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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

The Construction of the Success Frame by Second-Generation Chinese Parents;
a Cross-National Comparison

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Krista Regina Noam-Zuidervaart

Thesis Committee:
Professor Frank D. Bean, Chair
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Construction of the Success Frame by Second-Generation Chinese Parents;
a Cross-National Comparison

By

Krista Regina Noam-Zuidervaat

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2014

Professors Frank D. Bean & Jennifer Lee, Chair

The second-generation Chinese were raised by immigrant parents who had high academic expectations and socialized them with cultural values such as zeal, collectivism, and filial piety to achieve the goals they set for them. They lived in ethnic communities that supported these notions, and befriended peers whose notion of success was equally high, causing the second-generation to compare themselves to people with exceptionally high academic standards. These dynamics are labeled the 'success frame' (Lee and Zhou 2014) and form the core of this dissertation. As the second-generation got older and began to realize that there are other ways to be successful, some grew critical of their upbringing, no longer ascribing to their parents' parenting styles (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998), and refuse to adhere to these ascribed notions of success (Lee and Zhou 2013, Lee 2013). It remains unknown if this results in them shifting the boundaries of the success frame when raising their own children or if they, as Tiger Mother Amy Chua suggest, continue to set the same standards for their offspring (Chua 2011b, a).

Analysis of 79 in-depth interviews with second-generation Chinese parents in the United States and the Netherlands shows that the prevalence of the success frame, and the flexibility of

its boundaries, depends on more than parenting practices and Chinese culture; it interacts with the opportunities and constraints that the national context of the second-generation bestows on them. How parents' shape the success frame when raising their children depends on the country in which they do so.

Adding quantitative data from these same respondents as well as from large scale American Community Survey data (N= 26,040) shows that parents in the United States still want their children to succeed and continue to employ mechanisms that support the success frame. Parents in the Netherlands, on the other hand, let their children determine their own success and focus on their pursuit of happiness instead. Comparing intramarried and intermarried second-generation Chinese within each country adds that the intramarried second-generation uphold stiffer boundaries of the success frame than those with a native-born Caucasian spouse. In fact, the intramarried Chinese in the U.S.—where the liberal welfare state and ideologies of the American Creed are similar to the Chinese notions of success—set the standards for their children even higher and as such tighten the boundaries of the success frame even further. Conversely, in the Netherlands, where education is stratified and the social-democratic welfare state provides a financial safety net, parents barely reinforce of the success frame. Findings of this study imply that culture and the frameworks of success it creates can be flexible, and depend on national contexts. This suggests diverting consequences in socioeconomic outcomes of the third-generation.

Chapter 1

General introduction

1.1 Introduction

During the last fifty years, immigration has become a global phenomenon; there are few countries that have not been affected by emigration, immigration, or both (Kritz 1987). The development of greater global movement has forced immigration scholars to shift their attention. Previously, most migration occurred from Europe to North America. During the second-half of the twentieth century this began to change; Europe became an important immigrant destination and the immigration to the United States diversified. In 2012, over a million foreigners gained lawful permanent residency in the United States (Nwosu, Batalova, and Auclair 2014), and migration to the European Union was over a million and a half (Eurostat 2014). Both sides of the Atlantic aim to incorporate these newcomers into their society and hope for their highest socioeconomic outcome, because socioeconomic success does not only benefit the immigrants and their offspring but also the society as a whole (Bean and Stevens 2003).

Indeed, for many immigrants the main motivation of migration is to create greater opportunities for themselves and for their children (Goyette 2008). Immigrant parents want their children to succeed. What it means to succeed depends on how parents frame success. Asian immigrant parents, such as Chinese and Vietnamese, set the standards of success for their children exceptionally high. Doing so, Lee and Zhou (2014) argue, creates a success frame that preserves and reinforces the desired outcomes: high academic achievement and prestigious occupations. The success frame is reinforced by co-ethnic peers, who grow up with similarly high (academic) standards of success. Parents can thus support the success frame by living in an

ethnic community, which include an elaborate infrastructure of afterschool activities, SAT preparation programs, and homework support groups (Zhou 2009b). Moreover, growing up with co-ethnics who maintain similar standards of what it means to be successful, reinforces (parents') success frame even further, as the second-generation measures themselves by their co-ethnic peers. The second-generation grows up with a notion of success that surpasses that of all ethnic groups; to be a successful Asian American and fit in their framework of success, one needs to finish high school with straight A's and get accepted to one of the country's top colleges (Lee and Zhou 2014).

Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou (2014), who coined the term, stress, however, that growing up with these notions of success can also result in unintended outcomes: the second-generation might feel a social outcast, or not Chinese enough if their grades are not on par with those of their co-ethnic peers. Consequently, when reaching adulthood, some the second-generation Chinese may no longer ascribe to the values and expectations they grew up with. While they cannot reverse their own upbringing, they can decide to shift their focus when raising their own children. This may result in them “departing from the success frame, choosing alternate pathways”, and raising their offspring differently (Lee and Zhou 2014, 53). I examine the childrearing practices of the second-generation Chinese to evaluate to what extent they indeed shift their childrearing practices. I argue, however, that this shift and the appeared flexibility of their success frame are influenced by two main factors: their own level of assimilation (and conversely, the depth of their cultural roots), and the opportunities and constraints of the larger national context in which they raise their children.

The first-generation, the immigrants, are a ‘lost generation’: they often maintain (strong) ties with their country of origin and can be unwilling or unable to fully assimilate into their new

surroundings (Gans 1979). Scholars who ascribed the success of the second-generation to their immigrant parents' upbringing often simplified things, claiming there are specific ethnic values that predict the academic outcomes of the second-generation (Chao 2001, 2000, 1996). Indeed, many of the childrearing values that are embedded in Confucianism, such as hard work, zeal, collectivism, and filial piety, shape parenting practices, the educational expectations parents have of their children, and their notions of success.

It is for this reason that it becomes important to study the second-generation. The second-generation, who grew up in the receiving context, is much more assimilated than their immigrant parents (Portes 1996, Zhou 1997, Perlmann and Waldinger 1997, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Crul and Vermeulen 2003, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004, Crul 2007, Kasinitz et al. 2008, PewResearchCenter 2013a). Which begs the question if they continue to adhere to the same frames of success they grew up with or if they adapt the (lower) standards of success held by the mainstream? The second-generation grew up between these two worlds: the culture of their parents' home country and the culture of their host society (Portes 1996, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Min 2006, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004). Their immigrant parents raised them the way they knew best: with the cultural practices from their country of origin. At the same time, the second-generation was socialized in their receiving country and learned that there are alternatives to the way things are done at home. The second-generation grew up to juggle both worlds and could sometimes pick and choosing different elements from each cultures (Waters 1994, 2001, Levitt and Waters 2006, Kasinitz et al. 2008, Zhou 1997, Kibria 1997, Zhou and Bankston 1998, Kibria 2002, Crul and Vermeulen 2003, Pels 2000).

I argue that looking beyond the second-generation is an even better gauge of immigrant incorporation. Examining to what extent second-generation parents still create a success frames

for their children—the third-generation—sheds light on the flexibility of the concept and highlights how it is not merely culture that determines educational achievement, nor is it parents' own socioeconomic standing. Second-generation parents have a unique position because they can choose from either the home culture or from the host culture. Shedding light on these dynamics will help illuminate the long-term assimilation process. It will be up to the second-generation to determine the direction of this process. For example, in regard to language and shifting from mother tongue to English, Lieberson and Curry (1971, 126) state the following:

There are two crucial demographic events necessary for mother-tongue shift. First, non-English speaking immigrants or their descendants must learn English as a second language. Second, bilingual parents must pass on English as the mother-tongue to the next generation. If only the first step occurs, but the bilingual parents maintain their mother-tongue in socializing the offspring, then a stable multilingual situation will exist in which bilingualism does not generate mother-tongue shift.

The principle of a shift occurring between the heritage culture—in this case language—and the culture of the receiving context could also be applied to diet, values, holiday celebrations, and the success frame; it applies to the whole framework in which parents' culture is situated (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010). This research will show that the extent to what culture and the framework that supports it will be perpetuated over generations depends mostly on the context in which it is shaped; it is influenced by the individuals who reinforces it (the second-generation parents) and by the context in which it is situated (the receiving country).

My dissertation adds to a growing literature on the second-generation (Portes 1996, Zhou 1997, Perlmann and Waldinger 1997, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Crul and Vermeulen 2003,

Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004, Crul 2007, Kasinitz et al. 2008, PewResearchCenter 2013a, Kibria 2002, Louie 2004, Waters 1994, Levitt and Waters 2006, Alba and Waters 2011, Lee and Zhou 2014, Bean et al. 2012). The study makes a unique contribution by examining second-generation adults, as opposed to second-generation youth. Focusing on how the second-generation comes of age and raises their children, allows me to lift the veil that conceals the potential assimilation and socio-economic outcome of their children, the third-generation. By making a cross-national comparison, this study includes the impact that the host nation can have. Indeed, as the editors of the 50th year anniversary issue of *the International Migration Review* point out: “Global comparisons will be particularly fruitful in understanding how parental, child, and host society context and policy variables affect these [assimilation] outcomes” (Lee, Carling, and Orrenius 2014, S28). Furthermore, my research provides a piece in the puzzle that the editors present by asking: “In which host societies do the children of immigrants attain the most-inter-generation mobility and the strongest labor market outcomes?”

Examining to what extent second-generation parents continue to frame success as only high academic achievement and occupational prestige, can start to denote their children’s future position in the national labor market. As such, the (new) second-generation (i.e. the children of immigrants who arrived after World War Two) generate a “transition to diversity” (Myers 2007). This transition is based on the changing demographics that are especially prevalent in Western Europe, where the immigrant population is growing while the native-born white population is aging, and will soon be shrinking. This shift currently takes place in the labor market, where the baby boomers are starting to leave and the children of immigrants are beginning to enter (Alba and Foner 2014). It is only a matter of time until the general population will catch up. To examine how these demographic changes could impact the cultural and socioeconomic outlooks

of Europe and the United States in the long run, it is pivotal to examine how the second-generation raises their children and how these childrearing practices are related to the nation state in which they live. To do so this dissertation addresses the central question: *How do national context and assimilation within a specific setting influence the way in which second-generation parents frame and support their notions of success?*

1.2 Terminology

This research pays special attention to *success frames* and how they perpetuate over time. The term success frame refers to the notion that certain Asian American populations (e.g. Chinese and Vietnamese) have of being successful and accomplished (Lee and Zhou 2014). The success frame determines their taken-for-granted level of success, as this is similarly high among peers as well. The success frame also includes the mechanisms by which parents promote and support the highly successful outcomes of their children. I define *culture* as being linked to ethnic heritage and (parents') country of origin. Culture can include language, religion, holiday celebrations, and specific values and beliefs. Ethnic culture ties people of the same ethnic background together and helps guide their behaviour (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010). Culture can also include common repertoires and domains, which implies that people can share a "cultural toolkit" (Jeynes 2003, Sayer, Gauthier, and Furstenberg 2004). Consequently, people with the same culture often resemble each other to some degree by having similar diets, dress codes, philosophies, and childrearing practices. In the context of this study, I focus on the culture that is imbedded in the Chinese Confucianism and that pertains to education and the academic values and the outcomes that parents expect of their children.

It is generally believed that the longer immigrants and their offspring live in a host country, the more their culture fades because it is slowly replaced with mainstream culture (Gordon 1964, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Lee and Bean 2010).¹ This process can be termed assimilation, but is also referred to as acculturation, integration, or incorporation—I use these terms interchangeably. *Assimilation* (or integration, incorporation, etc.) thus refers to the process through which immigrants and their offspring increasingly adapt to their host society. *Immigrants* are people who move to a country other than their own and plan to stay there. Their children are the *second-generation*.² The children of immigrants who arrived to the United States after the passing of the Hart-Celler Act in 1964 have also been referred to as the *new* second-generation (Zhou 1999). In contrast to the second-generation is the native-born population. The *native-born* population is born in the host country without having direct immigrant background (neither of their grandparents had migrated). The native-born of primary interest in this study are *Caucasians*. In the United States this racial term is common. In Europe, people are less familiar with racial terminology and the native-born are more likely to refer to identify in national terms (e.g. Germans, Dutch).

1.3 Focus of this dissertation: second-generation Chinese

Regarding the earlier, mostly European, immigration to the United States, the common belief was that more assimilation results in higher socioeconomic outcomes (Gordon 1964, Park and Burgess 1921, Alba and Nee 1997). Recently, however, it has come to light that the new immigrant populations, those who arrived after the passing of the Hart-Celler Act, do not all follow this straight line. In fact, some children of these immigrant populations obtained high academic achievement *because* their immigrant parents maintained specific elements of their

culture. By raising their children with cultural values rooted in Confucianism and maintaining strong ethnic ties within their ethnic communities on the one hand, and focusing on context dependent elements (including education and language) on the other, immigrants from select countries of origin created a ‘formula’ which propelled their second-generation children toward academic success (Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou 1999, Zhou and Bankston 1998, Gibson 1988). This assimilation route became known as ‘upward assimilation’ (Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou 1999) or ‘assimilation without acculturation’ (Gibson 1988), and was especially prevalent among Asian immigrants and their children (Zhou and Bankston 1998, Zhou 2009a, b, Lee and Zhou 2013, Lee and Zhou 2014, Louie 2004, Kibria 2002).

Creating a success frame allowed Asian immigrant parents to set high standards for their children and to distance themselves and their children from either the mainstream or from subpopulations within society (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013). Early Chinese immigrants in the Mississippi Delta, for example, dissociated themselves from the black population to emphasize their similarity with the white mainstream (Loewen 1988) and recent first-generation Chinese parents use the success frame to redefine their children’s position in the ethnoracial hierarchy (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013). Zooming in on the Chinese shows how successful the formula behind the success frame can be: the majority of second-generation Chinese Americans have at least a bachelor’s degree, they are disproportionately employed in high-skilled and managerial sectors; and their annual median household income is at least \$10,000 higher than non-Hispanic Whites (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Smith 2013). In this study, I examine to what extent second-generation Chinese parents maintain high academic expectations of their children and continue to raise their children to reach these outcomes. I examine how parents’ notions of

success and their intergenerational transmission of academic expectations are influenced by their level of assimilation and the national context into which they assimilated.

Recent media debates, ignited by second-generation Chinese Amy Chua and her publications on strict Chinese parenting, portray the second-generation Chinese as raising their offspring with strict rules similar to their parents' (Chua 2011b, a). However, being based on the memoir of only one second-generation Chinese mother, these accounts hold no scientific proof. Further scrutiny and rigorous methods are needed to evaluate if second-generation Chinese parents, who became known in the public debate as 'Tiger Parents' will indeed follow in their parents' footsteps and imitate their childrearing styles. Recent studies provide reasons to suggest otherwise. First, cultural values alone do not account for second-generation's success. Parents not only raise their children with cultural values of success, zeal, and filial piety; they also raise them within a specific context where high academic accomplishments are promoted by ethnic institutions and the norm among their peers (Lee and Zhou 2014). Second, and in part because of the high standards that are set for them, the second-generation does not always celebrate their own (academic) achievements, nor do they necessarily perceive their accomplishment as indicative of success (Lee 2013, Lee and Zhou 2013). And third, the second-generation does not always agree with (all) their parents' childrearing styles or subscribe to their parents' standards of success (Lee 2013, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998).

This study examines to what extent second-generation Chinese parents continue to raise their children within the success frame and support this with the same tactics their parents had employed (i.e. living in ethnic communities transfer and investing in their children's education). I stress that childrearing does not take place in a vacuum (Foner 1997), and that not only

immediate surrounding (ethnic community) must be taken into consideration, but that also the larger national context. National policies and practices are related to the acculturation process of second-generation immigrants (Alba and Foner 2014) and as such, I argue, can influence the flexibility of the frame that surrounds the success. The impact of national context on this flexibility is highlighted by paying attention to parents' level of assimilation. Contrasting intermarried and intramarried second-generation Chinese within specific national contexts can elucidate the impact of parents' assimilation. I examine the practices that second-generation parents employ to aid their children's academic outcomes as well as the expectations that these parents have for their children's achievements. This latter topic is important because parents' educational expectations can be an important predictor of their children's academic outcome (Wang and Benner 2013b, Beal and Crockett 2010, Davis-Kean 2005).

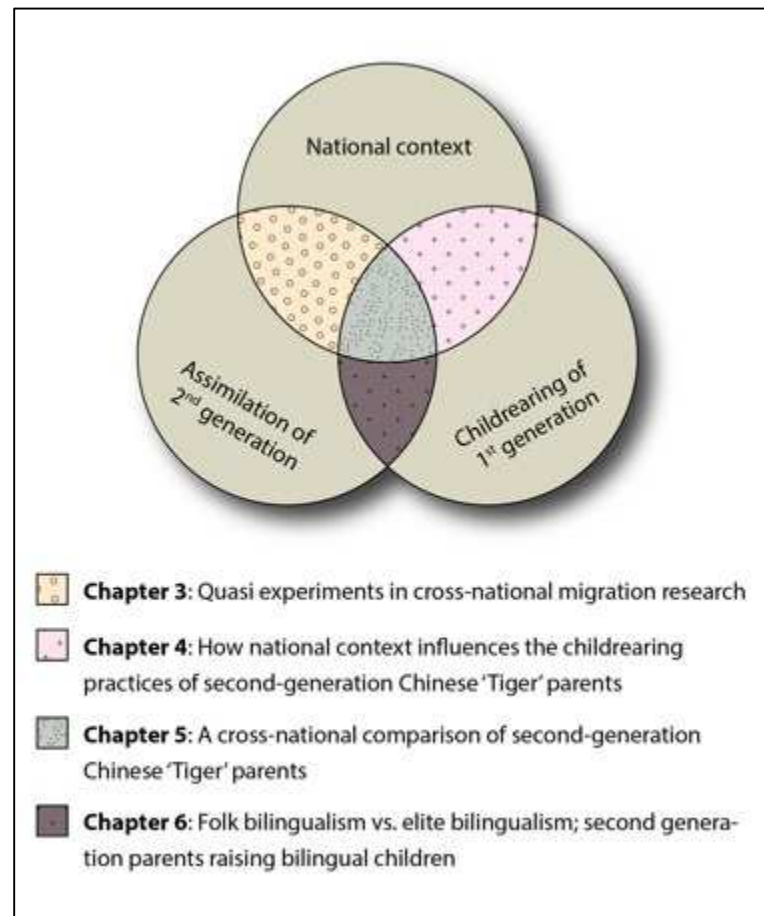
In this study I seek to answer four research questions:

1. *To what extent do second-generation Chinese continue to socialize their children with the success frame that they grew up with?*
2. *How do national opportunities and constraints impact the flexibility of the success frame?*
3. *How does the level of assimilation (measured by intermarriage) impact the flexibility of the success frame?*
4. *What are some of the strategies parents employ to support the success frame, if they choose to raise their children with high educational expectations?*

1.4 Theoretical framework

This dissertation is embedded in three main bodies of literature related to: national context, the assimilation of second-generation Chinese youth, and childrearing practices of first-generation Chinese parents. Rather than having a question and theory being embodied in relevant literature for each chapter, the research questions, theories, and chapters intertwine. The research questions are drawn from the literature but do not overlap directly with each of the chapters. Figure 1 below shows how the chapters and research questions, and underlying theories are interwoven. Each circle in the Venn-diagram represents a body of literature. This dissertation draws on three: 1) a growing literature that stresses the importance of national context (see Alba and Foner 2014 for a detailed overview), 2) a vast literature that examines the assimilation patterns of second-generation (Chinese) youth, and 3) studies that address the childrearing practices of the first-generation Chinese (there is no literature on the childrearing of the second-generation). Each chapter is embedded in more than one body of literature, as is shown in the different areas where the circles overlap. For example, chapter 4 examines how national context influences the childrearing practices of second-generation Chinese Tiger parents and draws on the literature of childrearing of first-generation Chinese and on the literature of cross-national research.

Figure 1.1: Interactions between theories (circles) and chapters (overlapping areas)



1.4.1. National contexts

Child rearing does not take place in a vacuum but is situated within close proximity to assimilation and national context (Foner 1997). Surprisingly little research has been conducted to evaluate how the second-generation fares in different national settings (for exceptions see: Crul and Vermeulen 2003, Crul 2007, Alba and Foner 2014, Crul and Mollenkopf 2012). This is remarkable because understanding how the second-generation fares in different national settings can be insightful to understand the impact of local policies and institutions. It can be particularly fruitful to make cross-Atlantic comparisons, as the two sides of the ocean have considerable

differences in their immigration histories, incorporation policies, immigrant populations, and non-immigrant related institutions, such as the education system (Holdaway, Crul, and Roberts 2009). Some scholars argue that there is a growing convergence between different countries and the way that they approach immigrants and their incorporation (Alba and Foner 2014).

Cross-national comparative immigration studies are a relative recent phenomenon and can provide insights on the impact that the nation state and its national institutions have on long-term assimilation outcomes. In their recent review on cross-national comparative “Grand Narratives”, Richard Alba and Nancy Foner (2014) identify five models that are used as base for these comparisons: national models of integration; market economy models, settler vs non-settler society models; and models focusing on exceptionalism and convergence. While these models can be helpful to expose patterns of integration within specific domains, the scholars argue, they fall short on explaining the full picture of immigrant incorporation. Nation states are too complex to be reduced to one model, and not all of its institutions, ideologies, or culture can necessarily fit within the same mold.

Indeed, comparing the two countries under study here (the United States and the Netherlands), show that there are many different ‘cases’ within a country’s national borders (Ragin 1997). Political institutions, historical legacies, and educational systems, to name a few, do not necessarily all fall within one same framework. For instance, a common distinction is between multicultural and assimilative systems. But, the question is, if this distinction should apply to the population (a multicultural population is made up of a patchwork of different cultures, such as the United States (Banks and Banks 2009)); institutions (multicultural institutions enable immigrants to maintain their heritage culture, as do the state sponsored religious schools in the Netherlands (Scheffer 2000, Holdaway, Crul, and Roberts 2009)); or

incorporation policies, which allow immigrants to maintain their ethnic roots (Castles and Miller 2003, Koopmans et al. 2005).

