records.

If you are interested in this research, you can request to review transcripts after the interview, and if you felt you didn't express yourselves correctly, you can make changes that you originally stated to ensure that it better reflects what you were trying to convey. Also, you can request a statement of findings.

Participants' rights: You are under no obligation to accept this invitation, if you decide to participate, you have the right to:

E. decline to answer any particular question during the interview.
F. ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.
G. provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher.
H. be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Project contacts: If you have any question or problem, please contact the principal investigator or the research supervisor.

Liping Chen (PI)

Email: liping.chen.3@uni.massey.ac.nz

Dr. Liangni Sally Liu (Supervisor)

Email: l.liu2@massey.ac.nz

Ethics

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

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Appendix 4: Information Sheet for Local Educators

How new Chinese immigrant families adapt to New Zealand's education system for their children

Dear Miss./Ms./Mr.

My name is Liping Stella Chen, I am seeking your participation in a research project that aims to investigate new Chinese immigrant families' adaptation to the New Zealand education system in New Zealand. This project has been ethically approved by Massey University. (Ethics notification number: 4000022254)

This research specifically focuses on Chinese immigrant parents' educational orientations and expectations for their children, and how these immigrant family members interact and negotiate with New Zealand's education system.

If you would like to share your teaching experience with Chinese students and also your experience of dealing with Chinese parents, it would be my pleasure to arrange an interview with you at your convenience. The interview will last for approximately 60 minutes, it might be audio recorded and you might be re-contacted for clarification, however, you do have the rights to agree or not agree. Please note that the quotes from your interview may be disseminated in the forms of research articles or presentations arising from this research. However, we will keep your identification all time anonymous.

If you have any question or problem, please feel free to contact me or my research supervisor.

Liping Stella Chen (Principal investigator) **Dr. Liangni Sally Liu (Supervisor)**

Email: liping.chen.3@uni.massey.ac.nz Email: l.liu2@massey.ac.nz

Ethics

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Liping Stella Chen

Liping Stella Chen | Ph.D. (Chinese Studies) candidate

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Appendix 5: Individual Participant Consent Form

How new Chinese immigrant families adapt to New Zealand's education system for their children

INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

By signing this form, I acknowledge that:

1. I have been informed about the research project and understand the nature of the study. I have had the opportunity to ask the researcher questions about the project and they have been answered to my satisfaction.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
3. I agree that the interview will be audio recorded, and I understand that I can ask to stop recording at any time.
4. I agree to participate in this research under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I ______________________________ hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _________________________ **Date:** ________________________

Appendix 6: Interview Questions for New Chinese Migrant Parents

In-depth Interview Outline

(Chinese migrant parents)

Code:

Interviewee:

Interviewer:

Time/Date:

Interview location:

Interview language:

Remarks:

PRE-INTERVIEW SURVEY

1. Gender (F/M/Wish not to identify):
2. Place of birth:
3. Year of birth:
4. Marital status:
5. Current residence location:
6. What language(s) do you speak (Mandarin (Putonghua), English, other Chinese language, such as your birth language, mother-tongue, please specify)?
   A. What language do you prefer to use with your child(ren) at home?
   B. What language do you prefer to use with your partner at home?
   C. What language do you use in the work place?
7. If applicable:
   A. The year of first landing in NZ:
   B. The year of achieving NZ permanent residency:
   C. Migration category (skilled, business, family spouse/ parent/ children, others):
   D. Are you the principal immigrant in your family? If not, who is?
   E. Which citizenship do you hold?
      The year of achieving NZ citizenship:
8. What is your highest education qualification?
9. What is the major of your highest education qualification?

10. Where did you get your highest education qualification?
11. What was your last job in China before came to NZ?
12. What was your annual income before came to NZ? (CH ¥)?
13. What is your current occupation?
14. What is your current annual income? (NZ $)
15. Do you own any property here in NZ?
    If yes, when you purchased it, anyone supported you from your family?

SECTION ONE: EDUCATION FOR YOUR CHILD(REN)

Inform the interviewee: This part of interview is about your perceptions of education system in China and that in NZ and how your child(ren) is(are) doing in both China school(s) and NZ school(s) (if applicable). The general question I want to ask you is: What do you think about the education system in NZ?