These discrepancies between the different spheres stress that several national domains must be taken into account when cross-national comparisons are made. But, they also emphasize that cross-national comparisons are valuable but need to be made with caution. Alba and Foner (2014) argue—as do I—that cross-national comparisons are especially useful in a progressively transnational world, where countries increasingly share experiences. Cross-national immigration research can evaluate how different societies respond to similar phenomena because “a comparative approach can shed light on the “invisible”—the systemic features of each society that, because they are national “constants”, are often overlooked or taken for granted in single-country analysis” (Alba and Foner 2014, 266).

In this dissertation, I take this argument one step further and stress that cross-national comparisons are especially helpful when the same population is studied across different national contexts (as outlined in chapter 3). Studying the same population can, as Lee, Carling, and Orrenius (2014) also point out, indicate how the same ethnoracial group fares in different national settings, which highlights the divergences (or similarities) between the host countries.

1.4.2. Assimilation of second-generation (Chinese) youth

The incorporation of immigrants and the paths they take towards integrating in their new home-country has long been a subject of public, political, and theoretical debate (Park and Burgess 1921, Gordon 1964, Alba and Nee 1997, Joppke and Morawska 2003, Scheffer 2000, Berry 1997, Favell 1998, Brubaker 1989). In the recent years, however, the attention has shifted towards the children of those immigrants who arrived in the second half of the 20th century: the

(new) second-generation. Scholars either gave a general overview of the wellbeing of the second-generation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004, Kasinitz et al. 2008, De Valk et al. 2009) or focused specific assimilation measures, such as their educational achievements (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Feliciano 2006, Crul 2000, Kao 1995, Portes and Hao 2004), social networks (Gibson 1988), identity (Alba 1990, Nabben, Yeşilgöz, and Korf 2006, Verkuyten 1988, Verkuyten 1999, 2005).

According to the classical view of assimilation, second (and later) generations adapt more to the mainstream than their parents. Gordon termed this process, in which full assimilation is achieved after several consecutive stages, the straight-line theory (Gordon 1964). Immigrants (or more likely, their children) reach the last phase when they marry a native from the receiving country and discard identity with their (parents') country of origin. The straightness of Gordon's assimilation line has been put to question regarding the new second-generation. Scholars, such as Portes and his colleagues, argue that the new second-generation takes different assimilation routes (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Portes and Hao 2004, see also: Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999, Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005). Based on their ethnicity, socioeconomic background, and social capital, this second-generation assimilates via different paths: downward (Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005, Waters 1994); straight (Alba and Nee 2003), or upwards (Feliciano 2006, Zhou and Kim 2006). Segmented assimilation is not the only theory that can describe the assimilation process of current immigrants and their offspring. Bean and Stevens (2003), for example, argue that it is important not to lump all aspects of assimilation together; immigrants can reach assimilation in one dimension, say marital, but not on others, such as economic. Likewise, the 'mainstream' can have more than one dimension too, including residential patterns, political participation, and patterns of intermarriage (Lee and Bean 2010).

Still others believe that the assimilation line is simply not as straight as Gordon (1964) portrays it to be. Gans (1992) claims, for instance, that the assimilation-line can include ‘bumps’, which reveal revived identification with heritage culture. The third-generation may find renewed (symbolic) interest in the culture that their parents tried to forget (Gans 1997, Jiménez 2009).

This study draws on theories that pertain to the assimilation of the second-generation (Chinese). The second-generation is by definition more assimilated than their parents because they grew up in the receiving context and not in their parents’ home country. Growing up in the receiving country exposed them to alternative cultural elements, such as different food, holidays, values, and perceptions (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, Crul and Schneider 2009, Kasinitz et al. 2008); it also enabled them to learn the language (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), and facilitated (partial) identification with the country in which they grew (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Waters 2001).³ This exposure to alternative forms of culture enabled second-generation parents to question their own culture and no longer take all its elements for granted (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010). Until now, most studies that examine the second-generation have focused on second-generation youth, in part because the second-generation was too young to look beyond this stage. My study adds to this literature by focusing on second-generation adults. It remains largely unknown how assimilation plays out when the second-generation comes of age and starts to raise their children.

One important factor that can influence the childrearing practices of second-generation parents in particular is their partner. Specifically, is the partner from the same ethnic heritage or is a native-born from the receiving country. Social scientists have long argued that intermarriage is a main indicator of assimilation (Gordon 1964, Lee and Bean 2010, Qian and Lichter 2001,

Stevens, McKillip, and Ishizawa 2006). The presumption is that people tend to look for a spouse who is culturally similar (Kalmijn 1998). It is thus believed that intermarriage only takes place after the immigrant population has become culturally similar to the mainstream and that there is social acceptance between the immigrant and the native-born populations (Blau, Beeker, and Fitzpatrick 1984, Kennedy 1944). The assumption is that once the (grand)children of immigrants marry the native-born population, the assimilation process is complete (Gordon 1964). Even though other theories of intermarriage, such as the hypergamy theory (Davis 1941) and social exchange theory (Kalmijn 1993, Qian 1997), claim that intermarriage can also take place to upgrade economic or social status, they do not undermine the connection between intermarriage and assimilation. The Chinese, especially the second-generation, have relatively high percentage of intermarriage with the native-born population (Edmonston and Lee 2005, Linder et al. 2011). Intermarried second-generation Chinese should be more assimilated than their intramarried peers (i.e. second-generation Chinese married to a fellow Chinese). This consequently also implies they have less ethnic networks (the whole 'in-law' network is absent), and are less embedded in their ethnic culture community in general.

1.4.3. Childrearing practices by (first-generation) Chinese parents

This study examines the grownup children of Chinese immigrants and evaluates how they raise their own children, the third-generation. While there is no research on second-generation Chinese parents, there are studies on first-generation Chinese parents. There are numerous elements of Chinese culture, ranging from food to language and from holiday celebrations to specific embedded values. Here the focus lies on the educational expectations that parents have of their children and the strategies they employ to achieve these academic goals. In other words, how

parents create a success frame for their children and how they support it. Most scholars would agree that Chinese immigrant parents raise their children with strict values and that have high academic expectations (Geense and Pels 1998, Chao 1996, 2000, 2001, Distelbrink, Geense, and Pels 2005, Kelley and Tseng 1992). These childrearing values set the frame in which success plays a central role. However, the high academic achievements of the second-generation cannot be ascribed to these cultural values alone; studies show that parents can support and reinforce the success frame by investing in their children's education and through the ethnic communities in which they live (Lee and Zhou 2014).

The childrearing practices and values of Chinese immigrant parents differ significantly from those of their native-born peers (Lin and Fu 1990, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998, Li 2001, Lan 2002, Kwak 2003, Lieber, Nihira, and Mink 2004, Noam 2014, Geense and Pels 1998, Distelbrink, Geense, and Pels 2005, De Valk et al. 2009, Gijssberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011). Their childrearing is similar to what Baumrind (1971) termed 'authoritarian' and rooted in Confucian ideology. For instance, parent-child hierarchy, parental discipline (*guan*), and respect for elders are collectivistic values that are known as 'filial piety' (Chao 2000, Geense and Pels 1998, Ho and Kang 1984, Ho 1994). These values are particularly important as the first-generation raise their children. Moreover, by socializing their children with these values, parents explain to their children that they are part of a larger whole. Hence, children's achievements are often used as a measure of parents' success, as parents and the (academic) performance of second-generation Chinese can lift the social standing of the entire family (Bempechat, Graham, and Jimenez 1999, Caplan, Choy, and Whitmore 1992, Farver, Kim, and Lee 1995, Kim and Chun 1994).

Chinese parents support their cultural childrearing values and the success frame they set for their children by investing in their children's education. This investment is partially rooted in their ethnic culture and known as a 'social contract' between parents and children. The social contract implies that parents invest in their children's education and that children in return take care of their parents once they are old and frail (Stevenson, Chen, and Lee 2002). While parents not necessarily expect their children to fulfil their end of the contract (Vogels, Geense, and Martens 1999), they still invest in their children's education, for example by paying for afterschool programs, tutoring, or private schools. These investments support and promote the success frame. Compared to other immigrant parents, Chinese (as well as Japanese and Korean) parents not only invest more in their children's academic outcomes, they are also more aggressive. And because they do, Sun (1998, 452) adds, "the same amount of investment seems to yield a larger amount of academic return (a greater effect) for East-Asian students than for African-American and Hispanic students" (see also Chao 1996).

Another way through which Chinese immigrant parents support the success frame that helps improve their children's academic outcome is living in or moving to an ethnic community, such as a traditional Chinatown or '*ethnoburb*'. Ethnoburbs are suburbs within larger metropolitan areas that are predominantly populated by people from the same ethnic minority (Li 1998). These ethnic enclaves often house (ethnic) facilities that can promote academic achievement, such as after-school activities, SAT preparation programs, and homework support groups (Lee 2012, Zhou 2009a, Louie 2004). Living in an ethnic enclave also enables parents to make use of other ethnic facilities, such as Chinese schools, martial arts organizations or ethnic markets (Zhou and Kim 2006). Living in an ethnic enclave can even enable children to receive elements (such as language or certain values) of their heritage culture without parents intending so

(Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 1981, Bisin and Verdier 2000, 2005). Indeed, Louie (2006, 547) found that “the experience of growing up in ethnic enclaves that were transnational social spaces paradoxically led to the development of strong ethnic, not transnational , orientations among my second-generation Chinese”. Living in these ethnic communities can also promote academic outcomes because these geographic areas can overlap with high-ranking school districts, as is often the case in the larger Los Angeles metropolitan area. Moreover, growing up in these communities often implies growing up with high achieving peers. This results not only in peer pressure to succeed, Lee and Zhou (2014) show, it also results in alleviated levels of what it means to be successful, thus reinforcing the success frame.

While these childrearing practices and tactics are well documented for the first-generation, it is unclear how they play out when the second-generation children raise their children. In her 2011 memoir, Amy Chua claimed that, compared to native-born American parents, first *and* second-generation Chinese parents have higher academic expectations of their children and will thus continue to reinforce the success frame. This claim sparked a lively debate that directly addressed the link between these specific aspects of cultural childrearing and the success frame that the Chinese bestow upon their children. However, Chua’s memoir was merely the narrative of one parent and the debate that followed was mostly based on personal anecdotes. Here, I set out to examine the connection between this ethnic culture and academic success more systematically. Specifically, I analyse to what extent second-generation Chinese parents continue to use the success frame to formulate the educational expectations they have of their children and to what degree raise their children to reach these goals.

1.5 Methods

I utilize multiple methods to address the four research questions outlined above answer the central question: *How do national context and assimilation within a specific setting influence the way in which second-generation parents frame and support their notions of?*

To dissect how national context impacts the framing of success of the second-generation Chinese, I make a comparison between the United States and the Netherlands. Chapter 3 elaborates on this cross-national research design, which is set up as a pseudo experiment. The data are both quantitative (surveys) and qualitative (in-depth interviews). This mixed methods approach adds depth to the findings and increases their reliability (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, Emerson 2001, Lofland 2006). Applying multiple methods is also known as triangulation, which Denzin (1978, p. 291) defines as “[t]he combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon”. Triangulation offers a holistic approach and a contextual picture of the subjects under study, which is especially valuable for (relative) small research populations (Jick 1979).

1.5.1 The quantitative data

There are three sources of quantitative data that are exploited:

1) *Short questionnaires*, which were collected as part of the in-depth interviews (see appendix A). The questionnaires were filled out by the respondents and their spouse at the end of the interview in my presence.⁴ This allowed the respondents to ask questions when items were unclear. The questionnaires include questions on basic demographics, childrearing goals – developed by Trees Pels and her colleagues (Distelbrink, Geense, and Pels 2005, Distelbrink and Hooghiemstra 2005, Geense and Pels 1998, Pels 2000, Pels and Gruijter 2005), and Jean

Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, a scale to measure ethnic identity (see also: Trusts 2011a, Jiménez and Horowitz 2013, De Mooij et al. 2012).

2) *American Community Survey* (ACS) data of 2010-2012. These data are used in chapter 6, to assess the language usage among several ethnic groups, including the Chinese. ACS data are collected annually by the U.S. Census bureau and based on random sampling. The total N for the sample, after selection, is 26,040. In chapter 6 I describe these data in more detail.

3) The Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles survey (IIMMLA) in the United States; and the Survey Integration New Groups (SING) in the Netherlands. These data provide general background on the second-generation Chinese in both countries and are discussed in chapter 2, which compares the United States and the Netherlands. The IIMMLA data were collected in 2004 in the larger LA metropolitan area.⁵ The subset used for this research contains 1.5 and 2nd generation Chinese (n=402). The SING data were collected in 2010 and contain a representative sample of all Chinese in the Netherlands (n=1000).⁶ The subset for this study contains only the second-generation (n= 232).

1.5.2 Qualitative data

The qualitative data are based on interviews with second-generation Chinese and their spouse (Chinese or Caucasian) in the United States (N=39) and the Netherlands (N=36). I collected additional qualitative data via participant observation at Chinese public holiday celebrations, 'mommy and me' groups, church meetings, and Chinese schools; a focus/discussion group session with several second-generation Chinese and Dutch parents; and numerous informal interviews with community leaders, informants, and Chinese parents who did not qualify to participate. The chapters 4, 5, and 6 presented in this dissertation draw on the in-depth

interviews. The other data served as background knowledge for me to understand the population under research better and gain a perspective what Weber called *verstehen* (Weber and Winckelmann 1956).

Interviews

To participate in the study, respondents had to be born in the United States or the Netherlands; have parents who were born in China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan⁷, and a partner with Chinese or native-born Caucasian roots. I focused on interviewing respondents with children but few couples did not have children yet (some respondents were expecting a baby at the time of the interview). During the interviews both partners were present, which provides their shared narratives and dynamics regarding their parenting, experiences, aspirations, and educational expectations.

The interviews were semi-structured and included a set of questions, topics, and probes to create structure (Fossey et al. 2002, Trusts 2011b). This structure enables me to compare the findings across national contexts. All interviews were conducted by me, in either Dutch or English, in which I am both fluent. During the interviews I took an inductive approach by addressing subjects either through questions or comments (Snow, Zurcher, and Sjoberg 1982). Subjects included: respondents' own childhood, their childrearing practices, and the educational expectations that they have for their children. I addressed the 'Tiger Mother debate' directly, providing a springboard for discussions related to ethnic culture, education, and the success frame (see appendix B for the complete interview guide). Interviews lasted around two hours and took place at a location that was comfortable to the respondents, usually their home or a local coffee shop.

Data

All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed with AtlasTi. After re-reading all the interviews, I coded them based on general topics and then recoded each topic in more detailed to dissect specific themes. The interviews provide thick and detailed data that add to the authenticity (reliability) and trustworthiness (validity) of the findings (Benney and Hughes 1956, Lincoln and Guba 1985). The in-depth interviews present actions, emotions, and behavior of the second-generation Chinese and as such provide the study with their ‘emic’ point of view (Harris 1976). This is the strength of the qualitative data because emic standpoints make the data closely connected to the population (Benney and Hughes 1956, Guba and Lincoln 1994).

Potential bias

Being a native-born Dutch female without any Chinese roots or connections placed me in an ‘outsider’ position at most of the interviews (Emerson 2001).⁸ It also created barriers to accessing the research population. Gaining access was especially difficult in the case for the Chinese/Chinese couples in the Netherlands because the Chinese community in the Netherlands is very closed, tightly knit, and difficult to gain access to (Geense 2002). My outsider’s perspective was especially challenging during the first stages of my study, when I conducted the pilot interviews. During second data collection period, in which I collected the bulk of data, I had my first child. Being visibly pregnant and later a mother myself opened many new doors to new respondents, as I was able to take my son to ‘mommy and me’ groups, Chinese lessons, and parenting classes, and during the interviews, as the parents opened up, since we now shared a common language as (new) parents.

Another drawback of my research is that –as it is with most research –it contains an element of self-selection. Only ‘nice’ people, who are willing to be interviewed, participated in my study.⁹ I aimed to reduce this self-selection bias by recruiting respondents that resemble the overall population, by recruiting them through different sources, and by being conservative with snowball methods. I let recruitment continue until saturation took place (Fossey et al. 2002, Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2006), which Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 65) define as: is when “saturation is the point at which “no additional data are being found whereby the (researcher) can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated”. I reached saturation in the Netherlands after I interviewed 36 couples and in the United States after 39. Some couples were interviewed more than once.

1.5.3 The samples

Table 1.1 summarizes details of the samples collected for the purpose of this study. It shows how similar both samples are; except for having a Chinese spouse, there are no significant differences between second-generation Chinese in the United States and the second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands.

Table 1.1: Comparing samples in the United States and the Netherlands

	United States	Netherlands
<i>Demographics</i>		
Lives in metro area	84.2%	86.1%
Female	55.3%	75.0%
Age (average)	37.8 (7.097)	35.8 (5.114)
Number of children (averages)	1.5(.830)	1.292 (.831)
Age of first child (averages)	6.4 (4.359)	5.2 (4.353)
Spouse is Chinese*	52.6%	30.6%
<i>Socioeconomic Standing</i>		
High school (incl. Dutch MBO)	2.7%	11.4%
Undergraduate (incl. Dutch HBO)	37.8%	37.1%
Graduate (incl. Dutch Drs.)	59.5%	51.5%
Hours working each week	40.1 (14.154)	37.6 (10.881)
Stay at home mom	15.8%	5.6%
<i>Ethnic identity</i>		
Chinese	52.9%	40.0%
American/Dutch - Chinese	41.2%	45.0%
American/Dutch	5.9%	14.3%
<i>N</i>	38	36

* sig different $p < .05$

In both countries, I conducted most interviews in a large metropolitan area. In the United States this was in the greater LA region¹⁰, California's largest metropolitan area that houses over a quarter of all Californians and more than 10 percent of the total Chinese population in the United States (Terrazas and Batalova 2009). In the Netherlands, this was in the 'Randstad', the nation's main urban area which contains 40 percent of the Dutch population and twice as many Chinese as elsewhere in the country (Harmsen 1998).¹¹ The samples in both countries have a larger proportion of female respondents (55.3 and 75 percent respectively). This is because second-generation Chinese women are more likely to intermarry, which inflates the proportion of women in the sample. Another reason for the percentage of women being higher could be due to

a sampling bias (i.e. recruiting respondents at ‘mommy and me’ groups). The other demographics are similar too, such as average age (respectively 37.8 and 35.8), the average number of children (1.5 and 1.3), and average age of the first child (6.4 and 5.2). In the United States, I interviewed slightly more second-generation Chinese with a Chinese spouse than I did in the Netherlands (52.6 and 30.6 percent, respectively) that was because the Chinese/Chinese couples in the Netherlands were more reluctant to participate (see also: Geense 2002).

Second-generation Chinese in both countries have similar socioeconomic standings (SES). Parents’ SES should be kept in mind because class is related to parents’ resources and toward their social and cultural capital (Coleman 1988). Moreover, class also influences the approach parents have to childrearing. Parents of higher socioeconomic standing have higher educational expectations of their children and can ascribe to a culture that is distinctively different from that of lower socioeconomic classes (Kohn 1977, Lareau 2003). The vast majority of respondents are highly educated, which matches the level of education of the overall second-generation Chinese population in both countries (Lee 2012, Vogels 2011). Chapter 2 details on this too. In both countries, more than half of the respondents have a graduate degree (59.5 and 51.5 percent respectively).¹² The respondents work a similar amount (40.1 and 37.6 respectively) but—contrary to the overall population (OECD 2012)—there are more stay-at-home-mothers in the U.S. (not significant). Given that in both countries the second-generation Chinese have similar SES—also demonstrated when the couples talked about their professions (e.g. accountant, physician, or lawyer) and leisure activities (holidays, sports, hobbies)—these effects can be kept constant. The last resemblance between the samples is their ethnic identity. Holding ethnoracial identity constant is important because it can influence how parents socialize their children in racial terms (Hughes et al. 2006). Nearly all respondents identify as either only

Chinese or as American/Dutch-Chinese. The same is true for the ethnic identification of the larger population second-generation Chinese (Huijnk and Noam 2011, Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Perhaps second-generation Chinese in both countries are this alike because they were brought up in similar fashions. On both sides of the Atlantic, the second-generation Chinese describe childhoods that resemble those portrayed in the literature. Their parents raised them with strict rules, limited socialization with native-born peers, and, above all, strong emphasis on education, in other words, setting up a success frame. Maria (all names are pseudonyms) is one among many when she explains that her parents were “making sure that we got straight A's.” The second-generation Chinese grew up with high expectations from their parents, and their immigrant parents assumed that their children would excel and obtain at least a college degree. Satu, a mother of two, generalizes her experiences to the larger population: “Chinese parents always have very high expectations of their children; they should get at least a Bachelor degree. I have that experience too.” The second-generation was not only required to obtain at least a college degree, they also had to conform to their parents’ preferred study field they. Similar to the general population second-generation Chinese, the respondents grew up with their parents expecting specific majors, such as economics, medicine, and law (Geense and Pels 1998, Zhou 2009a). Ju says that her parents wanted her to study either medicine or law: “I was bad at physics and chemistry” she explains referring to why she did not apply to medical school, “so I studied law”. Comparing their childhood to the upbringing of their native-born peers, most realize that their youth was typical for second-generation Chinese. They ascribe these elements of their upbringing therefore to their ethnic culture, which stresses the depth of the success frame (Chiu

1987, Chao 2001, Pels 2000, Distelbrink, Geense, and Pels 2005, Zhou 2009a) Most second-generation Chinese do not want to raise their children in similar strict fashion.

1.6 Findings

This research shows that there are large variations between the ways in which second-generation Chinese set up success frames for their children, the mechanisms they employ to support these, and the flexibility they give to their borders. The differences presented here focus on the expectations that parents have of their children's academic achievements and the way that they implement these expectations. Second-generation Chinese parents with a Chinese partner living in the United States have the highest expectations (a graduate degree); second-generation Chinese with a Caucasian partner living in the Netherlands have the lowest (any level high school). Overall, I find that second-generation Chinese parents do not always continue to set up the same strict success frames they grew up with themselves, or support these frameworks to the same extent. Even the intramarried second-generation Chinese in the U.S., who set up even higher educational goals for their children than they had grown up with themselves, are not as rigorous in supporting these as their parents had been; they no longer push their children into specific (prestigious) occupations, nor do they employ rules as strict as the ones they grew up with, but they do come very close.

I find that national context influences parents' conception of the success frame. In the U.S., both intramarried and intermarried couples have higher expectations than their peers in the Netherlands. The effect of national context seemed stronger than the effect of assimilation. Assimilation into one national context yields different outcomes than assimilation into another national setting. Assimilation does not automatically imply shedding (all of) one's culture; in the

case of the United States assimilation could result in parents strengthening their success frame because here (high) educational expectations are part of the national culture and ideology. Second-generation Chinese in the U.S. continue to emphasize and talk about education more than their peers in the Netherlands. They also continue to support the educational expectations they have of their children and as such the success frame.

Assimilation changes how and to what extent parents support the success frame as they raise their children. In the United States, the intramarried parents are somewhat of an exception, by investing in their children, moving to better (school) districts, and instilling their specific values. In the Netherlands, parents barely talk about their strategies or academic outcome and emphasize the importance of their children's happiness instead. Comparing Chinese (Asian) parents to other ethnic parents shows that in the U.S., parents are also more likely to promote their children's future socioeconomic potential by raising them bilingual. Language maintenance can thus be perceived as another strategy through which parents tried to facilitate the success frame for their children.

1.7 Overview of the chapters

To arrive at the answers for the research questions, this dissertation contains five chapters. Of these chapters three are empirical, the other two are supporting but none the less essential in building my argument and providing background information on which the empirical work is based.

The chapter following this one (chapter 2) provides essential background details for my dissertation by presenting the two countries under study: the United States and the Netherlands. In this chapter I focus on: the countries as a whole (comparing their: welfare state structures,

education systems and ideologies, ethnoracial composition, immigration policies and histories, and incorporation policies of immigrants); the Chinese population within each of the countries (history, demographics, and immigration trajectories); and the second-generation Chinese population within each country, drawing both on the literature and on original analysis of the IIMMLA data and the SING data.

Chapter 3 is methodological and promotes the usage of quasi-experiments in cross-national immigration research. With the increase in number of countries to and from which immigrants arrive, cross-national comparative research is growing too (see also: Alba and Foner 2014). This increase creates a unique opportunity to examine how immigrants from the same country of origin fare in different destinations. Comparing the same immigrant population in different destinations creates a situation that can be treated ‘as if’ it is an experiment, a ‘quasi-experiments’ (Bloemraad 2006, 2013, Ghorashi 2002). This methods chapter lays out the argument that quasi-experimental research designs suit cross-national immigration research especially well. To increase the reliability of this type of research and the validity of the findings obtained, I propose three general guidelines: 1) selecting similar research populations (immigrant groups) in both countries; 2) focusing on specific countries under study; and 3) considering the incorporation of control groups.

Chapter 4 examines second-generation Chinese in the United States and the Netherlands and draws on the in-depth interview data. It feeds into the debate evoked by Amy Chua’s *Battle Hymn of a Tiger Mother*, in which Chua (2011a) describes how her strict Chinese cultural parenting style pushed her daughters to success. I examine this specific cultural socialization technique for the second-generation Chinese parents in both countries and add that parents create a success frame for their children to boost their academic outcomes. The findings show that

national context—focusing on different school systems and social security safety nets—can act as an intervening variable by affecting the creation and support of this success frame. U.S.-born Chinese parents continue to channel their offspring towards high educational achievement, while their peers born in the Netherlands emphasize the importance of their children’s free choice and happiness.

Chapter 5 zooms in on the differences between intramarried and intermarried second-generation Chinese in both the United States and the Netherlands. Here, I add depth to the between country differences uncovered in chapter 4 and evaluate if there are within country differences as well. The within country comparisons shed light on the impact of assimilation on parents’ childrearing dynamics on the framing and support of success. Within each country, the intermarried second-generation Chinese have lower educational expectations of their children and put less pressure on their offspring to obtain high achievements. This is in part because parents have less ethnic networks to draw on to support their success frame. While educational achievement remains an important goal for parents in the U.S., it is less so for parents in the Netherlands. The intramarried parents in the United States establish especially high expectations of success, and frame their success at even higher levels than their parents had done.

Chapter 6 does not make a cross-national comparison, nor does it compare intramarried and intermarried second-generation Chinese. Instead, it focuses on one of the strategies that second-generation Chinese parents can employ to boost the potential socioeconomic outcomes of their children and reinforce their success frame: raising them bilingual. In this chapter I compare several ethnic groups, including the second-generation Chinese, and argue that there are different reasons for parents to raise bilingual children. I focus on a bilingual dichotomy of ‘folk’ bilingualism vs. ‘elite’ bilingualism and show (based on analysis of ACS data) that ‘folk’

bilingualism occurs in households with members from disadvantaged backgrounds, regardless of the presence of young children, and that ‘elite’ bilingualism takes place in households with couples from advantaged backgrounds and that these couples switch (back) to speaking their heritage language once they become parents. Asian parents fall within the ‘elite’ bilingualism realm, but are treated separately from the dichotomy because they are most likely to make this shift back to their mother tongue. I include interview data of the second-generation Chinese to provide context to the quantitative findings and to elaborate on parents’ motivations for making the shift. The interview data show that second-generation Chinese parents speak their heritage language to their offspring in order to maintain their culture and because they feel that it can provide their children with opportunities in an economy where China has increasing power.

In the last chapter of this dissertation, chapter 7, I discuss the findings of this dissertation and couple them back to the four research questions. This chapter synthesizes these findings and addresses theoretical and policy implications. I also review the shortcomings of the study and make recommendations for additional research that can push the new focus of research, second-generation adults and their third-generation offspring, forward.

Chapter 2

United States vs. Netherlands

The international comparison between the United States and the Netherlands is a central part of this dissertation. Describing each country in detail is important, because it can be deceiving to compare two countries merely based on one single scheme of ‘grand ideas’. While scholars who conduct international comparative studies, often do resort to such comparisons (Alba and Foner 2014), I would rather provide a more complete picture of the countries studied. I compare the United States and the Netherlands based on five points: welfare state policies; education systems and ideologies; ethnoracial composition; immigration histories and developments; and immigrant incorporation policies. The focus of this study is second-generation Chinese, which is why I include both a section on Chinese immigrant history and current communities in each country and a section on the second-generation specifically. This last section compares the second-generation Chinese in the larger Los Angeles area and the Netherlands based on original data (IIMMLA and SING, respectively).

2.1 The stage: two countries

The Netherlands and the United States differ on a number of national structures. Here I focus on those that likely influence how immigrants arrive, how they are received, the direction of their incorporation, and how they are viewed by the general population (Xie and Goyette 1996, Alba and Nee 2003). While scholars usually focus only on one structure or domain to frame their cross-national comparisons (Brubaker 1992, Kymlicka 2012, Torpey 2009, Bloemraad 2006), I focus on five of them. These domains are by no means the only ones where the United States and

the Netherlands differ, nor does pointing out these differences imply that the two countries do not also have things in common.

2.1.1 Welfare state structures

The United States is a liberal welfare state. Liberal welfare states are stratified, subscribe to free market ideology, and have little government interference in private (family) life (Esping-Andersen 1996). The U.S. liberal welfare state is based on the American Creed: believing in the American Dream, pulling oneself up by the bootstraps, and working hard for success (Lipset 1996). This emphasis on individual responsibility implies that social security is only allotted to individuals in times of need. In fact, it was “deliberately designed to create a sense of shame and moral inferiority on the part of those who sought relief rather than work” (Handler and Hollingsworth 1969, 1).

The Netherlands has a social democratic welfare regime. The government plays a large role in people’s private lives and it promotes socioeconomic equality through high taxes and elaborate welfare programs (Esping-Andersen 1996). Another unique element of the Dutch social-democratic welfare state is its support for (part-time) stay at home mothers. The expansion of post-War welfare programs focused on the family and implemented policies to promote a male breadwinner model. Relatively high salaries and low cost of living provide further incentives for women to stay home with their (young) children. While only about a fifth of American mothers stay home (UsCensus 2012), about a third of Dutch mothers with young children do (Janssen and Portegijs 2011). Moreover, the social democratic welfare state enables Dutch women overwhelmingly to work part-time (Portegijs and Kreuzekamp 2008).

2.1.2 Education systems and ideologies

Welfare structures influence the incentive to acquire (higher) education and a stable profession. In liberal welfare states, education can protect against poverty, while in social democratic welfare states the government may offer such safety net. Moreover, in liberal welfare states, the gap between high and low skilled jobs is larger than it is in countries with a social democratic welfare structure (Esping-Andersen 1996). Different welfare state structures not only provide varying motivations to obtain higher education, but also promote distinct educational systems and approaches regarding education.

In the U.S. liberal welfare system, society is stratified, almost bifurcated, and education can provide a ticket to upward mobility. People view education as a virtue to which everyone should have equal access. According to the U.S. Department of Education, the American education system is egalitarian, available to everyone, and in public schools students ostensibly receive the same basic curriculum. One consequence of this supposedly unbiased system is that it only rewards those who graduate, one either ‘swims or sinks’. Dropping out of high school is penalized with low-skill and low-pay jobs that provide limited benefits.¹³ Completing high school, and especially with excellence, on the other hand, is rewarded. It can open many doors, ranging from acceptance to (prominent) colleges, to merit-based fellowships, and higher salaries. This academic system creates a competitive system where students aim for the highest grades to outperform their peers.

The Dutch education system, one could argue, is nearly the opposite. At sixth grade, based on a national test and teacher’s recommendations, students are tracked into one of three high school trajectories. Parents and educators consider test performances to be based on children’s abilities and potential. The popular media reports that parents occasionally enroll their

children in preparation programs, yet, the majority of pupils still take the test based on their current knowledge and innate capabilities (Van Tubergen and Van de Werfhorst 2007). Ambition and outperforming others are seen as negative rather than positive traits (Van Stigt 2012). Or as the Dutch proverb goes: “*Wie voor een dubbeltje geboren wordt, wordt nooit een kwartje*” (literarily translated: those who are born a dime will never become a quarter”), which summarizes the traditional Calvinist values of not trying to transcend one’s peers.

After taking the exit exam at primary school, students are tracked into lower (applied), or middle or higher (theoretical) high school. After high school, the tracking continues into either lower vocational training (e.g. plumber, painter, salesperson); professional/associate degrees (e.g. nurse, social worker); or academic (university degree). Until 2008, the first degree at university took five years to complete and included both bachelor and masters’ degrees. The tracked education system reduces competition as the majority of universities is public and accepts most graduates from an academic track high school. Some highly desired study directions, such as medicine, base their admissions on a lottery system. While things are slowly starting to change, currently Dutch students still have little reason to outperform their peers.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Dutch government provides students with monthly stipends and affordable loans, which might further reduce this incentive (Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen 2007).

2.1.3 Ethnoracial Composition

The ethnoracial composition of the populations in the United States and the Netherlands differ greatly; the United States is ethnically diverse and the Netherlands is relatively homogeneous.

There are three sources for the ethnoracial diversity in the United States that the Netherlands lacks: 1) presence of an indigenous population, 2) large number of people who are the ancestors of slaves, and 3) a long and diverse history of immigration.

When the first Europeans set foot on what is now American soil, the country was populated by dozens of native Indian tribes. Currently, two percent of the population indicates to be of the Indian race, about half also have at least one additional race. The Netherlands, does not have an indigenous population, the Dutch are the indigenous population.

The United States and the Netherlands both have a history of slavery. The majority of blacks in the United States are the decedents of slaves who were brought involuntarily. Even though the Dutch participated in the slave trade and shipped slaves to and between their colonies, they did not bring them to the motherland. Many of the current immigrants from the former Dutch colonies, such as Surinam, are decedents of these slaves (Emmer 2000). While officially the black populations in the Netherlands and the United States may have similar backgrounds, their past and current circumstances are incomparable. In the United States, blacks have a long history of formal suppression, segregation, and deprivation. Many still struggle to access the white mainstream, which holds most opportunities (Lee and Bean 2004, 2010, Bonilla-Silva 2004). This is not the case in the Netherlands, where blacks are 'just' another group of recent immigrants.¹⁵ The Netherlands has no discourse on race.

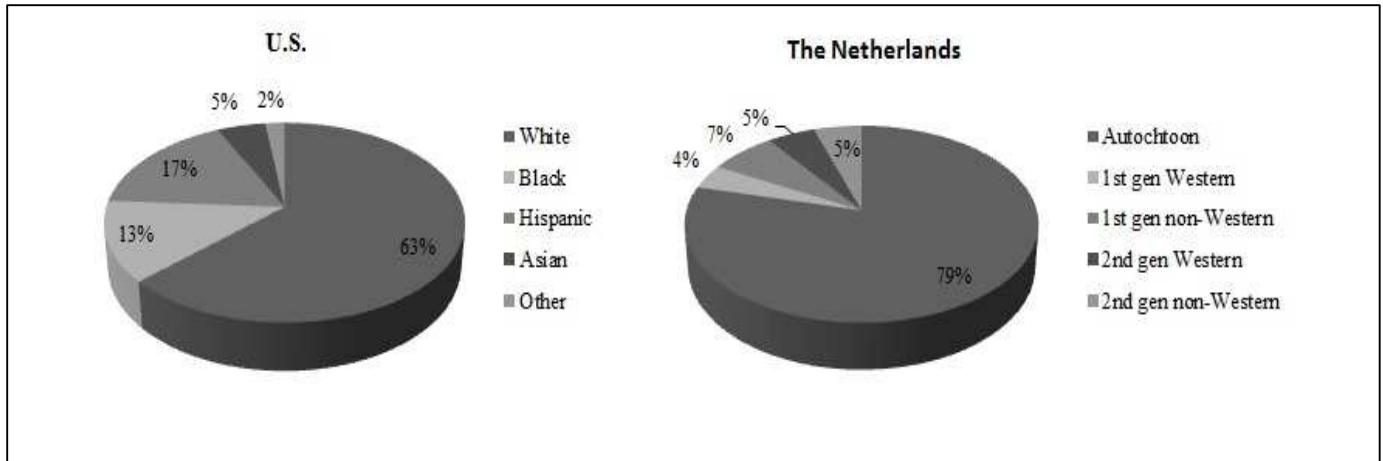
The third reason why the U.S. population is more diverse than the population of the Netherlands is because the former is an immigration country and has always actively recruited immigrants. Being an immigrant country also attracted many immigrants to come on their own, invited or not, welcome or not (Daniels 2004, Kanstroom 2007). When Congress passed the Hart-Cellar act in 1965 and made it easier for immigrants from Asia and Latin America to immigrate and/or bring their families, the country diversified even further (Zolberg 2006). In the Netherlands, large scale migration is a relatively new phenomenon. Here, an important distinction is made between western and non-western immigrants. This division refers to

immigrants' geographic origin and/or the socioeconomic development of their country of origin. For example, immigrants from Indonesia (a former Dutch colony), fall in the western category, as do immigrants from Japan. While immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East are non-western. The four largest immigrant groups have roots in: Morocco, Turkey, Surinam, and the Dutch Antilles.¹⁶ The next largest group is the Chinese. Of the total Dutch population, 11 percent has non-western roots.

The different racial histories and ethnic compositions of the United States and the Netherlands resulted in different discourse on race and ethnic categorization. In the US, race and the different racial categories are part of a common rhetoric to describe oneself and the country's diverse population. While different racial categories evolved over time, the main categories are strongly institutionalized through the U.S. Census (Nobles 2000). According to the U.S. Census (2014), currently 62.6 percent of the population is non-Hispanic white, 13.2 is black, 17.1 is Hispanic, 5.3 is Asian, and 1.4 has a different race, such as native Hawaiian¹⁷. This does not include people who report more than one race, which almost 3 percent of the population does (Jones and Bullock 2012). The Netherlands does not collect census data and has no discourse on race or ethnicity. There is no racial institutionalized categorization nor is there a (decennial) census to (re)enforce such a labeling. The population is usually classified by (parents') country of origin. Native-born Dutch whose grandparents are born in the Netherlands are *autochoon*. People with at least one foreign-born parent are *allochtoon*, either western or non-western. Currently one fifth of the population is allochtoon, 40 years ago this was 11 percent. Figure 2.1 shows that 9.3 percent of this allochtoon population is western and 11.6 is non-western. Figure 2.1 also distinguishes first from second-generation. While the grandchildren of immigrants are officially *autochoon* and no longer detectable in the official data, people may refer to them as:

‘the third-generation’. This categorization labels them and excludes the from forming a Dutch identity (Saharso 2006). As a result, even grandchildren from Turkish immigrants, for example, are often still viewed as Turks, and more often than not still referred to as ‘foreigner

Figure 2.1: Race in the U.S. and immigrant status in the Netherlands



Source: USCensus (2014) and the Netherlands (CBS 2013)

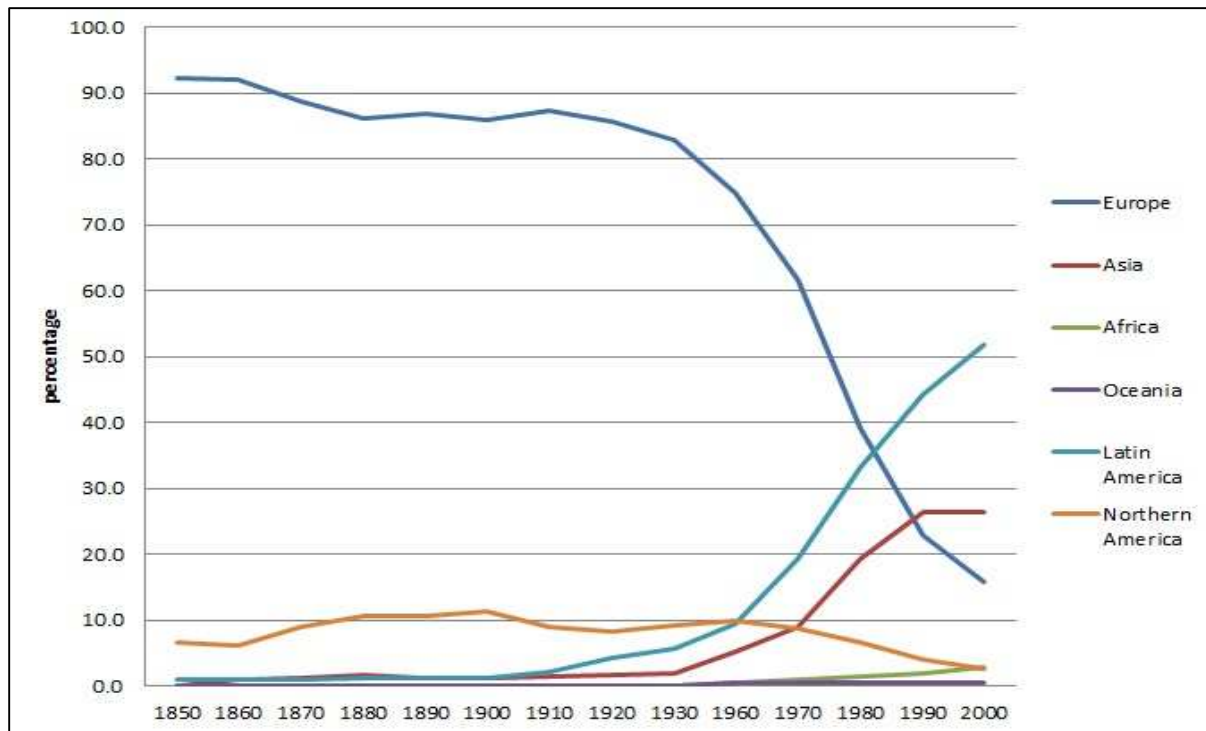
2.1.4 Immigration policies and histories

The first settlers who came to the United States were in a way, immigrants and immigrants have continued to come ever since. To create unity between all its newcomers, the United States established a system of inclusion based on its values of the American Creed (Joppke 1999, Huntington 2004). This is not to say that everyone has always been welcome in the United States. In the late eighteen hundreds, when immigration policies started to take shape, many laws focused on restricting access or enabling deportation of specific undesired populations, such as criminals, prostitutes, persons against the government, and specific ethnic groups, such as the Chinese (Kanstroom 2007). One important hallmark of the U.S. immigration system is its quota system. This system was established in 1924 and provided visas to 2% of the total number of

people in the United States from each country of origin (population size was based on the 1890 census, when the population was predominantly European), but excluded Asians (Kanstroom 2007).

Immigration policies changed dramatically after World War Two, as discontent was rising over the controversial bracero guest-worker program, which had brought many Mexican guest workers (Zolberg 2006). The Civil Rights movements increased discontent regarding race-based immigration policies further. The 1965 Immigration Act ended the ridged national origins quota system and shifted the focus to family migration. While the act aimed to increase immigration from Europe, it instead increased migration from Latin America and Asia. Figure 3 below shows these changes over time.

Figure 2.2: World region of birth of the U.S foreign-born population, changes over time



Source: U.S. CENSUS (2006)

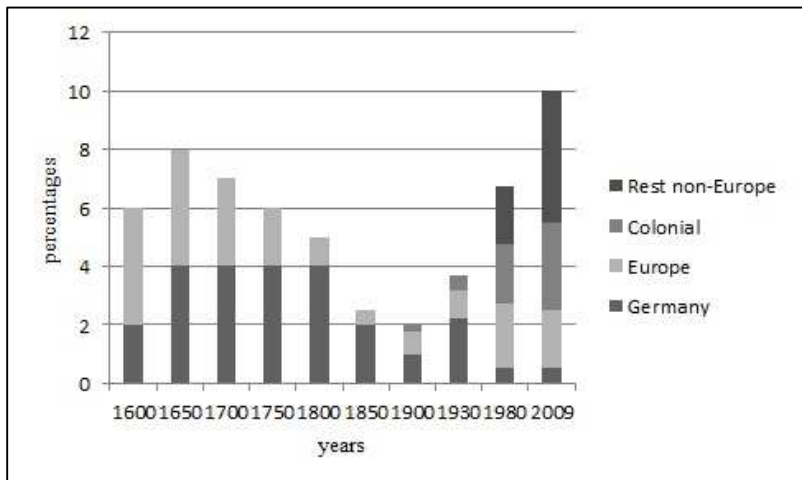
Another consequence of the Hart-Celler Act was that U.S. assimilation policies became more open for cultural diversity and, a shift took place from cultural uniformity and conformity, to tolerance of multicultural diversity (Ueda 1994). This is not to say, however, that the U.S. emphasis on assimilation has waned (Kivisto 2005) and diversity is mostly based on national and ethnic origin.