1. How many child(ren) do you have?
   What is your child(ren)'s age, gender, and school level?
2. Can you share your child(ren)'s study history with me?
   Has/ Have your child(ren) received any education in China before immigrated to NZ?
   What do you think about the education system in China?
   What type of school is(are) your child(ren) attending (e.g. public, private, or what else)?
   Why do you choose that school?
   Has/Have your child(ren) changed a school during their studying process in New Zealand?
   If yes, why did you make that change?
3. Do you often communicate with teacher(s) in your child(ren)'s school(s)?
   How do you communicate with teacher(s) in your child(ren)'s school(s)? (like tools or channel)
   What is the usual topic when you communicate with teacher(s) in your child(ren)'s school(s)?
4. Do you arrange any extracurricular activity(ies) or online courses for your child(ren)?
   What are the courses (e.g. music, sport)?

Do you arrange any after-school tuition for your child(ren)?

If yes, what are they?

Why did you choose these courses?

5. What do you usually do with your child(ren) during weekends?
6. Do you feel any differences between your expectations for your child(ren)'s educational achievement and that of your partner / that of your child(ren) (e.g. education methods, goals, career planning)? If yes, please elaborate it.
7. What is your career expectation for your child(ren)?
8. What do you want your child(ren) to be? Why?
9. What do you think about your own approach to educate your child(ren)?

   Any challenges you face in educating your child(ren)? What do you think about your parenting skills?

SECTION TWO: THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Inform the interviewee: This part of interview is about your understanding of the community you are involved in NZ, especially about your social, friend and professional networks, relationship with schools, other parents, and neighbourhoods, etc.

1. Do you often communicate with other parents in your community?

   What do you usually discuss?
2. Can you share with me your observation about how other parents in your child(ren)'s school(s) raise and educate their child(ren) (prompt: choice in school, extracurricular activity(ies), after-school tuition)? （prompt 在 interview 时真的用到了？）

   Do you think you share some commonality with other parents you know in terms of the way of educating child(ren)?

   If yes, what are they?

   If not, what are the differences?
3. What advice would you give to your friends if they asked you about migrating to NZ?

SECTION THREE: LIFE COURSE & TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Inform the interviewee: This part of the interview is about the lived experience of yourself and your family before and after immigrating to NZ.

1. Why did you immigrate to NZ and who initiated the idea?
   Did your family members support the immigration idea?
2. Where are your other family members (e.g. parents, spouse)?
3. Now, do you go back to China often?
   How often and for what purpose?
   Are there any other means you use to connect with China? If yes, what are they?

SECTION FOUR: IDENTITY

Inform the interviewee: The last part of the interview is about your own and your child(ren)'s cultural identity and connections with China.

1. Who are you (e.g. Chinese, Nzer, or both, or what else), and where do you feel you belong to (e.g. China, NZ, or both, or what else)?
   Is that different from your other family members? If yes, what is the difference?
2. Does your child(ren) go back to China often?
   Do they like it?
   What language do they use to communicate with others when they go back to China?
   Did you notice any challenges your child(ren) face when they go back to China?

SECTION FIVE: WRAPPING UP

1. In general, are you happy about putting your child(ren) into New Zealand schools?
2. Do you have any plan for your child(ren)'s education (e.g. next school, secondary school,

university)?

Do you have anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 7: Interview Questions for Chinese Migrant Parents' Children

In-depth Interview Outline

(Children)

Code:

Interviewee:

Interviewer:

Time/Date:

Interview location:

Interview language:

Remarks:

PRE-INTERVIEW SURVEY

1. Gender (F/M/Wish not to identify):
2. Place of birth:
3. Year of birth:
4. Current residence location:
5. What language(s) do you speak?

   A. What language do you prefer to use in home?

   B. What language do you prefer to use in school?
6. Which school are you attending?
7. If applicable:

   A. The year of first landing in NZ:

   B. The year of achieving NZ permanent residency:

   C. Migration category (skilled, business, family spouse/ parent/ children, others):

   D. which citizenship do you hold?

   The year of achieving NZ citizenship:

SECTION ONE: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND, LIFE COURSE, TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Inform the interviewee: The first part of the interview is about the lived experience of

yourself before and after immigrating to NZ.

1. What school do you attend?
   In which year?
2. Have you ever changed school in NZ? If yes, why?
3. (For 1.5 generation): How old were you when your family immigrated to NZ?
   Do you know who initiated the idea?
   Did you like the idea? And what about now?
4. Now, do you go back to China often?
   How many times have you been back to China?
   How often and for what purpose?
   Are there any other means you use to connect with China?

SECTION TWO: FAMILY EDUCATION & SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE

Inform the interviewee: This part of interview is about your perceptions of your daily life in home and school(s) (if applicable).

(For both 1.5 and 2nd generation):

1. Do you like your school?

   What do you like about your school? Why (or why not)?

   Is there anything you don't like about the school? Why?