There is a lot of controversy over to what extent the diversification of the society is desirable and whether the meanings of belonging and citizenship has or should change. For example, George Borjas (1999) claims that immigrants today are less skilled than their predecessors, are more likely to acquire public assistance, and are far more likely to have children who remain poor and in segregated communities. Others, such as Frank Bean and his colleagues (Bean and Bell-Rose 1999, Bean and Stevens 2003, Van Hook and Bean 2009), contest this and show that that the job market has expanded to absorb the newcomers and has done so without driving down wages or preventing the native-born population from finding jobs. Economic participation is an important indicator of national belonging, citizenship is another. It is for this reason that undocumented immigration has received an increasing amount attention within the U.S. immigration discourse. And while deportation laws are as old as the immigration to the U.S. (one of the first immigrant groups to be deported were the Chinese), it has been an especially provocative subject of debate and political action in the last decade (Kanstroom 2007). Despite the growing numbers of undocumented immigrants, the numbers of legal migration still surpass these. Moreover, the size of the second-generation is growing and it is this generation that determines the outlook of society even more so. It is therefore not surprising that scholars increasingly shift their attention to study this population (Portes and Zhou 1993, Waters 1994,

Gans 1997, Zhou 1997, Zhou and Bankston 1998, Kibria 2002, Louie 2006, Stevens, McKillip, and Ishizawa 2006, PewResearchCenter 2013a).

The immigration history in the Netherlands is not nearly as forming as it is in the United States. The Netherlands is not a country of immigrants. It did, however, receive immigrants throughout most of its recent history. The Netherlands was known for being a liberal and tolerant country that prospered especially during the Golden Age. These characteristics made the Netherlands a popular place for immigrants who ran from prosecution, sought economic opportunities, or needed (religious) freedom. Moreover, because the extended voyages of the Dutch East India Company, many immigrants were able to move between colonies and the different trade countries (Lucassen and Lucassen 2011b). Figure 4 shows the different regions of origin from which immigrants arrived to the Netherlands changed throughout time. It must be added that there were and are large discrepancies between the different regions of reception. The cities have always received more immigrants than the countryside. For example, around 1600, Leiden had a population 55% foreigners (Lucassen and Lucassen 2011a) and currently many of the big cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam have similar percentages.

Figure 2.3: Regions of origin for migration to the Netherlands

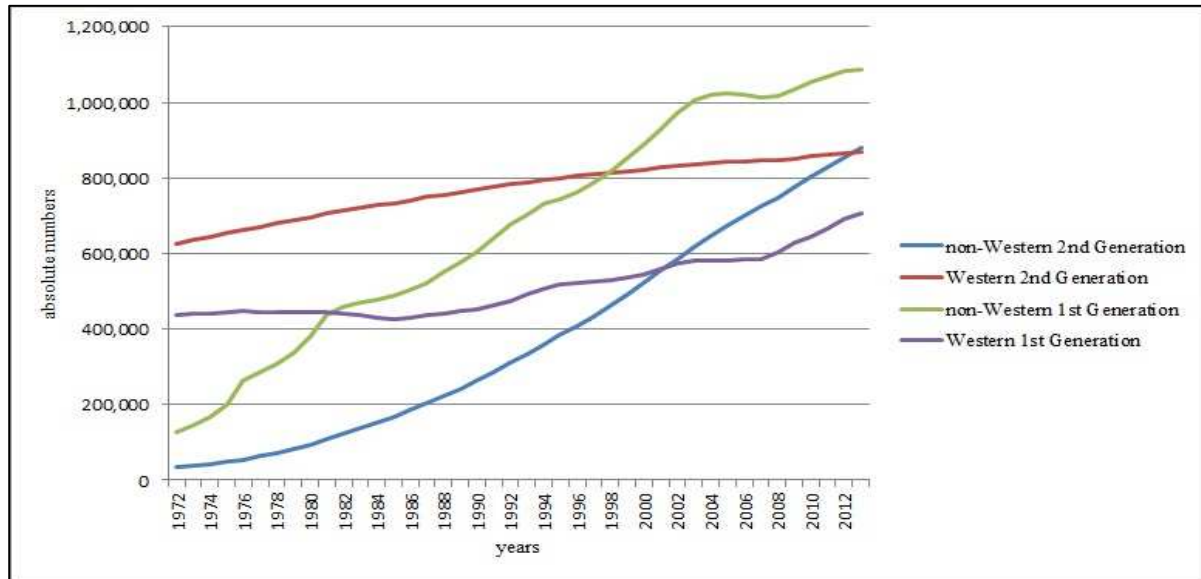


Source: Adapted from Lucassen and Lucassen (2011a).

Immigration really started to have an impact on the Netherlands during the second-half of the twentieth century, even though migrants had arrived during the first half of the twentieth century—refugees escaping the Great War and Chinese immigrants arriving to work in the shipyards. Immigrants can be divided into three categories: migrants (or returnees) from former colonies; refugees and asylum seekers; and guest workers and their families. During the years following their independence in 1949 and 1975, many migrants came from the former Dutch colonies of Indonesia and Surinam. The Netherlands has always been considered a safe haven for refugees escaping religious prosecution. During the 1990s the number of refugees and asylum seekers increased, but has since declined (Dourleijn and Dagevos 2011).

The largest wave of immigration, and the most controversial one, occurred as the Netherlands recruited many guest workers to help rebuild the nation after World War II. The intention was to have these migrants come for only a short period. However, as the economy started to collapse following the oil crisis of 1973, many decided to stay. In the nineteen seventies, these guest workers (mostly men) started to bring their wives and children, and settled in the Netherlands (De Valk et al. 2001, Garssen, Nicolaas, and Sprangers 2005). Figure 2.4 shows how the number of immigrants in the Netherlands has changed over time. A separation is made between Western and non-western immigrants and between first- and second-generation.

Figure 2.4: First-and second-generation population in the Netherlands, through time



Source: Statline 2014

Most of the Dutch immigration literature and debate has focused on incorporation of the four largest immigrant groups who arrived from: Turkey, Morocco, Surinam, and the Dutch Antilles.¹⁸ During the last decade this debate has become heated, and many have claimed that immigrants are not assimilated enough. Critics argue that the Dutch multicultural assimilation policies have failed (Scheffer 2000) and see the (especially Muslim) immigrants as a threat to Dutch cultural values. Others claim that the government is not doing enough to help immigrants and their children incorporate. It is especially the presumed lack incorporation of the second-generation that worries many. In the largest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag, Utrecht), more than half of the population under 18 has parents who are foreign born (De Valk et al. 2009). These cities also struggle with problems related to immigration, such as segregation, crime, and unemployment. But geographic segregation is not the only problem, some claim, institutional and cultural segregation are far more problematic (Scheffer 2004).

To fight segregation and promote incorporation, current policies aim to increase the Dutch identity of immigrants and their children. This is important because the majority of native-born Dutch continue to perceive first, second, and even third-generation immigrants as non-Dutch, regardless of their nationality. Consequently, many immigrants and their children feel excluded from entering the Dutch mainstream (Duyvendak and Rijkschroeff 2003). The majority of immigrants in the Netherlands does not feel strongly connected to the Netherlands and maintains ties with their country of origin (Gijsberts and Dagevos 2005). Things are different for the second-generation though. The second-generation has higher levels of education than their parents and is more connected to the Netherlands on an emotional level (Huijnk and Noam 2011, De Valk et al. 2009, Gijsberts and Dagevos 2005). The second-generation is growing, which has a large impact on the demographic outlook of the Netherlands, who has a shrinking native-born population.

2.1.5 Incorporation policies of immigrants

The inclusion of second-generation in the receiving country depends in part on the country's citizenship laws; is citizenship acquired by birth (*jus soli*), such as in the United States and France, or through bloodline (*jus sanguinis*), as was the case in Germany until 2000, and still is the case in Israel (Koopmans et al. 2005, Brubaker 1990). Inclusion in the receiving context can also be influenced by how the country defines itself. Does it define itself as an immigrant country (such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia) or does it not, such as most Western European countries, including the Netherlands (Castles and Miller 2003, Lindo 2005, De Valk et al. 2001). These two points of inclusion often influence the place that the country's politicians take on the multiculturalism –assimilation continuum (and vice versa). The position on the continuum, often

directs immigration- and incorporation-related policies (Koopmans et al. 2005), the political climate regarding immigration, and the extent to what immigrants and their children are able to maintain their heritage language and culture. Holding on to one's heritage culture can impact the way immigrants identify themselves and their children, and how they are viewed by the non-immigrant population (Jenkins 2000). The United States and the Netherlands have different takes on immigrant incorporation. These approaches determine (1) the ease with which immigrants and their children can obtain citizenship, and (2) the support that policies (indirectly) provide in maintaining the success frame.

Although the United States is a multicultural *society*, its incorporation policies and practices are assimilative (Zhou 1997, Kivisto 2005). As an immigration country, the United States receives large groups of immigrants each year. This has required the United States to establish incorporation strategies through which immigrants and their offspring reduce their affiliation with their heritage culture and become Americans as soon as possible (Castles and Miller 2003, Dinnerstein and Reimers 2009). Ideally, "the newcomers do little to disturb the society they are settling in and become as much like their compatriots as possible" (Modood 2005, p. 3). Whereas this classical straight-line assimilation has been questioned regarding the new second-generation (Alba and Nee 1997, Neckerman, Carter, and Lee 1999, Portes and Zhou 1993, Perlmann and Waldinger 1997, Portes and Rumbaut 2001), the pressure to blend-in is still present (DeWind and Kasinitz 1997, Alba 1990, Bean and Stevens 2003, Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The U.S. government expects immigrants to assimilate and moves their culture to the private sphere because preserving it remains a democratic right (Koopmans 2003).

The multicultural incorporation approach in the Netherlands enables immigrants to maintain their cultural identity (Koopmans 2003). Most of the Dutch multicultural incorporation

policies target labor migrants and their offspring. Because these guest workers were expected to return to their countries of origin (De Valk et al. 2001, Garssen, Nicolaas, and Sprangers 2005), they were encouraged to maintain their elements of their heritage culture. The Dutch government sponsored a number of culture and language programs that fostered their culture and as such would ease their transition back home (Duyvendak and Rijkschroeff 2003, Entzinger 2003). Even once the guest workers started to bring their wives and children, these policies Dutch multicultural policies did not adapt. In fact, in one of the most important policies pertaining to immigrants, the minorities policies (*minderheidennota*) of 1983, it was emphasized that integration into the Dutch society was desired but only with retention of ethnic identity (Entzinger, 2003). To this end, the Dutch government actively played a role in the conservation of immigrants' ethnic identity. It was not until the early two thousands that incorporation strategies began to shift (Scheffer 2000).

The Dutch multicultural society is egalitarian and pluralistic, which has two main roots: pillarization, and the *polder model*. Pillarization, which was prominent during the first half of the 20th century, informally divided the Dutch population into several subgroups based on religion or ideology. Each subgroup (pillar) had its own broadcasting outlets, schools, and political parties.¹⁹ The Dutch society is no longer pillarized, but some of its infrastructure remains. The Dutch government continues to subsidize institutions based on religion or ideology, such as schools, broadcasting channels, and newspapers. Critics argue that immigrants utilize these institutionalized opportunities to establish their own organizations and that it hinders their incorporation process (Scheffer 2000, Crul and Schneider 2009).

The Dutch society also remains multicultural because of its renowned *polder model*. According to this model, the government encourages individuals to organize themselves based

on shared interests to discuss their benefits with the local and national government (Duyvendak and Rijkschroeff 2003). This egalitarian system based on participant democracy, encourages (ethnic) immigrant groups to establish institutions related to their national origin, religion, or ethnicity (Scheffer 2000). It is safe to conclude that in the Netherlands, immigrants have opportunities to maintain their culture, as the government stimulates them to set up their own organizations (Advokaat et al. 2005).

2.2 Chinese immigration history and current communities

The transformation of the Chinese populations in the United States and the Netherlands is remarkable. In both countries they first arrived to perform the jobs that the locals would not do (Benton and Vermeulen 1987, Van Heek 1936, Kwong and Miščević 2005) and in both countries they moved up the socioeconomic ladder, reaching all the way to the top; the current second-generation outperforms their peers of all ethnoracial backgrounds (Lee and Zhou 2013). Moreover, their image changed 180 degrees too: From being an undesired population that was excluded from society, to being a population with one of the highest intermarriage rates (PewResearchCenter 2013a). Below I discuss the Chinese immigration histories and current communities in more detail for the United States and the Netherlands separately.

2.2.1 The United States

The gold rush in California, the construction of the transcontinental railroad, and the demand for agricultural workers after the abolishment of slavery brought large numbers of Chinese (coolies) to the U.S. (Dinnerstein and Reimers 2009, Daniels 2004). They worked under stringent conditions and various testimonies describe their hardship to make ends meet in the United

States and support their wife (and concubines) back in China (Kwong and Miščevič 2005). Not only did the Chinese work the jobs that the Americans shunned, they were also treated as a social outcaste by American politicians (Ueda 1994). Public campaigns placed them in a negative spotlight and “the Chinese were accused of having low morals, specifically of practicing prostitutions and smoking opium; of low health standards; and of corrupt influences and practices” (Dinnerstein and Reimers 1999, 74). Consequently, it was not uncommon for them to be assaulted by mobs.

But, the biggest insult Chinese immigrants had to suffer was the systematic discrimination by the U.S. government. Chinese were subject to special head taxes and laws regarding their hotels and laundries and were excluded all together when the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 took effect. This Statute prevented Chinese and their offspring from naturalization and from bringing their wife(s) and children from China. Moreover, it enabled officials to deport (illegal) Chinese immigrants easier (Kanstroom 2007, Daniels 2004). Around the middle of the twentieth century, policies became more lenient. In 1943 the Exclusion Act was lifted and China was given an immigration quota of 120. Moreover, Chinese merchants were allowed to come to the United States and so where the children and wives of Chinese residents. This loophole in the law created an inventive migration system where Chinese brought 'paper sons' and 'picture brides' to the United States (Motomura 2006, Daniels 2004). Once in America, the Chinese congregated in specific neighborhoods of large cities. During 1940 and 1950s the Chinatowns started to grow in cities like New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles

In 1965 with the passing of the Hart-Celler Act (Civil Rights Act) things changed for the Chinese. The quota for Chinese increased to 20,000, which excluding the immigration of family members (Daniels 2004). As a result, the Chinese population in the United States rose

dramatically. Moreover, once the People's Republic of China (CPR) opened its borders for emigrants to leave the country in 1978, these numbers rose even further. In 1960 there were less than 100,000 Chinese immigrants in the United States, half a decade later there were close to 1.8 million (McCabe 2012). When also including the American born Chinese this number nearly doubles. The Chinese population is currently the fourth largest ethnic group in the United States (USCensus 2010).

The Chinese are a highly organized group (Marinelli 2001). Preservation of Chinese culture has always been fundamental within Chinese communities, even during, or as might be argued, as a result of, their legal exclusion and their deprivation of educational opportunities. Moreover, as a consequence of their oppression, the Chinese established their own schools to provide language and culture training for their offspring (Leung 1975). They did so because educational advancement and academic success are important virtues of the Chinese culture (Kelley and Tseng 1992, Kibria 1997).

These values of academic success and educational advancement are still stressed by first-generation Chinese immigrant parents as they raise their second-generation children (Zhou 2009a, Zhou and Kim 2006, Kibria 2002) As an effect, American born Chinese have levels of education that surpass those of any other ethnic group, including non-Hispanic whites. This success labeled them—together with other certain second-generation Asians—as a model minority ((Lee 2013, Feliciano 2006, Bonilla-Silva 2004).

Level of education is shown to be related to the degree to which ethnic groups marry other ethnic groups (Blau, Blum, and Schwartz 1982, Kalmijn 1998, Morrison 1989, Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre 1995). It is therefore not surprising that intermarriages between Chinese and Caucasian ethnicities are not uncommon among the second-generation. Marriages between

Chinese and Caucasians are, however, a relatively new phenomenon because they were banned under anti-miscegenation laws that lasted in some states until 1967 (Bonilla-Silva 2004, Berreman 1972). Currently interethnic marriages between Chinese and Caucasian populations have become increasingly common (Edmonston and Lee 2005).

2.2.2 The Netherlands.

The Chinese population in the Netherlands is very diverse and one of the oldest immigrant groups in the country (Wubben 1986). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Dutch East India Company (VOC) navigated the Indian Ocean and brought many Chinese to the Netherlands and her colonies (Rijkschroeff 1998). In the Netherlands, they congregated in the port cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, where they worked at the shipyards and set up small business. At the beginning of the 20th century, Rotterdam had the largest Chinese community in Europe (Rijkschroeff 1998, Van Heek 1936). The Great Depression and Second World War brought an end to these vibrant communities and the sentiments towards immigrants began to change.

As many of the shipyards closed, the majority of Chinese were left without work. Not having an official legal status in the Netherlands worsened their standing and during the Great Depression and Second World War the Chinese immigrants became a social outcast (Benton and Vermeulen 1987). Anti-Chinese migration policies and frequent deportations resulted in their numbers to drop to 800 (Wubben 1986).

After World War II, the Chinese population started to grow again and so did its heterogeneity. For instance, decolonization of Dutch territories in Indonesia and Surinam enabled many ethnic Chinese who lived in these countries to become Dutch citizens. Once in the

Netherlands, the Chinese established small businesses such as dry cleaners, grocery stores, and restaurants. Their eateries found a niche market among immigrants and Dutch officials who returned from Indonesia and missed the flavors of the East. Soon enough the general population became interested in the especially developed 'Indo-Chinese' food too, it was cheap, portions were large, and one could take it home to consume while watching Sunday sports. The concept on Chinese take-away became an integrated element of Dutch culture which resulted in Chinese restaurants opening throughout the whole country; every town has at least one Chinese restaurant. At the end of the twentieth century there were almost two thousand Chinese restaurants (Rijkschroeff 1998).

The success of the Chinese restaurants created pull factors that motivated Chinese to move to the Netherlands. Political unrest in Hong Kong and the People's Republic provided further incentive for people to leave, especially after China's policy changes of 1978 enabled more people to do so, and in the years before 1997 (when Great Britain handed Hong Kong back to China). The family reunification that followed increased numbers even further (Rijkschroeff 1998). Since the turn of the twentieth century, there is a new wave of Chinese immigrants coming to the Netherlands. These are mostly young women and men who come on temporal visas to study or work as a Ph.D. or Postdoc fellow. It is estimated that in 2009 there were more than 7000 Chinese students in the Netherlands. Although it is too hard to tell yet, it seems that many of these temporarily immigrants end up staying in the Netherlands (Gijsberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011). The total number of Chinese in the Netherlands is difficult to estimate. Some say it is around the 29,759 (Marinelli 2001), others, such as certain Chinese organizations (2007) estimate the number around the hundred thousand.²⁰ Since 2000 this number has grown because

many Chinese come to the Netherlands for study or work. It is one of the fastest growing immigrant groups (Gijsberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011).

The Chinese community in the Netherlands is known as a close tightly knit, and self-reliant (Geense 2002). They have a large number of organizations catering for elderly, women, and youth (see Minghuan 1999 for an extensive overview). They provide language classes, Saturday schools, socialization opportunities, oriental medicine, and elderly care. Most of the organizations are privately financed because it was not until 2004 that the Chinese were officially recognized as a minority group. The government had not included them in their minority policies because, compared to other immigrant groups in the Netherlands, their unemployment rate and dependency on social security was too low and their level of education of the second-generation too high (Vogels 2011).

The majority of first-generation Chinese in the Netherlands work in Chinese hospitality services or other ethnic businesses (Rijkschroeff 1998). The second-generation practically grew up in these restaurants, helping out on weekends from a very early age. Parents put a lot of pressure on their children to obtain high education so they would not end up working in the restaurant (Geense and Pels 1998). The Chinese restaurants are dispersed all over the country (since every Dutch town has at least one). Consequentially, many second generation Chinese grew up with few or no other Chinese children around. But, since the Netherlands is so small, access to ethnic services at nearby bigger cities was never far (Linder et al. 2011). The Chinese second-generation grew up between two worlds and feeling like a ‘banana’; ‘yellow from the outside, white from the inside’ (Witte 2009).

Marriages between native Dutch and second-generation Chinese are still relatively uncommon, in part because the second-generation is still so young. The disparity between

second-generation women and men is striking. Compared to second-generation Chinese men, second-generation Chinese women are more likely choose a native Dutch partner and these trends have been increasing since 1999 and 2002 (Linder et al. 2011). Of the second-generation, 31 % of the women and 13% of the men married a native-born Dutch (De Beer and Harmsen 2003).

2.3 Comparing the second-generation Chinese in the United States and the Netherlands

Here I compare the general populations of second-generation Chinese in the United States (larger Los Angeles Metropolitan area only) and the Netherlands. For the United States, data are a subset of the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) data. These data were collected in five counties around LA: Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, Riverside and San Bernardino. In the Netherlands data come from the Survey Integration New Groups (SING) that was collected by the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (SCP).²¹

2.3.1 Demographics

Of both datasets I only selected 1.5 (migrated at age 12 or younger) and second-generation Chinese (roots in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan or Vietnam). I include the 1.5 generation to increase the sample size (but for the purpose of simplicity, I refer to sample as second-generation). In both countries, 47 percent of the respondents are female. Average ages of the populations are very similar too. In the United States this is 27.8 and in the Netherlands 28.2. Since the second-generation Chinese is still so young it is not surprising that the majority is not (yet) married. Table 2 1 shows these basic demographic details.

Table 2.1: Second and 1.5 generation Chinese

	United States	Netherlands
Percent female	47	47
Average age	27.8	28.2
Standard deviation age	5.9	12.5
Marital status		
Never married	67.8	74.1
Married	25.7	24.6
Divorced/widow	3.3	1.3
<i>N</i>	518	232

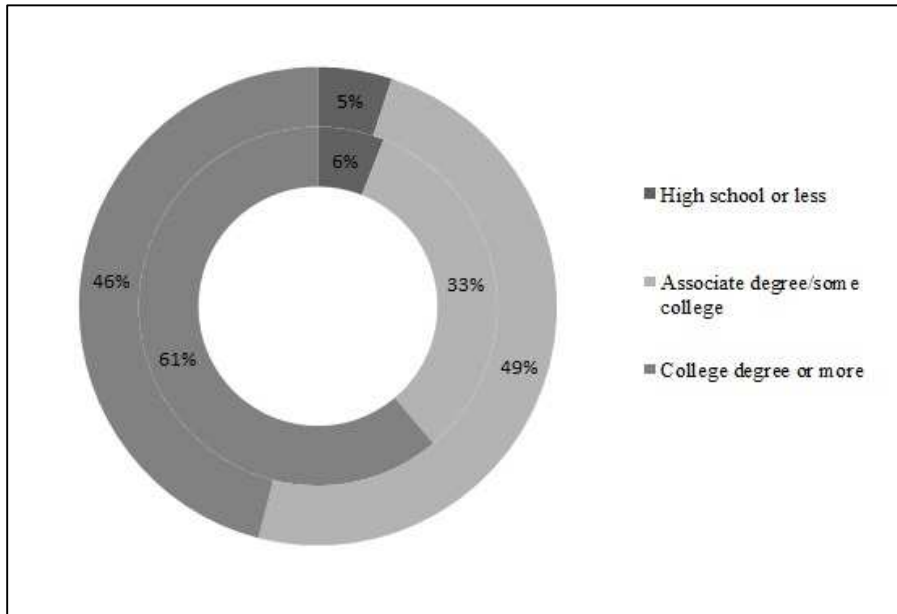
Source: IIMMLA (USA) and SING (the Netherlands)

In both countries I am interested in those who are or have been married and whose spouse is either Chinese or Caucasian. Selecting these respondents leaves a small sub- sample with 130 respondents in the United States and 47 respondents in the Netherlands. In both countries, the majority of this subset has a Chinese spouse, in the U.S. 80% has a Chinese spouse, in the Netherlands this is 62 %, consequently, the percentages with a Whites spouse are 20 and 38 respectively.

2.3.2 Socioeconomic

As figure 2.5 shows, the majority of the second-generation Chinese has at least some college education. In the United States (inner circle) the percentage that already completed their college education was higher (61%) than those who had done so in the Netherlands (46 percent), but that could catch up in case the second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands are still enrolled in college. The percentage of people with a high school diploma or below is very low in both countries.

Figure 2.5: Level of education second-generation Chinese; the United States (inner circle) and the Netherlands (outer circle)



Source: IIMMLA (USA) and SING (Netherlands)

2.3.3 Ties to the country of origin

Transnational ties include the social, economic, and political ties that can connect the second-generation to their parents' country of origin. While some view maintaining transnational ties as impairing integration (Snel, Engbersen, and Leerkes 2006), others deem it an essential element in identity formation (Levitt and Waters 2006). Transnational involvement can take many shapes and forms. Common measures include visits, political involvement, sending of remittances, and frequent contact.

Both the IIMMLA and SING data include only a few questions about transnational ties; most of these questions do not overlap which makes comparison problematic. For instance, the IIMMLA included questions on the engagement in the politics of the (parents') country of origin, SING did not. IIMMLA Respondents were asked how much they agreed with being interested in the politics of the home country and more than half (55.7%) agreed that they (either strongly or

somewhat) interested in these politics. However, the follow up question on actual participation showed that this interest is not an indicator of involvement, because only 3.9% of the population second-generation Chinese indicates to participate in the home-country's politics. In the Netherlands, the SING did not include questions on political involvement in the home country, but respondents were asked if they are still sending remittances to the country of origin, which virtually nobody did (4.2%).

A question that was asked in both countries was about visits to the country of origin. In the United States 11.2 percent said they had ever been on a visit to their parents' country of origin. In the Netherlands this was nearly the same. Here, 13.2 percent said they had visited their parents' country of origin during the year prior to the interview (2008).

2.3.4 Ties to the receiving country

Perhaps more relevant to the second-generation, are their ties to the receiving country. One important indicator of attachment to the host society is the involvement in national politics (Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001, Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001). Nearly all of the second-generation Chinese (87.5%) in the United States either strongly or somewhat agrees to have a good understanding of current politics. In the Netherlands this specific question was not asked, but the majority (91.5%) of second-generation Chinese indicates to follow politics in the media and two thirds (68.1%) say they would vote if there would be elections now.

A negative measure of connection to the host society is that of experience with discrimination. In the United States second-generation Chinese were asked if they had experienced prejudice because of their race/ethnicity in the past year; 29.1% said they had. In the Netherlands respondents were asked how often they think discrimination occurs in the

Netherlands and how often they experienced it themselves. (I recoded both these variables to a dichotomous variable: rarely/never vs. sometimes/ (very) often.) The majority (61.7%) of second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands thinks that discrimination occurs but, just as in the United States, only a third (34%) experienced it themselves.

Comparing the second-generation Chinese populations of the United States and the Netherlands, even on a limited number of variables, shows that the two groups are very comparable. It should be kept in mind that the sub-samples are very small. Still, showing their similarities strengthens the cross-national comparative research design of this study.

Chapter 3

Quasi-experiments in cross-national immigration research

3.1 Introduction

Transportation developments and media technology have broadened our view of the world and changed our perception of time and space. While large migration movements have occurred in the past, the flow of migration is now more diverse and constant than ever before. These developments made countries increasingly interdependent as it became easier for people to move between and within continents. But, whereas previous migration mostly occurred in one direction—from Europe to Northern America or Australia—current migration patterns reveal movement all around the globe. As a result, there are very few countries that are not affected by emigration, immigration, or both (Kritz 1987).

Diversification of migration also implies that people from the same country of origin migrate to a more diverse set of destinations. This enables researchers to compare immigration-related phenomena in different national settings. Specifically, it creates the opportunity to compare the same immigrant population among different countries, creating a situation where the immigrant population can be treated ‘as if’ it was part of an experiment, a quasi-experiment. In this chapter, I promote the usage of quasi-experiments in immigration research. I assert that using cross-national quasi-experiments is especially suitable in the field of immigration and that doing so can shed light on national policies, cultural contexts, and institutions, by improving immigration research and the availability of data.

Furthermore, I address in this chapter the potential pitfalls of quasi-experimental research. Tackling these can increase the reliability of the design and strengthen the validity of

its findings (Campbell and Cook 1979, Campbell and Stanley 1963, Grimshaw et al. 2000, Shadish, Cook, and Campbell 2002). Specifically, I focus on three tactics: 1) selecting similar research populations (immigrant groups) in both countries; 2) being thoughtful of the specific research cases (i.e., the countries under study); and 3) incorporating control groups within each country. Cross-national projects often require exceptional preparation, resources, and time (Bloemraad 2013).

3.2 Background of the experimental designs

In laboratory experiments, researchers randomly assign individuals to one of two groups: a test group or a control group. The assumption is that, because the individuals are randomly assigned, they are comparable in all other regards (e.g. age, gender, and socioeconomic status). The individuals in the test group receive a certain treatment or undergo some sort of intervention/manipulation, while the individuals in the control group do not (they may receive a placebo). After the intervention, the two groups are compared again; the newly found differences are attributed to the treatment. True experimental designs follow this logic of cause and effect: if we give half of the people who suffer from headaches an Aspirin and half a placebo, we expect the individuals in the former group to feel significantly more relieve compared to those in the latter group. To assert a true relation between cause and effect, Campbell and Cook (1979) explain, three conditions must be met: 1) changes in the cause must result in changes in the effect (covariation); 2) the treatment must occur before the effect (temporal precedence); and 3) the supposed effect can only have been caused by the presumed cause (no plausible alternative explanations). Meeting these three conditions increases the validity of a given study. Improving

the validity boosts the trustworthiness of the findings and their generalization to larger populations.

In sociology, true randomized experiments are rare because sociologists conduct their research ‘in the field’ and not in a laboratory or other standardized observation settings. As a result, research subjects are usually exposed to more than the treatment alone (which violates the third principle of no plausible alternative explanation). For example, political unrest took place at the same time that a new educational policy was implemented, or a natural disaster occurred right before the researcher assessed the connection between housing and socioeconomic mobility. Hence, findings cannot solely be attributed to the treatment but may also be affected by a range of secondary factors (Campbell and Cook 1979, Campbell and Stanley 1963). Randomized, controlled experiments in social sciences also face practical or ethical barriers (Grimshaw et al. 2000). For example, a researcher who wants to evaluate how having incarcerated parents might influence children’s school performance, cannot randomly divide a school class in two groups and subsequently imprison the parents of one group. He can, however, compare two existing student populations: one that has parents behind bars and one that does not (see for example: Farrington 2003). Such a comparison creates a research design in which the population is approached to ‘as if’ it was an experiment.

Comparing two populations ‘as if’ they are part of an experiment is a design known as a quasi-experiment. In quasi-experiments, subjects are chosen because they are already in the ‘test’ or ‘control’ group (Campbell and Cook 1979); The individuals in the test group are selected because they undergo a certain ‘treatment’ (e.g. having a parent in prison, or facing a policy change) and the individuals in the control group are chosen because they did not experience this ‘treatment’. Quasi-experimental design can be applied to a range of methodologies, from

ethnographies with a small N, to large-scale statistical analyses. They are relatively common among policy researchers but not so much among other social scientists. In the immigration research, for example, they are rather rare. It is unusual for immigration scholars to use quasi-experiments when studying immigrants or their children. (see for exceptions: Bloemraad 2006, Noam 2014). This is surprising because, as I will argue below, quasi-experiments provide an exceptionally good fit with cross-national migration research. (See Bloemraad 2013 on comparisons within migration research in general.) In this chapter, I provide three guidelines to specifically increase the validity of quasi experiments in cross-national immigration research: selecting the right study populations, carefully choosing countries for comparison, and including control groups. First, however, I discuss the general importance of cross-national immigration research.

3.3 Cross-national immigration research

Scrutinizing immigrants through a cross-national comparative lens provides new perspectives to old issues and deepens theoretical understanding of social, political, and institutional processes that could be overlooked by studying only one country (Foner and Bertossi 2011). Quasi-experiments enable researchers to pin down how national context, institutions, culture, and the native-born population might affect immigrants and their offspring (or vice versa). The first cross-national immigration studies occurred within continents. Nearly 25 years ago, Brubaker (1990) compared the citizenship policies and implications for immigrants in France and Germany. At the other side of the Atlantic, George Borjas (1991) compared immigrants' labor market positions in Canada and the United States, arguing that, compared to the U.S. family-oriented migration policies, the Canadian point system created an influx of a more skilled

migration population. While these studies yield fascinating insights, the cross-Atlantic studies are especially interesting because they compare the immigrant experience in the classic immigration countries and new migration states.

Cross-Atlantic studies are, however, a relatively recent phenomenon. Europe started to deal with large-scale immigration only after World War Two and immigration to the United States diversified as a result of the passing of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act. Technological changes enabled migrants to move more easily as well as longer distances and more temporarily; leaving “very few countries that neither send nor receive international migrants” (Kritz 1987, 30). All this new movement and diversification of both sending and receiving countries enabled scholars to study the interaction between immigrants and the context of destination by making international comparisons. Similar dynamics across oceans assists immigration scholars to evaluate policies, populations, and immigrants in different national settings.

There is not a clear standard for conducting cross-national comparative immigration research. Several approaches circulate, and not a clear consensus has been reached so far on how to obtain the most valid results. Some scholars adopt an in-depth, small-scale methodology, and see cross-national research as a “systematic analysis of a relatively small number of cases [where the] goal is to examine how structures, cultures, processes, norms, or institutions affect outcomes through the combinations and intersections of causal mechanisms” (Bloemraad 2013, 2). Others, such as Bean and his colleagues (2012), use a macro perspective and compare large scale data sets from multiple countries. Regardless of scheme, in cross-national comparative research each country is treated as an entity in and by itself. Each country has a unique set of distinctive policies, cultures, and institutions. Hence, each country can be treated as a separate case. Each case is a type of conformation that agglomerates structures and events (Ragin 1997, 28).

Researchers can focus on the country as a whole or on specific cases within that country (i.e. its institutions, policies, or events).

3.4 Cross-national research and quasi-experimental designs

In traditional experiments, treatments are randomly assigned to test and control groups in order to evaluate the effectiveness of a specific treatment. The experiment must conform to three important conditions to assert that it is indeed the treatment that has caused the effect in the test group: First, changes in the cause must result in changes in the effect, as observed in the test-group. Second, there must be a temporal order between the treatment and the effect. And, third, alternative variables that could cause the same effect in the test group must be ruled out (Cook and Cambell 1979). In social sciences, quasi-experiments are more common and, as I argue, they are especially suitable to cross-national comparative research. But, contrary to traditional- or quasi-experimental studies, where the populations (test and control group) vary and the settings (laboratory) are constant, in cross-national quasi-experiments, the research populations (the immigrant groups) are held constant while the research settings (the countries) vary. Put differently, in cross-national quasi-experiments the ‘treatment’ or ‘interference’ is not randomly assigned to certain populations, but the population is selected to test the specific treatment. For example, Euwals and colleagues (2007) compare the labor market position of Turks who moved to either the Netherlands or Germany; Bloemraad (2006) examined Vietnamese and Portuguese immigrants in the United States and Canada to assess citizenship policies; and Noam (2014) compared second-generation Chinese parents in the United States and the Netherlands to examine the influence of welfare state structures on parents’ educational expectations. The reasoning behind these studies is the same: by keeping the populations under study constant, the

effect of the national setting can be measured. Cross-national quasi-experimental design also meets the three other conditions that should be met to support the relation between cause and effect: 1) covariation, 2) temporal precedence, and 3) no plausible alternative explanations.

One of the key issues in immigration research is to understand how immigrants and their offspring fare in the receiving country and how adjusting to the receiving context affects their values, human capital, health, or economic wellbeing. In other words, how do changes in the cause (moving to a new country) result in the effect (e.g. having higher earnings, speaking the language)? The assumption is that there is a correlation between time spent in the host country, and assimilative outcomes, which implies covariation (condition #1). Some studies, however, show that immigrants and their offspring can also influence the receiving context, such as certain policies (Koopmans et al. 2005) or its economy (Friedberg and Hunt 1995). Since correlation does not imply causation, it is important to pay attention to the sequence in which the phenomena occur. Knowing which variable came first, helps supporting the relation between the variables and detecting the cause and effect of the treatment. The focus of the specific study determines the independent and dependent variables. In quasi-experimental cross-national research of immigration, temporal precedence (condition #2) can usually be relatively easy to detect because the receiving country had been there before the immigrant arrived, or the policy was altered after immigration occurred on a large scale. While temporal precedence is relatively easy to detect, it is more difficult to tackle the possibility of alternative explanations (condition#3). Excluding other potential causes for an obtained result is particularly difficult in quasi-experiments because the research population is subject to many more elements than just the treatment variable (i.e. the receiving country). These influences can occur before, during, and after immigration took place. I argue, however, that in cross-national immigration research, the

number of alternative explanations can be controlled for. This can significantly strengthen the reliability and validity of the cross-national findings, with both being especially important in quasi-experimental research designs (Ramos-Álvarez et al. 2008). Below, I provide three guidelines to help limit the number of alternative explanations and thus strengthen the connection between cause and effect: 1) comparing similar immigrant groups, 2) selecting comparison countries with caution, and 3) considering sensible control groups.

3.4.1. Similarity between immigrant groups

Quasi-experiments, in which immigrants in different receiving contexts are compared, are based on the basic postulation that the immigrant populations can be held constant as the countries in the comparison vary. This notion is important because, “most case-oriented studies start with the seemingly simple idea that social phenomena in like settings (such as organizations, neighborhoods, cities, countries, regions, cultures, and so on) may parallel each other sufficiently to permit comparing and contrasting them” (Ragin 1997, 28). The assumption is that by selecting immigrants from the same home country, a number of factors can be controlled for because immigrants from the same country of origin have had similar experiences in their country of origin.

Caution must be taken, however, to ensure that the populations under study are indeed analogous. Most countries have more than one ethnic group and multiple religions, languages, or customs. Muslim Uyghur Chinese, for example, may have a very different immigration experience from non-religious Han Chinese. Similarly, the incorporation process is likely to be influenced by immigrants’ socioeconomic status. For example, the post-war Turkish immigrants in the United States have a higher education than their peers who came to the Netherlands or

Germany around this time (see Akgün 2000, and Euwals et al. 2007, respectively). Ethnicity as well as socioeconomic standing should be kept constant. Having similar research populations across countries reduces the chance that findings result from causes other than the variable under investigation. The more variables that can be controlled, the fewer alternative explanations there are to have yielded the outcomes.

Several cross-national studies intentionally compare groups from different countries of origin. They do so because they do not focus on the immigrants' ethnicity or country of origin, but on other characteristics, such their legal status. Welch and Schuster (2005), for example, compare the practice of detaining asylum seekers in the United States and several European countries. They imply that in their study, the immigrants' specific country of origin is not as relevant because they focus on incarceration rates as a whole. Another reason why specific country of origin is sometimes controlled for is because the research focuses on the native-born and their approach towards immigrants (see for example: Semyonov, Raijman, and Gorodzeisky 2008). Caution must be taken and country of origin must be kept constant, because there could still be other variables that influence the results. For instance, incorporation policies in most of Europe differ between EU citizens and non-Europeans (Koopmans et al. 2005), and Muslim immigrants face more prejudice than their non-Muslim peers (Strabac and Listhaug 2008). Researchers of cross-national research should thus ask themselves what it is that they want to know and which immigrant populations they need to compare to obtain the answer.

3.4.2 Selecting countries

Just as it is important to carefully select the research population, it is important to be thoughtful about the countries under comparison. The countries are part of the research population too, either

as a whole or as a subunit of the country—churches, political systems, or policies (Ragin 1997). Bollini (1993), for example, examined not only the immigration policies of seven countries, but also approached each country’s health system as a separate entity. Selecting the right cases increases the validity because it strengthens the argument that the findings are due to the country (or national institution) effect.

National cases are usually approached as ideal types. The countries or specific national institutes resemble a set of values, policies or ideologies. In his groundbreaking cross-national study, Brubaker (1990) compared the access to citizenship of immigrants in France and Germany. He used the countries and their immigration policies as ideal types for nation-state membership and examined how access to citizenship influenced the assimilation of immigrants. Comparing countries as a whole might be problematic because within each country there can be various subsets of policies, beliefs, and geographical arrangements. This is not only the case in larger countries such as the United States or Russia, but also in smaller nations such as Nepal and Portugal. Comparing the integration experiences of Polish immigrants in Moscow to those in rural Portugal might therefore be of little sense.

Choosing the right countries can be daunting and many factors can impact the selection process, both practical and personal. The type of obstacles may depend on the type of research conducted (i.e. quantitative or qualitative) and on the scholar’s resources. Countries tend to collect most immigration data on their largest ethnic groups; which makes it difficult to obtain large representative samples in countries with smaller populations of these immigrant groups. For instance, there is plenty data on Mexicans in the United States but nearly nothing on Mexicans in Great Britain. Moreover, data may not be available in a language the researcher masters or the researcher may not be familiar with cultural nuances of the country under study.

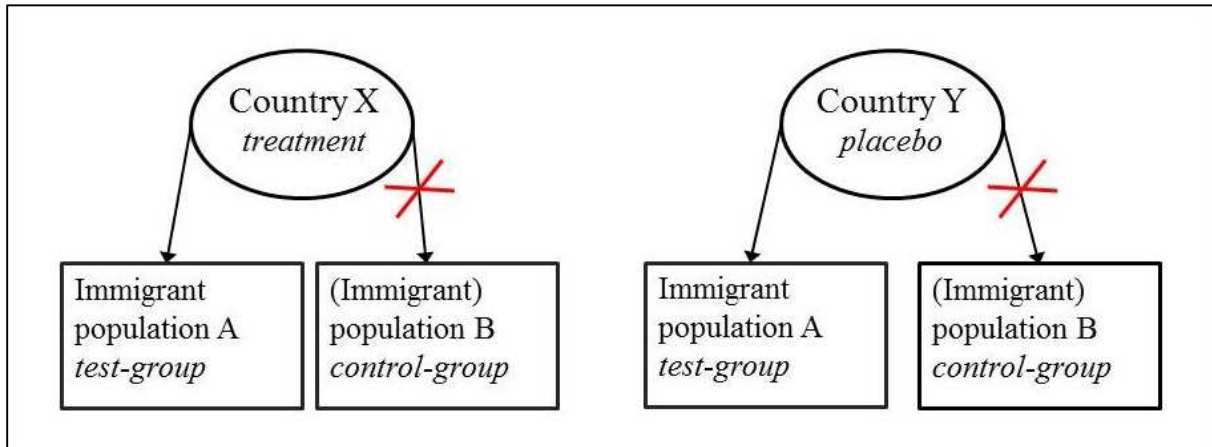
Other limitations can stem from restricted access to specific national institutions, databases, and archives, or personal preferences regarding time and travel abroad. Some of these barriers can be overcome, however. In quantitative research, investigators may be able to translate key terms and concepts or collaborate with colleagues from the country under study. Understanding the language and culture of the countries under study is important because even seemingly standardized concepts, such as level of education, may have different meanings in different national settings (Holdaway, Crul, and Roberts 2009). Understanding the language and culture of the country under study is perhaps even more important in qualitative research because the country is a micro cosmos of which the researcher is an integrated part (Geertz 2000). Becoming familiar with the countries under observation can, however, require large amounts of money, time, and other resources (e.g. social networks) which are hard to obtain in a limited time frame (Bloemraad 2013). Consequently, most scholars select countries with which they have prior experience—professionally or personally. Conducting research in familiar countries can have both advantages and disadvantages, which are similar to those of the ‘insider/outsider debate’ (for this debate see: Emerson 2001, Geertz 2000).

3.4.4 Control groups

Although not commonly used in cross-national studies, control groups can greatly add to the validity of the findings. Adding a control group can help disentangling whether the receiving country has a unique effect on the specific immigrant group under study, or whether the country has similar influence on other (immigrant) populations as well. As illustrated in figure 1, the focus is the interaction between the receiving country (X vs. Y) and a specific immigrant population (A). The treatment (country X) should impact the test group (immigrant population

A), but not the control group (immigrant population B). The treatment should have no effect in the placebo country (country Y).

Figure 3.1: Control groups in cross-national quasi-experiments



For example, to examine how the proportions of non-white population impact the incorporation of black immigrants, we can compare the assimilation experiences of Ethiopian immigrants in the United States and Norway. According to the CIA fact book (2014) the non-white populations in these countries is respectively 20 and 2 percent. In each country we would add a neutral control group, for example French immigrants. If the assimilation experiences of the Ethiopian immigrants (test-group) in the U.S. (treatment) and French (placebo) differ while those of the French immigrants (control-group) do not, we could ascribe the difference to the racial compositions in the respective countries.