2. What do you do on weekends?
3. (For older children): Do you have any extracurricular activity(ies) to attend?
   If yes, what are they?
   (For young children): What do you do after school Monday to Friday?
   (or do you have any after-school tuition to attend? If yes, what are they?)
   Are you happy about that arrangement and class? And why?
4. Do you play any musical instrument and/or sport? Are you happy about that arrangement and class? And why?

5. Is there any challenge for you to study in NZ school(s)? If yes, what is it?
6. Have you attended ESOL courses?
   If yes, do you like this extra support? Why? How do you feel about it?
7. What do your parents expect you to achieve in school(s)?
   Do your parents expect you to be top student in the class or in the school?
   Do you think their expectations are reasonable?

   What do your parents usually say to you about their expectations?

   What do you think about their expectations?

8. Have you thought about what you would like to do in the future? (Or what job do you like to do?) And why?
9. What would your parents like you to do?
   What do your parents want you to do in future? Have they ever talked about it with you?
10. Where do you want to go for your tertiary education?

<u>(Only for 1.5 generation):</u>

1. Can you tell me how you feel about your previous school(s) and studying in China?
2. Is there any differences between schools you attended in China and your school(s) in NZ? If yes, what are they?
3. When you arrived in NZ, could you speak English? Was it easy for you?
   Did you attend ESOL courses?

SECTION THREE: SOCIAL INTERACTION IN SCHOOL(S) AND BEYOND

Inform the interviewee: This part of interview is about your interaction activities in NZ, especially in your social.

1. Do you have friends in the school you attend now? Who are they? Who is your best friend(s)?
   Are they Chinese children or Kiwi children? Or others?
2. Do you get along with other children in school(s)?

How did you find new friends in NZ school(s)?

Is it hard to make friends in NZ school(s)?

What do you and your school friends like to do together?

3. Do you have other friends who are not in the same school of yours?
   If yes, who are they?
4. Does your friend attend other classes after school or over the weekend?
   If yes, what are those activities and/or tutorials?
5. Do you like your teachers in school(s)?
   Do you like your teachers in your extracurricular class(es) and/or after school tutorials?

SECTION FOUR: IDENTITY

Inform the interviewee: The last part of the interview is about your cultural identity and connections with China.

1. How do you identify yourself (e.g. Chinese or NZer)?

   Where do you consider is a home to you (i.e. NZ, your birth place, and/or your parents' homeland)?

   Where do you think your parents think their home is? Have they mentioned it to you before? Did they explain it to you why?

   How do they describe NZ and their hometown? What key words do they usually like to use to describe these places?

2. You told me before you have gone to China for holidays, do you enjoy your holidays in China?

   When you're in China, do you speak Chinese to people there? Why?

   Do you speak Chinese to your parents when you are in China together with you?

Have you noticed any difference between China and NZ, and between people in China and people in NZ?

3. You told me you have never been back to China, but have you ever known anything of China from books, social media or stuff like that?
   Based on what you have known, what are your perceptions of China?
   What key words would you like to use to describe China?

SECTION FIVE: WRAPPING UP

1. What do you think your future will be like?
2. Do you have anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 8: Interview Questions for Local Educators

In-depth Interview Outline

(Local educators)

Code:

Interviewee:

Interviewer:

Time/Date:

Interview location:

Interview language:

Remarks:

PRE-INTERVIEW SURVEY

1. Gender: ☐Female ☐Male ☐Wish not to identify
2. Place of birth:
3. Age: ☐20-29 ☐30-39 ☐40-49 ☐50-59 ☐60 and above
4. Ethnicity:
5. What language(s) do you speak? ☐Mandarin (Putonghua) ☐English

   ☐te reo Māori ☐others, please specify
6. Which school do you currently work for?
7. What is your current role in the school?
8. What subject(s) do you teach?
9. How many years have you been teaching? ☐0-3years ☐4-6 years ☐7-10 years ☐11-15 years ☐16-20 years ☐21-25 years ☐more than 25 years
10. What is the major of your highest education qualification?

SECTION ONE: PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS STUDENTS FROM CHINESE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Inform the interviewee: This part of the interview is about your perceptions towards students from Chinese immigrant families, such as their performance in school and participation in extracurricular activities. – Tell me about your school.

1. (For teachers): What is the percentage of Chinese students in your class?
   (For principals): Do you know the percentage of Chinese students in your school and your school zone?
   Due to large-scale growth of students in Auckland, there is a plan to introduce or amend 135 school enrolment zones.
   1) Does the plan affect your school?
   2) If yes, what kind of impact does it have on your school?
   3) What measures have you taken/will you take to deal with those changes?
2. How do you think students with Chinese backgrounds do in your school/class? For example details about their school performance, overall behaviour, study ethics, participation of extracurricular activities etc.
   1) Have you noticed any other particular challenge the Chinese students face in your school?
   2) In your opinion, what are the distinctive characteristics of Chinese students?
   3) Can you elaborate their academic performance, participation in extracurricular activities?
   4) Do you notice any language challenge for Chinese students in your school?