To select suitable control groups, the researcher must choose populations based on one of two criteria: the control group in country A should be the same as the control group in country B (e.g. French immigrants) or the control group should have the same relation to the test group in both countries (e.g. the native-born population). The first criterion implies that the control groups

are immigrants from the origin in each of the countries under comparison. For instance, Bloemraad (2006) compared Vietnamese refugees in the United States and Canada and included a control group of Portuguese immigrants in each country. Following the second criteria, the control groups are selected based on their relation to the test group. The researcher compares the outcomes in the test group (e.g. Ethiopian immigrants) with another fixed population (e.g. French immigrants). It is important that the control groups in the different countries are similar to each other. For example, Van Tubergen and Kalmijn (2005) examine the interaction between immigrants' language proficiency and the country in which they settle. They compare several ethnic groups across a number of countries. This double comparative design, the authors argue, "yields a representative view of destination effects, for it examines differences across destinations for multiple groups" (Van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2005, 1414).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an account on how a quasi-experimental design can benefit researchers who undertake cross-national research. I argued that quasi-experiments are an especially suitable method to study immigrants, their offspring, and the interaction between them and the country in which they settle. Studying these phenomena in a cross-national perspective has become increasingly important. Due to technological and communication developments, countries are progressively interdependent, and the movement of goods, information, and people has become easier than ever before. Immigrants are no longer tied to the migration chain laid out by their predecessors or by the political relations between their home country and potential nations of destination. There are endless opportunities, new directions, and more diverse sending and receiving scenarios.

All these new opportunities for mobility call for suitable methodologies. In this chapter, I advanced the use of quasi-experiments in the field of cross-national immigration research. Immigration scholars conduct cross-national research realize that nations are unique ‘cases’ that can be studied to assess how immigrants fare (Ragin 1997). Examining immigrants in a cross-national context creates a research design that resembles that of an experiment in which country effect can be isolated. Growing transnational movements between people and places implies that immigrants from the same country of origin now settle in different countries of destination. Comparing their different assimilation outcomes can shed light on possible impact of the country as a whole or sub-cases thereof (e.g. citizenship policies or approaches of the native-born). However, the fact that research subjects are not randomly assigned to test and control groups (i.e. in which country of destination they live) could threaten the validity of the research I provided three guidelines to improve the validity by eliminating potential interference of irrelevant variables: being thoughtful of the immigrant population under study, choosing the countries in the comparison carefully, and including control groups. Making well-informed and strategic decisions in these three domains increases the reliability of the research and the validity of the findings. Providing these practical guidelines will hopefully motivate immigration scholars to consider quasi-experimental designs in the growing field of cross-national immigration research.

Chapter 4 *

How national context influences the childrearing practices of second-generation Chinese ‘Tiger’ parents

4.1 Introduction

During the last few decades, the size the second-generation population has been growing in both the United States and Europe. The majority of these children of immigrants were socialized with the rich ethnic culture of their parents’ country of origin. In this chapter, the focus lies on second-generation Chinese and on a selection of their rich ethnic culture: their values regarding their children’s academic achievement and how this can create a success frame for their children. I isolate this specific component from their larger set of culture. While other cultural elements are not any more or any less important to take into account as second-generation Chinese raise their children, they are not directly related to the success frame.

When the second-generation Chinese grew up, their culture was prominently present in their lives; most spoke their parents’ language, ate Chinese food, and were raised with numerous cultural norms and values (Geense and Pels 1998, Chao 2001, 1996). For many first-generation Chinese parents one important Chinese value to pass on to their children was the emphasis on academic and materialistic success; they wanted their children to obtain high education and succeed academically. They created specific standards for this success and expected their children to fall into this mould of the success frame. To instil the notion of the success frame, first-generation parents instilled specific Chinese principles of filial piety, collectivism, and zeal;

* This chapter was adapted from the publication: Noam, Kris R. 2014. How national context influences the childrearing practices of second-generation Chinese ‘Tiger’ parents. *New Diversities* (16) 1: 41-55. I am the sole author and copyright holder of this article. Permission to use this article in this dissertation has been granted.

and to support the success frame they invested in their education and moved to ethnic communities (Chao 1996, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998, Zhou 2009b, Geense and Pels 1998). Their efforts paid off and, on average, second-generation Chinese are more successful than their peers: they are less likely to drop out of high school, have higher GPAs, and are more likely to attend top universities (Lee 2012, Vogels 2011, Louie 2004).

But, the literature shows that second-generation may no longer agree with the success frame in which they compare the level of their own success to the success of their Chinese peers (Lee and Zhou 2014). They may no longer subscribe to specific childrearing strategies with which their parents instilled these standards of success upon them (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998, Lee and Zhou 2013). On the other hand, in her 2011 memoir, Amy Chua claimed that compared to American parents, first *and* second-generation Chinese parents have higher academic expectations of their children and enforce the success frame with particular Chinese childrearing strategies. These diverting strategies of the second-generation raises the question of what the second-generation will do when raising their own children: Will they continue to have high academic expectations of their children, raise them with the success frame they were raised with, and continue to focus their ethnic culture emphasizing academic outcomes? Or will they, as Lee and Zhou (2014) predict, depart from the success frame by choosing alternative pathways?

One missing element in this discussion is the influence of the society at large. Lee and Zhou (2014) emphasize the importance of context in shaping the success frame, stressing how living among co-ethnics reinforces the high academic standards that first-generation Chinese parents set for their children. They fail to acknowledge the larger context, however, and how this can influence the formation of the success frame in the long run. It is important to scientifically

analyse to what extent the success frame remains important to second-generation Chinese parents within different contexts because it may impact aspects of the assimilation and socioeconomic outcomes of their children, the third-generation, in different ways. This study places the childrearing of second-generation Chinese in a cross-national perspective to reveal that the success frame is not only influenced by time, but also by space. Specifically, national context—focusing on school systems, approaches towards education, and social security safety nets—impacts how the notion of a success frame is perpetuated over time.

4.2 Theoretical background: Childrearing of first-generation Chinese and the adaptation of second-generation Chinese

The extent to what parents with an immigrant background hold onto their ethnic culture often impacts how their children assimilate into the mainstream. Parents can also use their culture to distance their children from certain populations. Early Chinese immigrants in the Mississippi Delta, for example, dissociated themselves from the black population to emphasize their similarity with the white mainstream (Loewen 1988) and recent first-generation Chinese parents use their immigrant background to redefine their children's position in the ethnoracial hierarchy by motivating their offspring to outperform their native-born white peers (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013).

4.2.1 To create a success frame, first-generation Chinese parents employ three mechanisms

The childrearing of Chinese immigrants is complex and includes a whole range of values, beliefs, practices, and tactics. First-generation Chinese parents include three main mechanisms to instil values regarding education and academic achievement and as such create a success frame

that promotes exceptional academic outcomes of their second-generation children. While parents of other ethnic groups might also include one, two, or all three of these mechanisms, they are most commonly incorporated in the childrearing scheme of Asian (especially Chinese) immigrant parents (Chao 2000, Zhou 2009a). Moreover, they are maintained and reinforced by the second-generation themselves who compare their academic achievements to those of their peers. First, Chinese immigrant-parents use specific elements of their ethnic culture to generate academic success. For example, compared to the native-born, Chinese immigrant parents raise their children in an ‘authoritarian’ (Baumrind 1971) fashion; they reinforce strict rules (Chao 2000, Geense and Pels 1998); and are more likely to yell and use corporal punishment, (Kelley and Tseng 1992). Many of these authoritarian values are rooted in Confucian ideology. Parent-child hierarchy, parental discipline (*guan*), and respect for parents are collectivistic values that are described as ‘filial piety’ (Chao 2000, Geense and Pels 1998). Following this principle, children should obey to their parents, including their parents’ academic expectations, because their (academic) performance reflects on the family as a whole. In fact, parents use their children’s achievements as a measure of their own parental success.

The second mechanism with which immigrant parents create and support a success frame for there is by investing in their children’s education, for example by sending them to afterschool programs, SAT prep courses, or hiring a tutor. Sun (1998) shows that compared to other ethnic groups, Chinese (as well as Japanese and Korean) parents devote more financial, cultural, and human capital, as well as within-family social resources to their children’s education (see also: Chao 1996). They are also more aggressive in using these strategies to secure their successful outcomes (Sun 1998).

The third strategy that supports the success frame is by living in a particularly high-ranking school district or an ethnic community, which often overlap. These notions of supporting their children's success frame and moving them into specific directions of accomplishment is similar to Lareau's (2003) notion of concerted cultivation; parents take an active role in exposing their children to stimulating environments and stir them into specific directions. Moving to highly-rated school districts improves the quality of children's education and thus their academic potential. Moreover, by living in close proximity to co-ethnics who share their cultural values and in an area with venues to promote their children's achievement will support the notions of success even further. At these specific after-school activities, SAT preparation programs, and homework support groups, the second-generation is surrounded by peers that have high academic achievement, which then become the norm (Lee 2012, Zhou 2009a, Louie 2004). Immigrant parents thus indirectly push their children towards high academic outcomes because their second-generation children compete with their direct peers. This then raises the standards of success of the whole second-generation Chinese population.

4.2.2 Upward assimilation and the interaction between ethnic culture and national context

Like other immigrant parents, first-generation Chinese are socioeconomically diverse and want their children to do better than they did, or in American terms, to realize the American dream (Goyette 2008). First-generation parents' a dose of immigrant optimism and a selection of their cultural values created a success frame that promotes their children's academic success and professional development (Geense and Pels 1998, Zhou 2009b, Lee and Zhou 2014). The second-generation, as well as their parents, created a new frame and narrative of what it means to be successful. The success frame, Lee and Zhou (2014) argue, is supported by living in ethnic

communities (as discussed above). But, what these authors overlook is the potential impact that the larger society has on reinforcing the success frame. While the second-generation is clearly formed by their upbringing, they are also influenced by their larger surroundings, which is why they are more assimilated than their parents are. The way in which the second-generation adjust to their host country is not only determined by their parents, but also by the opportunities, constraints, and institutions of their national context (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, Crul and Schneider 2009, Kasinitz et al. 2008).

By growing up in the receiving country, the second-generation became familiar with the mainstream values and culture of their native-born peers (Kasinitz et al. 2008, Crul and Vermeulen 2003). While their adjustment to the mainstream enabled them to become successful, it also made them critical of their own upbringing. Consequently, second-generation Chinese may no longer agree with (all) their parents' childrearing styles (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998) or subscribe to their parents' standards of success (Lee and Zhou 2013). In other words, the assimilation process could alter their perspective of their own upbringing, their perception of the success frame, and the childrearing practices with which they raise their own children.

To date, there are no studies that examine how, and if, second-generation Chinese adults continue to create a success frame for their children by setting high educational expectations. The dynamics described above suggest an interaction between the context in which second-generation Chinese live and this specific subset of their childrearing practices. In different countries, second-generation Chinese are raised with similar approaches, because these are based on their parents' traditional beliefs. However, when they raise their own children, they may have shaped different attitudes based on their upbringing within the specific context of the nation

state. The way they adjust their approach towards the success frame and academic expectations they have of their third-generation children is likely to be specific to this national context.

While Chinese culture is distinct, many of the core values that shape its success frame are actually very similar to American ideals. For example, both American and Chinese cultures place high value on (academic) achievement and occupational success. The Chinese emphasis on education and achievement has Confucian roots (Zhou 2009b) but match the U.S. setting, the American Creed, and its deeply rooted notions of the American Dream (Lipset 1996, Hochschild 1995). Taking these values into consideration, American and Chinese values are actually more similar than they appear at first blush. Moreover, since these aspects of the Chinese ethnic culture are beneficial in the liberal U.S. welfare state, educational achievement and materialistic success are applauded (Esping-Andersen 1996). Resemblances between the Chinese and the U.S. core values make contexts for child-rearing very similar, which makes it easier for the second-generation Chinese parents to maintain and instil them. This is especially the case when compared to the Netherlands, a nation with a distinct lack of emphasis on material success, especially compared to its prominence in the American and Chinese cultures.

In the Netherlands, the need for higher education and occupational prestige is reduced by a school system that promotes mediocrity and has an extensive social security safety net. Although academic achievement does increase socioeconomic wellbeing also here, it is less crucial to a sustainable lifestyle. Hence, the elements of the success frame that promotes academic excellence, high income, and occupational prestige are less suitable to the mainstream compared to the American mainstream. They have little added value in a society that places less emphasis on material possessions and status. Past research has demonstrated that when the cultures of origin and receiving context differ greatly, cultural dissonance between parents and

children can occur (Zhou 2009b, Geense and Pels 1998, Zhou 2009a) and may lead to the second-generation opposing their parents' focus on performance and success (Zhou 2009b). Given that the second-generation Chinese may already revisit the ideals behind the success frame (Lee and Zhou 2014) makes it likely to believe they do so especially in the context of the Netherlands.

The divergent processes in the United States and the Netherlands suggest that national context interacts with the way that second-generation Chinese conceptualize of the success frame with which they grew up and the way they intergenerational transmit those values that promote its outcomes; parents either accept or oppose the aspects of their culture that boosts the success frame. Although seemingly counterintuitive, these dynamics lead second-generation Chinese in both the U.S. and the Netherlands to choose childrearing practices that promote the assimilation of their third-generation children.

4.3 Data & methods

4.3.1 Data origins

Data are based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with second-generation Chinese mothers and fathers in the United States and the Netherlands. Because this study includes both spouses as respondents, the total of interviewees in the Netherlands is 21 (11 couples, one partner was not present at the interview) and 41 in the United States (21 couples, one partner who was first-generation was excluded). Interviews with both spouses results in an equal gender distribution (all couples were heterosexual). Interviewing both partners at the same time provides dynamic narratives regarding parenting practices, experiences, and aspirations.

In the U.S., I focused on the greater LA region, California's largest metropolitan area and in the Netherlands on the 'Randstad', the nation's main urban region. Interviews lasted around two hours. During the interviews, I took an inductive approach by addressing a same set of topics (through questions, comments, and probes) in both countries. The topics included the respondents' own childhood (e.g. birthplace, siblings, parents' approach towards education), the way they raise their children (e.g. leisure time activities, division of labour, disciplining/rewarding methods), and their educational expectations (e.g. academic prospects, extracurricular activities, choice of school). During the conversations (which took place in either English or Dutch) the 'Tiger Mother Debate' came up frequently. Because the debate was such a 'Hot Topic' during the time of the interviews, this usually happened naturally. All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analysed with AtlasTi.

4.3.2 Settings and the cross-national comparison as a quasi-experiment

Cross-national research can be approached as a quasi-experiment (Bloemraad 2006, Noam 2013). Keeping factors constant between national contexts and research populations creates a pseudo-experimental design. This design allows me to analyse the effect of the 'treatment' (national context) on the variable of interest (childrearing practices) within my research population (second-generation Chinese).

This study focuses on two differences between the United States and the Netherlands: their school systems and their (interrelated) social safety net. In the U.S., which is typically described as a 'liberal welfare state', society is stratified, almost bifurcated, and education offers a potential ticket to upward mobility (Esping-Andersen 1996). Consequently, students aim to outperform their peers, making the U.S. academic system competitive. Moreover, there is a

strong belief in personal responsibility and social benefits are only allotted to those in absolute need. Compared to the Netherlands, the U.S. has a higher percentage of the population living in poverty, but the public spending on social welfare as a share of GDP is lower (Dewan and Ettliger 2009). The Netherlands, where social benefits are more abundant, is a typical social-democratic country (Esping-Andersen 1996). The Dutch government provides more social security through income subsidies or other assistance. But, more importantly in light of this study, it also has different education systems and approach towards educational performance (see Holdaway, Crul, and Roberts 2009 for an overview). The Dutch education system is tracked from seventh grade. Based on a national test and teacher's recommendations, students are channelled into educational trajectories. Most pupils take the test without preparation because parents and educators consider the scores to represent their innate abilities and potential (Van Tubergen and Van de Werfhorst 2007). Children's tracks determine their subsequent level of high school. A tracked education system reduces competition (Van Tubergen and Van de Werfhorst 2007).

4.4 Findings: Diverting expectations and different motivations

The divergence in the extent to what second-generation Chinese in the United States and the Netherlands focus on the success frame when raising their children reflects how parents and their children adjust to their national context. Before addressing differences in regard to the educational expectations they have of their children and the specific mechanisms they transmit to create a success frame for their children, it is essential to stress the similarities between the second-generation Chinese parents in the U.S. and the Netherlands. Keeping variables constant strengthens the validity in pseudo-experiments (Bloemraad 2006, Noam 2013) and suggests that

differences between the two countries are not caused by individual factors, but related to national context.

4.4.1 Similar socioeconomic standing and background

Table 4.1 compares the samples of this study. In both countries, respondents are in their thirties and have young children. (This is in part because I only selected respondents with pre-teen children and in part because the population second-generation Chinese is still young (Linder et al. 2011, Kasinitz et al. 2008)). In both countries, parents identify with being Chinese; nearly all respondents identify as either only Chinese or as American- or Dutch-Chinese. Parents' ethnoracial identity can impact the way they socialize their children in ethnoracial terms (Hughes et al. 2006).

Table 4.1: Characteristics of the sample, by country

Characteristic	United States		Netherlands	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. dev.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. dev.</i>
<i>Demographics</i>				
Age	39.4	4.79	35.9	3.86
Number of children	1.7	0.71	1.7	0.63
Age of first child	6.2	2.91	4.6	3.17
<i>Ethnic self-identification (%)</i>				
Chinese	47.5		47.5	
American/Dutch Chinese	45		47.6	
American/Dutch	7.5		4.8	
<i>Socioeconomic</i>				
Weekly hours work	38.4	13.13	43.7	13.92
Years of education	18.5	2.50	17.2	1.84
Stay at home parents (%)	20		4.50	
Number of respondents	42		21	

The socioeconomic status (SES) of the second-generation Chinese is similar too. Parents have high levels of education and highly skilled jobs, which reflects the overall populations (Vogels 2011, Louie 2004). SES is related to social and cultural capital and can influence parents' childrearing approach; parents of higher SES have usually higher educational expectations of their children and may ascribe to different cultures (Lareau 2003).

One difference between the parents in each country is their labour-force participation: the average number of working hours each week is higher parents in the Netherlands than for parents in the U.S., as is the number of respondents with a full-time job (not stay-at-home-parents or students). This is remarkable because the opposite is the case for overall populations in both countries (OECD 2012). Another difference is the sector in which the second-generation Chinese are employed. In the Dutch sample, respondents were more likely to own a (family) business, while respondents in the U.S. were more employed in highly skilled occupations (e.g. architect or physician).

Perhaps second-generation Chinese on both sides of the Atlantic express such resemblance because they were raised similarly. The both grew up within the success frame and their accounts on their upbringing include strict rules, limited socialization with native-born peers, and a strong emphasis on education. Their parents' approaches towards their education reflect the childrearing theories on which this study draws (e.g. Chao 2000, Geense and Pels 1998, Zhou 2009b, Lee and Zhou 2014). Respondents repeatedly mention that their first-generation parents had expected them to excel. For instance, parents, such as those of U.S.-born Maria (all names are pseudonyms) were "making sure that we got straight A's." First-generation parents also expected their children to obtain at least a college degree, and, as Fen explains "the decision that I was going to college was made not by me".

Second-generation Chinese perceive their parents' pressure for high achievements as essential to their Chinese culture. Bao, a mother in the Netherlands, explains that she and her siblings "had to get the highest degree possible, and my parents emphasized this strongly!" She stresses that this was 'normal', this was their point of reference. High achievements were common among her Chinese peers: "the Chinese of my generation, at least the ones we know, were all pushed pretty hard". The question is, how do second-generation in both countries conceptualize these experiences and how do they influence the way they create a success frame for their children? As discussed below, analysis of the interviews reveals differences in two domains: the creation of a success frame by setting certain expectations of their children's educational path, and the reasons parents give alter or maintain this frame of success.

4.4.2 The educational path: parents' expectations vs. children's freedom of choice

When second-generation Chinese grew up, their parents accentuated the importance of education and academic achievement. Most respondents were at the top of their class, attended university, and even obtained graduate degrees. Their education placed them in the upper-middle class of society, providing plenty of opportunities. Despite their similarities, second-generation Chinese parents in the U.S. and the Netherlands now differ in how they view the success frame and their intergenerational transmission of these elements of their culture that shaped it. In the U.S., parents expect their children to obtain a graduate degree, and parents in the Netherlands are satisfied if their children complete the highest-level high school (VWO). In the former, second-generation Chinese accept their 'Chinese' emphasis on education and employ some of their parents' specific childrearing mechanisms that focus on their children's academic outcomes to create a success frame for their children. In the latter, parents oppose the emphasis on academic

achievement and stress that their children can choose their own educational path, as long as they finish high school. Parents thus bend the frame that surrounds their notions of success.

U.S. second-generation Chinese: “She needs to have at least a graduate degree”

Second-generation Chinese parents in the United States still see ambition and achievement as imperative and ascribe their disposition for hard work, zeal, and determination to their ethnic culture. They experienced how beneficial these traits are in their competitive society and how it provided access to the upper-middle class. Because they want the same for their own children, they continue to pass on these values. Most second-generation Chinese parents in the U.S. expect graduate degrees from their children. While parents of most ethnic groups hope that their children will finish university (Goyette 2008), second-generation Chinese aim higher: “I think we would probably expect them to get graduate degrees, you know, go on to a graduate school of some sort” Lydia says of her daughter (8) and son (6). This expectation is similar to the expectations their parents had of them. Parents do not want their children to do worse than they did. Mark explains that because he has a graduate degree he tells his daughter to obtain the same: “at minimum, or else. I mean, I kind of make fun of it, but I said, ‘if you don’t achieve it, then you fail as a person’.”

Parents take their educational demands for granted and do not take their children’s wishes into account. They set a minimum level of education for their children from the moment (or before) they are born and focus on these goals rather than looking at their children’s capacities. For example, when I ask Karen if she has any educational desires for her toddler and six month-old, she passionately answers: “college, definitely!” Having expectations for children at such an early age emphasises that their children may not have much input, stressing the importance of

filial piety. Ruby explains that her two children “know that college is expected. It is not going to be a ‘should I go to college?’ kind of thing”. While it may be that the children of the second-generation Chinese in the United States will rebel against their parents demands at an older age (Lee and Zhou 2013), parents make it seem that they will not allow their children to choose their own educational path.

Parents say that their educational expectations are not unreasonable because they deem their children smarter than the average, at least the average American. Hence, they believe that their children do not need to be pushed that much because, as Fen puts it: “a lot of that stuff comes very naturally.” This taken-for-grantedness is a common aspect of culture (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010) and is created because the second-generation Chinese parents are still situated within their framework of success. They are embedded in their ethnic community that has similar expectations of their children. This enables the second-generation to accept these elements of their parents’ culture that focus on education, because they are not faced with valid alternatives. More importantly, parents in the United States are also able to take these for granted because they do not clash with the (educational) values of their surroundings. The American principle that one can create a better life through education and hard work is deeply rooted (Lipset 1996, Hochschild 1995). These mainstream values reinforce parents’ dispositions. That said, parents ascribe their notions of what it means to be successful to their own ethnic culture. They consider their notions of success to be higher than those of the average American. They see it as typically Chinese or Asian to stress academic achievements, which accentuate the acceptance of the success frame and how it is perpetuated:

Education. Education, of course. Gosh, education is... you know, for Asians...Asians just have a thing where we like to criticise and harshly criticise. Like, if you get like an A-minus you must be

stupid, or retarded. You must have done something disrespectful to your teacher, that's why you got an A-minus.

Another indicator that the second-generation Chinese in the U.S. accept the success frame is their efforts to promote their children's academic outcomes through mechanisms similar to those of their parents, such as investing in their children's education and living in specific geographic areas. Traditionally, Chinese parents support their children's education as part of a 'social contract'; Parents invest in their children's schooling and the children provide for their parents once they become old and frail (Zhou 2009a). But, while second-generation Chinese no longer expect their children's assistance in the future, they do continue to invest in their academic path; they either become a stay-at-home-parent, or as Fen explains "put in the money, or the environment, or whatever we need to help [our daughter] along [in her education]".

Parents also increase the academic outcomes of their children by choosing specific schools. Some send their offspring to private schools, such as Sandra. Sandra explains that she chose a private school to increase the chance that her children will continue to college: "I assume they'll go to college. I am not paying for private school for them not to go to college". Other parents move to neighbourhoods within particularly high-rated school districts. Sometimes, as Betty explains, even before their children are born:

When we were looking at this home that was definitely one of the first things we checked out, even though we didn't have kids at the time. We looked at the school system, the school district here, and the school that we would be sending our kids to.

Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands: “I want her to obtain certain basics, get a foundation”

Similar to their U.S. peers, second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands grew up with the success frame; their parents who had high academic hopes for them and their peers were all high achievers. Their parents typically worked long hours in restaurants with minimal compensation. They did not want the same for their children and saw education as the way out. Based on their values of filial piety, second-generation Chinese were required to meet their parents’ high academic expectations (Geense and Pels 1998). But, as the second-generation got older and compared their efforts and outcomes to those of their native-born peers, they became aware of alternatives. They realised that there is more to life than educational accomplishments, and that fulfilment is not an outcome of academic success per se. They realized there are other ways to be successful, and more importantly, other roads to happiness. The second-generation Chinese find themselves with academic competencies or in high-skilled professional jobs to please their parents, not because they chose this path themselves.

Second-generation Chinese explain that they do not want their children to have the same experience and therefore take a different approach when raising them. They disagree with their parents’ emphasis on educational achievement and no longer stress education to the same extent. Contrary to their parents and U.S. peers, they do not instruct their children to obtain (at least) a college degree. Instead, they stress their children’s free choice in deciding whether or not to continue their education and in determining their specific direction. They expect their children to complete the highest level high school (VWO) and obtain an educational foundation. A VWO diploma, parents argue, provides their children with a solid base and opportunities to choose either a professional or academic career. Marcel says that: “for me it is important that [my son]

will attend *HAVO* or *VWO* high school. I don't care if he will continue to the professional or academic track afterwards." Marcel's wife explains that because they both grew up with the pressure from their parents, they do not want to push their children, which, she adds, is very common among her peers: "I also see it among our generation who we meet at church; the younger generation doesn't want to [push their children]." Yunru and her husband Ruben illustrate this point too. When I ask them about the importance of education for their daughters (4 and 8) Yunru answers that it is "very important. But they are free to choose to study what they want to study, *if* they want to study." Ruben adds that it is not about the level of schooling but that "the basics are the most important: language, mathematics, and those types of things". Rather than focusing on their children's educational endpoint, parents stress their children's choice in determining their educational path and the importance of basic education. Qing explains: "I don't think that the education by itself—university or a Ph.D.—is the most important. It is important that the child chooses something that feels good. But, you do have to have a certain base". Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherland thus reshape the boundaries of the success frame from having at least a college degree to having at least a *VWO* high school diploma. Since these new boundaries are supported by their peers and the expectations they instil in their children they are likely to stick, just as the previous boundaries of the success frame had.

4.4.3 Reasons to stress education: financial security vs. personal happiness

Second-generation Chinese parents in the United States and the Netherlands give their children different levels of freedom to make decisions regarding their education. These differences are influenced by the country's school systems and the opportunities after completing education.

Parents in the U.S. argue that a graduate degree is the minimum requirement to find a job with financial security. Parents in the Netherlands do not talk about financial wellbeing but stress their children need a basic education to achieve personal happiness. This discrepancy highlights that parents adjust their expectations to constraints and opportunities in their national contexts and that parents bend the frames of the success frame accordingly.

In the U.S., high education provides more job opportunities

In the United States, second-generation Chinese parents feel they have no choice but to stress education when raising their children. The U.S. society is unforgiving and competitive, parents explain, and education is fundamental to success. Hence, parents insist that a graduate degree can increase their children's potential job security and financial well-being. Sarah explains: "If you want a job, a good job, you have to at least get a masters (...) you need to do more education to be more valued". Like most second-generation Chinese parents, Sarah believes that children need more education these days. Contemporary employers are looking for workers with at least a college degree. Economists at the Bureau for Labour Statistics (2013) explain that this so-called 'degree inflation' implies that higher levels of education are required for lower skilled jobs and that college degrees are the minimum to get hired for entry level positions. In the U.S., the unemployment rate for people with a college degree is almost half (4.5%) of those with only a high school diploma (8.2%). Since parents motivate their expectations with their children's occupational opportunities and financial wellbeing, it is not surprising that they adjust their outlooks to this degree inflation and prefer graduate degrees. Karen says that she "want(s) them to do well and have opportunities", and realises that a college degree might not be enough. "there's no guarantee, with a college degree it's still hard to find jobs".

Parents call upon the success frame they grew up with as a way to describe the need to create occupational opportunities. Karen's husband Steven says: "it is definitely the Asian or Chinese belief that the more...the higher educated you are, or the better school you go to, it opens up greater doors". The association between schooling and future opportunities is a recurring theme among second-generation Chinese in the United States. For example, Lydia, says that "we want to give our kids the best opportunity to make an even better life, at least equivalent or better, so that they can be comfortable and have a good quality of life". It seems that parents have put the success frame in a context. While their parents had stressed the importance of education for its prestige, the second-generation emphasizes education for its opportunities. Given that it is similar to their parents' expectations, it is safe to assume that they accept this element of their culture, implement it in their own childrearing, and thus maintain the success frame they grew up with. This interactive process stresses the association between context, expectations, and childrearing practices.

In the Netherlands, parents emphasise their children's happiness

Contrary to their U.S. counterparts, second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands do not see academic success as prerequisite to (financial) wellbeing. They talk negatively about prestige and high income, and object to this element of their culture. Instead, parents stress their children's happiness. By letting their children choose their own (educational) careers, parents express that their opinion is not more valuable than their children's, which suggests that they oppose the values of filial piety. Together, this results in parents to renounce the success frame they had grown up with and recreate a framework of what it means to be successful for their own children.

Their exposure to alternative approaches of education and academic achievement enabled second-generation Chinese to question their own upbringing. They believe that there are innate limitations to the educational abilities of their children and that having expectations their children cannot meet can result in frustration. While this process has also been documented in the United States (Lee 2012, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998), it only lowered the expectations of parents in the Netherlands. Here, parents feel that financial wellbeing is not crucial to achieve happiness. Parents do not talk about financial incentives to push their children towards academic achievement. Cheng explains that his children's level of education "depends on their abilities. There is no point in pushing children if it turns out that they do not have the abilities to do more. This will only make them very unhappy". Cheng's argument demonstrates how the childrearing practices of second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands differ from the ones they were brought up with. It stresses also how the conceptualization of the success frame is altered by the dominant notion of education and performance.

Second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands reduce their emphasis on education as a response to their own upbringing and are able to do so as a reaction to the society in which they live. Parents express no concern about their children's (future) financial situation. Growing up in the Dutch society made them realise that education, prestige, and income do not imply a much higher living-standard. Yunru explains how this realisation changed her and her husband's lives and the socialization of their children:

We made very conscious decisions to change our careers so that we could do something we enjoy, and this awareness of 'what is enjoyable and what is important' is something we would like to teach our children too. We don't want them to first think about making money and only then see what they enjoy.

4.5 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated that national context interacts with the transmission of specific elements of Chinese culture. Comparing second-generation Chinese in the United States and the Netherlands shows that parents can adjust their childrearing practices to their context. In the former, second-generation Chinese parents accept the success frame they had grown up with; in the latter they oppose this.

U.S.-born Chinese parents continue to have high educational expectations of their children. Their values of their Chinese heritage regarding hard work, zeal, and academic achievement fit well within the American context (Lipset 1996, Hochschild 1995), and allows parents to take the notion of a success frame for granted. Parents want their children to succeed and they continue frame their success in terms similar to the way they had grown up. Moreover, they continue to support the success frame by mechanisms that promote it: they raise their children with high academic expectations and cultural values such as filial piety and collectivism; they help their children succeed by investing in their education, for instance by staying home to care for their children; and support the success frame by selecting reputable schools and neighbourhoods. But while second-generation Chinese in the U.S. accept the success frame, they no longer raise their children as punitively as the first-generation parents described in the literature or as austere as the ‘Tiger Mothers’ depicted in the popular media.

Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands have lower expectations of their children’s educational outcomes and (only) require them to finish the highest level high school (VWO). After obtaining the basics, parents leave it to their offspring to decide: continue to university, follow a professional track, or start working. As such parents reset the boundaries around the success frame. Parents oppose the Chinese values regarding education, with which

they were raised, and do not want to put their children under the pressure that comes with the success frame. Happiness, they stress, is their main childrearing goal. Consequently, parents no longer support the success frame and do not invest in their children's academic outcomes as much, nor do they move to specific neighbourhoods. This is not to say that other elements of their culture—such as diet, holidays, and values—are not important either, they are. But these lie beyond the scope of this study.

Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands, are able to alter their notions of success and pathways to happiness because of the specific elements of the national educational system offers schooling alternatives and the state provides a social security safety net (Esping-Andersen 1996). Second-generation Chinese parents explain that they do not worry about their children's academic outcomes because they realize that obtaining a VWO high school diploma might be enough to succeed. The meaning of success thus shifts. That said, most VWO graduates continue to university and (children of) immigrants are even more likely to do so (Van der Aart 2002). Another reason for second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands to 'only' stress this basic education and object high standards of the success frame may be a result of the accessibility of college. Dutch universities are nearly all public and usually accept most VWO graduates from the right specialisation. Moreover, the need for external merit based fellowships is reduced because they have relatively low tuition fees. This Dutch school system is in stark contrast with competitive U.S. school system. In the U.S. only successful high-school graduates can continue to good colleges and/or obtain merit-based funding. Thus, parents in the U.S. have an incentive to stress maintain a success frame that promote their children's academic achievement.

Another difference between the second-generation Chinese parents in both countries is the money or time that parents invest to maintain the borders that circumvent their notions of success. In the Netherlands, parents are less concerned about school rankings; rarely move to specific neighbourhoods, and do not invest in their children's education in any direct way. This is in stark contrast with their peers in the U.S., where, for example, parents are more likely to stay-at-home, suggesting the investment of both time and money in their children. The differences can be partially explained by their respective school systems. In the Netherlands, nearly all primary schools are public and under the same governmental supervision. Hence, they all implement the same core curriculum and are of comparable quality. In the United States, there is a large discrepancy in the quality of schools and school districts; parents can improve the potential academic outcome of their children by selecting a highly-rated school (district) (Zhou 2009b). Moreover, because of the competitive nature of the U.S. school system, it is common that children attend afterschool programs that support or advance their academic progress, which is not the case in the Netherlands.

The last reason why second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands may lower the standards of the success frame could be because there are fewer severe penalties of having lower academic achievements. The Netherlands has a social-democratic welfare system which provides the social security safety net. The U.S. is a liberal welfare state where education provides this security (Esping-Andersen 1996).

The analysis of the findings shows that the extent to what second-generation Chinese parents support the success frame, is influenced by an interaction between their conceptualisation of their own upbringing and their national context. This conclusion should, however, be taken with some caution since findings are drawn on relatively small and select samples. Future

research with larger and more diverse samples can indicate whether or not these processes regard the whole second-generation Chinese population, if they apply to other ethnic groups as well, and whether there are in-group differences (e.g. between mothers and fathers).

Thus far, scholars examined either the role of culture in the childrearing practices of first-generation Chinese (Chao 2000, Geense and Pels 1998) or the incorporation of the second-generation Chinese youth (Kasinitz et al. 2008). By bringing these two literatures together, I moved the debate forward. Long-term assimilation processes are in part determined by the intergenerational transmission of culture and notions of success. Decedents of immigrants either lose components of their culture by the third or fourth-generation or merge them with elements of the host culture, creating a type of new hybrid culture and childrearing practices. While this study only examines a selection by focusing on the success frame, it does provide a piece in the larger ‘assimilation’ puzzle. It demonstrates that certain aspects of assimilation are not the same in every national context and nor is the culture into which the second-generation mixes their own culture to create a new hybrid form. Second-generation Chinese parents match their utilization of the success frame to the needs of their national surroundings, which, naturally, affects their third-generation children differently. In the U.S., adaptation implies that parents accept the success frame with which they grew up. Consequently, their children will most likely continue to obtain high academic achievements, especially given the high socioeconomic status of their parents, especially because parents education is such an important predictor of child’s education (Lee & Zhou 2014). In the Netherlands, parents adjust to the mainstream by opposing the success frame; they no longer stress academic achievement and success, and raise their children with values similar to the native-born Dutch, focusing on innate abilities and happiness.

In the United States and the Netherlands the second-generation Chinese approach the notions of success and the boundaries that frame in dissimilar ways—either accepting or opposing them—yet they both adjust them to their national context. These findings indicate that adjustment to the host society may not have the same (long-term) implications in different countries. Although it is too early to examine the educational outcomes of the third-generation Chinese, it is likely that their potential academic achievement, and as such, their socio-economic assimilation, depends on the context in which their parents raise them.

Chapter 5

A cross-national comparison of second-generation Chinese ‘Tiger’ parents

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed that second-generation Chinese in different contexts shape the success frame differently for their children, the third-generation. The way second-generation Chinese create a success frame for their third-generation children is important because it can influence their children’ socioeconomic standing (SES), wellbeing, and access to resources. The main assumption is that the more immigrants and their decedents assimilate, the higher their level of education and their SES becomes (Park and Burgess 1921, Gordon 1964, Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Members of the second-generation usually adapt to the host society more strongly than their parents. Consequently, they may feel that their parents are too strict or that their parents’ standards are unobtainable. They may no longer agree with their parents’ overriding emphasis on education (Zhou 2009a). In the previous chapter I showed that the level of with the success frame depends in part on the country in which the second-generation grew up. While second-generation Chinese in both the United States and the Netherlands grew up with the same success frame, they no longer instilled it in their children to the same extent. This showed that the second-generation adjust to the receiving context, but it does not show to what extent and how more or less assimilation within specific national settings influences their conceptualizations of this success frame.

To examine these interactions, I connect the literature on childrearing by first-generation Chinese to the literature on the assimilation of the second-generation. Doing so sheds light on the

childrearing practices of second-generation Chinese parents. I illuminate these dynamics through a quasi-experimental research design. Data on second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands and in the United States illustrates how national welfare state regimes and educational approaches impact the educational expectations that second-generation Chinese parents hold for their third-generation children and how they frame their notions of success. Comparing intermarried and intramarried second-generation Chinese within each country allows me to utilize control groups to evaluate the impact of assimilation. This thorough research model increases the validity of the research design as well as the reliability of the findings in showing differences both between and within countries.

5.2 Theoretical background: constructing the success frame and incorporation of the second-generation

In the recent years, it has come to light that the children of certain immigrant populations achieve at above-average levels, such as the second-generation Chinese (Lee 2012, Gijsberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011). As argued in the previous chapter, this success can be ascribed to the success frame in which they were socialized. This chapter brings into focus one of the many elements of this success frame by paying attention to parents' high academic expectations and the childrearing practices they employ to support it.

5.2.1 The construction of the success frame by first-generation Chinese

Summarizing the literature, there appear to be three mechanisms through which the Chinese immigrant parents have created a success frame for their second-generation children: First, parents socialize their children with specific values regarding parent-child relations that are often

described as 'filial piety' and include strict rules, obedience, hierarchical power structures, and collectivism (Chao 2000, Distelbrink and Hooghiemstra 2005, Geense and Pels 1998, Kelley and Tseng 1992). Because children feel they need to respect their parents, they may try to meet their expectations by becoming academically successful (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004, Lieber, Nihira, and Mink 2004). Parents thus set certain standards of what it means to be successful. Second, based on the traditional notion of a 'social contract', parents invest in their children's education (Stevenson, Chen, and Lee 2002). Indeed, compared to other ethnoracial groups, Chinese parents invest in their children's education and are more aggressive in their investment strategies (Sun 1998, 452, see also Chao 1996). Through the third childrearing tactic, parents support the success frame; they live in or move to an ethnic community. Living in ethnic communities can promote academic outcomes because these neighborhoods often overlap geographically with particularly high-ranking school districts and because living in these ethnic communities implies living among co-ethnics who share cultural values and have similar educational expectations of their children. Living in an ethnic community also supports the success frame in practical sense because and the ethnoburbs often house facilities that promote academic achievement, such as after-school activities, SAT preparation programs, and homework support groups (Lee 2012, Zhou 2009b, Louie 2004).

Preservation of the Chinese culture has always been important within the Chinese community. This is in part because it was believed that Chinese immigrants should and could not naturalizing (Daniels 2004, Kwong and Mišćević 2005, Benton and Vermeulen 1987), and it was in part because Chinese immigrant parents themselves wanted to distance their children from other populations (Chong 2005, Loewen 1988). In doing so, Chinese immigrant parents set up

their own standards of success and as such created the success frame for their children. For example, recent a study by Jiménez and Horowitz (2013) show that Chinese (and Japanese) immigrant parents utilize their emphasis on education to redefine their children's position in the American ethnoracial hierarchy. Parents instill in their children a sense of (socioeconomic) superiority and motivate them to outperform their native-born white peers. The United States is not the only country where Chinese immigrant parents created a success frame; similar trends have been recorded in Australia (Dandy and Nettelbeck 2002), Canada (Li 2001), and the Netherlands (Vogels 2011). In the previous chapter I indicated that the second-generation takes different paths when it comes to their children and alters their beliefs to the national context of the receiving country.

5.2.2 Incorporation of second-generation youth

While there are numerous studies on first-generation Chinese mothers and fathers and on how some of their childrearing practices can channel their children into specific educational tracks and professional directions, there is virtually no research on second-generation Chinese parents (for an exception, see Noam 2014). One reason for this gap in the literature is that until recently, Chinese second-generation in the U.S. and in the Netherlands were too young to have children. There is, nevertheless, plenty research on second-generation Chinese youth and on how they alter their parents' cultural norms and values as they adjust to the mainstream (Lee and Zhou 2013, Witte 2009, Louie 2006, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004, Louie 2004, Kibria 2002, Portes and Rumbaut 2001a). The combination of maintaining cultural values on the one hand and assimilation in select domains on the other hand creates a particularly successful

'formula' that pushes the second-generation to academic heights (Gibson 1988, Zhou and Bankston 1998, Geense and Pels 1998, Zhou 2009b, 1999, Louie 2006).

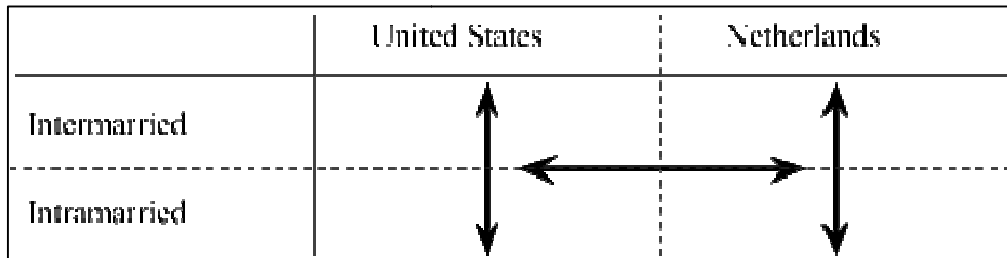
However, the knife cuts both ways; the combination of cultural maintenance and assimilation enables the second-generation to view their upbringing with a critical eye. Growing up in the receiving country exposes them to alternatives to their home culture, such as different food, language, values, and perceptions (Crul and Vermeulen 2003, Crul and Schneider 2009, Kasinitz et al. 2008). These other possibilities allow them to question their own upbringing and rather than take it for granted (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010). The mismatch between the two cultures can create a fracture between first-generation parents and their second-generation children, also known as cultural dissonance (Zhou and Bankston 1998, Zhou 2009a). Cultural dissonance is more probable when the host country's mainstream culture differs strongly from the immigrants' heritage culture and members of the second-generation are more assimilated than their parents. As I showed in the previous chapter, this cultural dissonance can imply that the second-generation Chinese raise their children with different ideas of what it means to be successful. This is because, while the second-generation's values, social interactions, and identity continue to be influenced by their parents' culture, they are also affected by their host country's culture and standards of success. This interaction can result in a success frame that includes elements of both side-by-side, a culture that mixes both cultures into a new culture, or a culture that rejects one of the two (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004, Kasinitz et al. 2008, Waters 1990, Verkuyten 1999, Verkuyten 1988). Recent studies show that not all second-generation Chinese continue to support the success frame (Lee and Zhou 2013) or subscribe to their parents' standards of success and emphasis on educational outcomes (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). As showed in chapter 4, certain alternatives provide a better fit

for the context in which they grew up (see also: Yiu 2013). There are, however, no studies that examine how these dynamics are incorporated by second-generation parents and how they impact the educational expectations they have of their third-generation children and the childrearing practices to support success frame. Since members of the second-generation grew up in the host society and are more assimilated than their parents, it is likely that they will adjust their childrearing practices even further. But the questions that remains is if they adjust their childrearing to their specific national context and if they adjust it more when they are more assimilated?