SECTION TWO: PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS CHINESE PARENTS

Inform the interviewee: We just discussed broadly about students and school of yours, now let's turn to your experience with parents, especially with Chinese immigrant parents.
How do you think the parents of those students feel about your school? How do they appreciate the education is offered in your school? You can talk about in your own experience and give some examples.

1. Do you often communicate with Chinese immigrant parents?
   How do you communicate with Chinese immigrant parents? (like tools or channel)

2. Based on your observation, what do Chinese immigrant parents care about most for their child(ren)? What are the expectations of Chinese immigrant parents for their child(ren)'s study?
3. Do you think their expectations are reasonable or achievable?
4. Do you think their expectations are compatible with NZ approaches to education?
5. Have you ever encountered any Chinese immigrant grandparents during parent-teacher meeting(s)?

SECTION THREE: OPEN QUESTIONS

1. Based on your observation, what are the most striking things for you with regard to Chinese students' performance in school and their families?
2. Do you have anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 9: Themes, Categories and Codes (New Chinese Migrant Parent Group)

<table>
<tr><th>Themes</th><th>Categories</th><th>Codes</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Migratory experience from China to NZ</td><td rowspan="4">The reasons for coming to NZ</td><td>Transnational experience and overseas degree</td></tr>
<tr><td>Lifestyle and natural environment</td></tr>
<tr><td>Personal professional development</td></tr>
<tr><td>The education of their children</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">The challenges in migration process</td><td>Separation with elder generation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Lack of English proficiency and loss of familiar social surroundings</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Perceptions of NZ education system in comparison with China</td><td rowspan="2">Relaxed versus intense academic pressure</td><td>NECA, NCEE</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘Don't lose at starting line’, value of study</td></tr>
<tr><td>Student-centred versus teacher-led teaching style</td><td>Students take initiative to learn, teachers feed students</td></tr>
<tr><td>Loose versus close teacher-parent interaction</td><td>No fixed class in NZ, students are always praised in NZ, teachers always give advice on improvement in China</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">School choice for their children</td><td>Academic achievement</td><td>Private school, high-decile public school, learning environment</td></tr>
<tr><td>Non-academic aspects</td><td>Well-rounded development, happy childhood</td></tr>
<tr><td>Perpetual anxiety</td><td>Get their children into private school as early as possible</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Expectation for their children</td><td>Undergraduate degree</td><td>Threshold for entering labour market, beyond an ordinary college</td></tr>
<tr><td>Major preference</td><td>Potential income, social standing, long-term competitiveness</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Reflective accounts on raising their children in NZ</td><td>Inter-generational bonds and traditional family values</td><td>Familial bonds and traditional family value loss, multi-generational family</td></tr>
<tr><td>Parental expectation</td><td>Self-confidence building</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Identity and identity-related arrangement for their children</td><td>Ethnicity, home</td><td>Sense of belonging</td></tr>
<tr><td>Chinese language arrangement</td><td>Bilingual ability, children's identity</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix 10: Themes, Categories and Codes (Children of New Chinese Migrant Parents

Themes	Categories	Codes
Language issues	English as a challenge	A hurdle for learning, insufficient support
	Perception of Chinese language	Changing perceptions, a burden versus an advantage, ethnicity
Perceptions towards education system in China compared with that in NZ	Teaching style	Rote learning, creative thinking, the role of teacher
	Academic pressure	After-school workload, learning atmosphere, academic skills and beyond
Parent-child relations	Educational expectation	‘Iron rice bowl’, job security, social standing
	Parenting style negotiation	Never good enough', self-esteem
Perceptions of China and NZ	Sense of home, ethnic identity and cultural belonging	Uprooting and re-grounding, social relations

Appendix 11: Themes, Categories and Codes (Local Educator Group)

Themes	Categories	Codes
The impression of Chinese-background students	Academic aspect	Urge to excel
	Performance in classes	Respect for authority, reluctance to interact
Challenges for Chinese-background students	English language	Academic performance, networking
	Critical thinking skills	Teaching style, independent thinking skills
The impression of Chinese migrant parents	School selection	Private and high-decile school
	Undergraduate degree	University ranking, social mobility
	Subjects and majors	Career path, occupation prospect
Chinese migrant parents' strategies	Academic	After-school tuition, advice from educators
	Learning pace	After-school tuition