5.3 Hypotheses

In this study, I utilize a cross-national comparative design to assess how second-generation Chinese adjust aspects of their childrearing practices and shape the success frame to their national context. Comparing second-generation Chinese in two countries, the United States and the Netherlands, enables me to examine if incorporation into different national settings results in context-dependent assimilation. These findings thus add depth to those presented in the previous chapter. To expand on these findings I compare second-generation Chinese with a native-born Caucasian spouse (i.e. intermarried) and second-generation Chinese with a Chinese partner (i.e. intramarried) within each country. This within-country comparison creates a test-group vs. control-group situation, which sheds light on the impact that assimilation (measured by intermarriage) has on childrearing practices regarding academic outcomes. Figure 5.1 below illustrates the research design.

Figure 5.1: Between and within country differences



5.3.1 National context

As detailed in chapter 3, cross-national research can be approached as a quasi-experiment (Bloemraad 2006, Noam 2013). Keeping factors constant between national contexts and research populations creates a pseudo-experimental design that allows for analyzing the effect of the ‘treatment’ (specific elements of the national context) on the variable of interest (childrearing practices) within the research population (second-generation Chinese). The United States and the Netherlands both have a free market economy and similar demographics (even though the U.S. population is 18 times as big as that of the Netherlands); both have a white majority and similar age and gender distributions (UnitedNations 2013, CBS 2013). Importantly, the Chinese populations in both countries are also analogous: they are about a half percent of the total population, have similar history and experience, and are the largest and fastest-growing Asian groups (CBS 2013, Linder et al. 2011, PewResearchCenter 2013). As the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on two points where the countries differ: their welfare structure (Esping-Andersen 1996) and their approach towards education (see Holdaway, Crul, and Roberts 2009 for an overview). Since I have outlined these differences in detail in chapter 4, I will not do so again. As shown I chapter 4, the second-generation Chinese, who grow up in these two different countries, adjust their childrearing to their surroundings in different ways. They adapt it to the opportunities and constraints of the welfare state in which they raise their children. In this

chapter I explore this the way second-generation Chinese parents alter their success frame even further and hypothesize that: *second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands will stress the importance of values that are the foundation of the success frame less than their peers in the United States nor will they will transmit those elements of their that support the success frame (Hypothesis I).*

5.3.2 Assimilation

In this chapter, I examine how assimilation impacts the way parents utilize their notions of the success frame. To measure the effect of assimilation, I compare intermarried (second-generation Chinese with a native-born spouse) and intramarried (second-generation Chinese with a Chinese spouse) couples. Because people seek a spouse that is similar to themselves (Kalmijn 1991, Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2006), intermarriage is considered the ultimate outcome of assimilation (Lee and Bean 2010, Gordon 1964). Hence, the assumption is that the second-generation Chinese will only intermarry once (part of) their values have become similar to those held by their native-born peers. Moreover, intermarriage is also likely to result in less emphasis on the success frame because these couples have fewer resources to support this notion. In other words, they not only have the point of reference of their Chinese peers, but also of their native-born spouses and their native-born network (e.g. family). Similar to other ethnic groups, native-born parents are influenced most by their upbringing and most likely to raise their children similar to the way they were raised (Caspi and Elder 1988, van Ijzendoorn 1992). Also, having a native-born spouse provides more connections to the mainstream culture and reduces the Chinese network (as the in-law segment of the network is absent). Moreover, intermarriage provides access to and intimate knowledge of alternatives to the high standards of the success frame and

thus reduces its reinforcement—positive and negative. All these reasons make it is plausible to assume that: *Intermarried second-generation Chinese are able to bend the standards of the success frame more than their intramarried peers (hypotheses II).*

5.4 Data & Methods

This study draws on rich qualitative data and standardized quantitative data, collected in both the United States and the Netherlands. A mixed methods approach adds depth to the findings and increases their reliability (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, Emerson 2001, Lofland 2006). Mixed methods also provide the ‘best of both worlds’. Qualitative data are rich, thick, and contain detailed information (Geertz 2000); with qualitative data, there is a voice behind the checkbox (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Quantitative data, on the other hand, provide the ability to quantify certain findings and tests for significant differences between the populations.

5.4.1 Data origins

As the previous chapter, the data for this study are based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with second-generation Chinese. In this chapter I add the standard questionnaires that both partners filled out at the end of the interview. In total, 75 couples participated in this study: 36 in the Netherlands and 39 in the United States, and most respondents filled out the questionnaire. Some of the couples were interviewed more than once.²² Interviews lasted around two hours. All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed with AtlasTi. After re-reading all the interviews, I coded them based on general topics and then recoded each topic in more detailed to dissect specific themes.

The short questionnaire increases the contextual picture of the findings (Jick 1979, Denzin 1978) and includes demographic, socioeconomic, and ethnic identity measures. It also includes the ranking of childrearing goals and aspirations in order of importance (Pels 1998, 2000). In this chapter, I address one of five childrearing goals by analyzing which position parents assigned to ‘achievement’. (The other childrearing goals were: discipline, respect, self-esteem, and social feeling.) I also focus on three aspirations that parents may have for their children’s future, which are: a good job, a lot of money, and prestige. The other five are that parents aspire for their children to have: friends, extended family, nuclear family, parents, respect from others, and their own future spouse and children. The childrearing goals were developed by Pels and she and her colleagues tested them among immigrant parents from several national origins (Geense & Pels 1998; Nijsten & Pels 2000; Pels 1998; Pels & Nijsten 2000). All quantitative data were analyzed in IBM SPSS Statistics. I tested for significant differences between and within countries using t-tests and the chi-square test of association.

5.4.2 The samples

Table 5.1 summarizes details of both samples regarding the respondents’ demographics, socioeconomic status, and ethnic identity.²³ It shows how similar both samples are; except for having a Chinese spouse, there are no significant differences between second-generation Chinese in the United States and their peers in the Netherlands. In quasi experiments it is important that irrelevant variables are similar because that way they can be held constant.

Table 5.1: Comparing samples in the United States and the Netherlands

	United States	Netherlands
<i>Demographics</i>		
Lives in metro area	84.2%	86.1%
Female	55.3%	75.0%
Age (average)	37.8 (7.097)	35.8 (5.114)
Number of children (averages)	1.5(.830)	1.292 (.831)
Age of first child (averages)	6.4 (4.359)	5.2 (4.353)
Spouse is Chinese *	52.6%	30.6%
<i>Socioeconomic Standing</i>		
High school (incl. Dutch MBO)	2.7%	11.4%
Undergraduate (incl. Dutch HBO)	37.8%	37.1%
Graduate (incl. Dutch Drs.)	59.5%	51.5%
Hours working each week	40.1 (14.154)	37.6 (10.881)
Stay at home mom	15.8%	5.6%
<i>Ethnic identity</i>		
Chinese	52.9%	40.0%
American/Dutch - Chinese	41.2%	45.0%
American/Dutch	5.9%	14.3%
<i>N</i>	38	36

* sig different $p < .05$

Both countries have a larger proportion of female respondents (55.3 and 75 percent respectively). This is because second-generation Chinese women are more likely to intermarry, which inflates the proportion of women in the overall sample. Another reason for the percentage of women being higher could be due to a sampling bias (i.e. recruiting respondents at day cares or ‘mommy and me’ groups). The other demographics were similar too, such as average age (respectively 37.8 and 35.8), the average number of children (1.5 and 1.3), and average age of the first child (6.4 and 5.2). In the United States, I interviewed somewhat more second-generation Chinese with a Chinese spouse (52.6 and 30.6 percent) which is in part because the

Chinese/Chinese couples in the Netherlands were more reluctant to participate; perhaps, as one of the respondents suggested, because they are still more embedded in their relatively closed Chinese communities (Geense 2002).

Second-generation Chinese in both countries have similar socioeconomic standing (SES). Parents' SES should be kept in mind because class is related to parents' resources and to their social and cultural capital (Coleman 1988). Moreover, parents' class also influences their approach to childrearing. Parents of higher socioeconomic standing have higher educational expectations of their children, and can ascribe to a culture that is distinctively different from that of lower socioeconomic classes (Kohn 1977, Lareau 2003). The vast majority of respondents are highly educated, which matches the level of education of the overall second-generation population in both countries. In both countries, more than half of the respondents had a graduate degree (59.5 and 51.5 percent respectively).²⁴ The respondents work a similar amount (40.1 and 37.6 respectively) but—contrary to the overall population (OECD 2012)—there are more stay-at-home-mothers in the U.S. (not significant). Given that in both countries, the second-generation Chinese have similar socioeconomic standing—also demonstrated when the couples talked about their professions (e.g. accountant, physician, or lawyer) and leisure activities (holidays, sports, hobbies)—these effects can be kept constant.

The last resemblance between the samples is in their ethnic identity. This is important because ethnoracial identity often influences how parents socialize their children in racial terms (Hughes et al. 2006). Nearly all respondents identify either as Chinese or American/Dutch-Chinese. The same is true for the ethnic identification of the larger population second-generation Chinese (Huijnk and Noam 2011). Perhaps second-generation Chinese in both countries are alike in these ways because they were raised with the success frame in both countries.

5.5 Findings: Quantitative and Qualitative evidence for recreating the success frame

The interviews revealed both between- and within-country differences. Figure 5.2 summarizes the main findings. The findings are structured according to this research design: first I present the cross-national comparison and then I zoom in on the intramarried and intermarried second-generation Chinese within each country.

Figure 5.2: Findings between and within countries

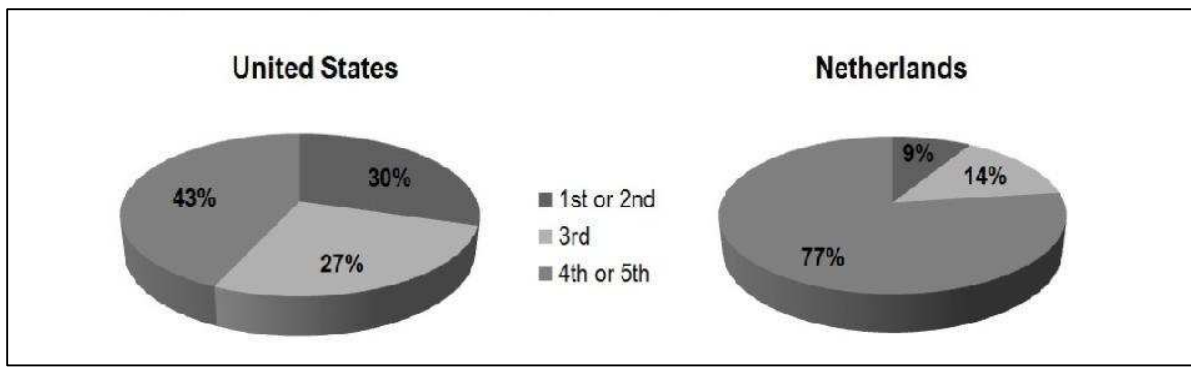
	United States	Netherlands
Intermarried	Expect a college degree	Education is part of larger toolset
Intramarried	Push towards a graduate degree	Aim for max within abilities

5.5.1 International comparison: Parents' childrearing goals and aspirations

As also shown in chapter 4, the second-generation Chinese parents in the United States and the Netherlands differ in the ways they continue to stress the importance of education and create a success frame for their children. This difference is reflected in the expectations they have of their children's academic achievements and in the frequency in which they bring up the subject during the interviews. High academic achievement, the hard work needed to obtain it, and the desire that their children will be at the top of their class are important parts of the Chinese culture that shape the success frame (Geense and Pels 1998; Lee 2012; Lee and Zhou 2014; Louie 2004). When parents in both countries rank a set of five goals for their children's future in order of importance, stark differences surface (the five items are: discipline, achievement, respect, social

feeling, and autonomy). In the United States, a third of the parents consider ‘achievement’ the most or the second most important goal for their children’s future; in the Netherlands only nine percent of the parents do (see figure 5.3). In the United States, less than half of the parents place the ‘achievement’ on the lowest two ranks while more than three quarters of the parents in the Netherlands do. These differences are significant ($p < .01$) and provide support for hypothesis I.

Figure 5.3: Placing of 'achievement' when 5^a items were ranked



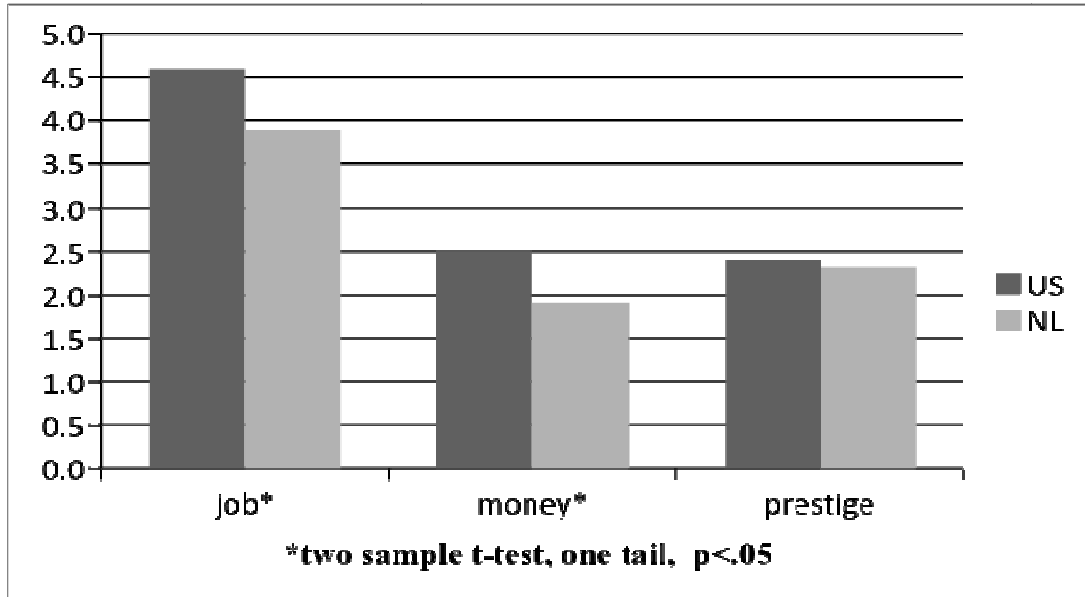
a) The other items were: discipline, respect, social feeling, and autonomy. Respondents were asked place the five items in order of what they considered important for their children’s future

** $p < .01$

Achievement is a key ingredient in the success frame and usually represents a respected occupation, high education, and/or a three figure income (Lee 2012; Geense & Pels 1998). Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands may place less stress on this childrearing goal because they no longer attach any value to the traits that it represents, while in the United States, parents do. The underlying representations of achievement and how parents in both countries perceive them differently comes to light when parents ordered eight items that are important in the future lives of their children. (The eight items are: extended family, parents, nuclear family, friends, good job, money, prestige, child’s own family). I ascribed points to each

position (8 points for the first place, 7 for the second, etc.), averaged these points, and graphed the three achievement-related aspirations in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Parents' aspirations for their children's future



While second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands no longer consider the future prospects of a good job, making a lot of money and obtaining prestige very important for their children's future, their peers in the United States did. In fact, on average, the parents in the United States place each item one position higher; The differences between the future prospects of 'a good job' and 'a lot of money' were significant (two sample t-test, one tailed, $p < .05$). Not only do parents rank the aspirations they have for their children's future significantly different, but they also differ in perceiving the three items as part of the same phenomenon. For second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands, the items do not measure a single phenomenon, while for their peers in the United States, it did (Crown Bach's alpha respectively .461 and .755). These findings support hypothesis I.

5.5.2 Parents' motivations and expectations

The differences between second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands and the United States support the findings of chapter 4. Indeed, when parents talk about the importance of their children's education and their academic achievements it becomes clear that in the United States parents continue to ascribe to a success frame while parents in the Netherlands do so to a much reduced extent. Echoing the previous findings, parents in the Netherlands no longer attach much value to prestigious occupations and jobs with a big pay check. "It is not the most important thing that [my son] will live in a big house and drive an enormous car", Romi explains. In fact, for more than half (56%) of the parents in the Netherlands, 'high income' is the *least* important item when ranking the eight aspirations they have for their children's future (see also above). Less than a third of U.S. second-generation Chinese ranked this item as least important. Second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands stress the importance of income less than their parents did because they feel that they do not need to. Parents rarely link monetary incentives to educational achievement and occupational choices. Instead, second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands connect educational accomplishments to their children's happiness. They believe that a solid educational basis can provide their children the platform for educational and occupational opportunities.

As shown in chapter 4, parents in the Netherlands are rarely concerned about their children obtaining a college degree but do stress that they want their children to finish high school. While several parents do not really mind if this is a lower, middle, or higher level high school, most prefer their offspring to attend the highest level (VWO). A VWO diploma will provide their children with the basis for education and job opportunities. Yuet, an intermarried mother, explains regarding her child that "If you get an athenaeum [highest level] high school

diploma you can do everything. You can achieve everything. You can continue to university, to the HBO [higher professional education], or to the MBO [lower professional education]; whatever you choose”. Having these choices and opportunities will increase their children’s happiness, parents argue. Unlike their own parents, they do not want to decide on their children’s study choices or occupational. QinQin, an intramarried mother of three girls (four, two, and two months), explains this, saying: “we think: ‘do something you enjoy’. Our parents always pushed us to obtain a higher education and make a lot of money and we don’t want this for our daughters. We are thinking: ‘just do something you like and let it make you happy’. Money doesn’t really matter”.

The emphasis on personal fulfilment and happiness is very prominent among the second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands and, as also shown in chapter 4, stresses that they reframe what it means to be successful as being happy, which differs starkly from the success frame with which they were raised. Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands consciously decide to raise their children with this success frame and no longer support a success frame of high academic achievement and occupational success. Moreover, no longer socialize their children with values that support this success frame, such hard work, filial piety, or collectivism, nor do not make specific investments to improve their children’s academic achievement, or enroll their children in specifically high-ranking schools. The decision to raise their children differently from the way they were brought up is a conscious one. When the second-generation Chinese grew up, they came to realize that their straight-A diploma did not grant them any more materialistic success than their peers with mediocre study results. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, they came to realize that the success frame was not a

free card to happiness. This insight made the second-generation reject the success frame. They focus on creating choices for their children. Jia, an intermarried mother to a newborn, explains:

Because my parents pushed me so much toward something I did not believe in, I often wondered: 'would I have been happier if I had taken a lower educational track? Would I have had a different future? Could I have done something that I enjoyed more?' So, based on my own experience, I want to see how [my son] develops and then he will have to make decisions for himself.

Second-generation Chinese not only want their children to make their own choices, but they also want to focus on the individual child and his or her abilities, rather than channeling him or her towards a certain academic outcome because they feel that that is expected. Parents believe that their children will become unhappy if they are pushed beyond their aptitude. They stress that happiness is more valuable than academic achievement, especially if educational accomplishments are achieved in lieu of happiness. This approach is similar to the native-born Dutch (Herweijer and Vogels 2013). The main childrearing objective to make their children happy may compromise their children's level of education, however. But parents are more than willing to make this 'sacrifice'. For example, Eva, a second-generation Chinese mother, explains that "I don't think that education by itself, like a Bachelor or Ph.D. degree, is the most important. It depends on what the child wants and what makes him feel good." Her husband Cheng adds that it is not only about what the child wants, or what makes him feel good, but "it also depends on their abilities. There is no point in pushing children if it turns out that they do not have the abilities to do more. This will only make them very unhappy".

The notion that not everybody is born with the same abilities is in contrast to the American ideology regarding education, success, and the belief in the self-made man. In other words, it is nearly opposite to the American success frame. According to the American Creed, the harder people work, the more they will succeed (Lipset 1996, Hochschild 1995). Parents from all ethnic backgrounds want their children to do well in society and climb the socioeconomic ladder, including the Chinese (Goyette 2008). Contrary to their peers in the Netherlands, second-generation Chinese parents in the U.S. continue to emphasize the importance of education when they raise their children and reinforce the notions of the success frame. Education, they explain, is vital to socioeconomic mobility and can establish economic stability. “You don’t typically think that your kids are gonna do worse than you, right?” Lydia, a mother of two, wonders out loud: “So, our hope is, we want to give our kids the best opportunity to make an even better life [than us], at least equivalent or better, so that they can be comfortable and have a good quality of life”.

The fact that parents raise their children with the success frame becomes especially clear when parents have certain expectations of their children from the moment their children are born. For example, when I ask Karen if she has any educational hopes for her toddler and six month-old, she passionately answers: “college, definitely!” Erica says of her three year old that: “[we] definitely want our child to have a college education. I mean, I think that’s, it’s almost, like, given”. Of course, like their peers in the Netherlands, the second-generation Chinese in the United States also want their children to be happy, but they believe that a college degree is a prerequisite. They feel that the right education can give their children the occupational opportunities and financial stability to reach happiness. However, unlike their parents, they no longer want to direct their children toward certain professions. Steven, a father of two, stresses

that obtaining higher education will increase his children's future prospects because: "the higher educated you are or the better school you go to, it opens up greater doors. Whether you choose to go through those doors is up to you. It gives you some more opportunities".

Unlike their parents, they no longer include specific occupations within their success frame. They no longer emphasize the occupation prestige. Parents leave it up to their children to decide what they want to study, as long as they go to college: "it's not as if I've made plans for her to go to law school or medical school. I wouldn't. I wouldn't be able to do that", intermarried Phyllis says when I ask her what her expectations are for her six year old daughter. She is, however, quick to add that she does want her daughter to go to college: "yeah, but college". One reason that the American-born Chinese do not want to channel their children onto specific career paths is because some experienced studying a discipline that they did not choose. The majors their parents selected for them, mostly medicine, law, or economics, did not always match their own preferences. May, a mother of two, says that "honestly, I want [our children] to be educated in whatever they choose. We can foresee what their strong points are, and you know, push, and gear them toward that. But we can't tell them what to do. Whereas my parents, they were like: 'you're going to be a doctor'. And that's not something I really wanted to do". As showed in chapter 4, parents support the success frame by instilling values that stress the importance of education and by continuing to invest in their children's education.

The approaches of the second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands and the United States differ starkly. Parents in the Netherlands emphasize the importance of happiness and approach education as a means to obtain this objective, happiness thus become part of their success frame. In the US, parents maintain the success frame but no longer emphasize the importance of certain occupations. The second-generation Chinese parents in the U.S. expect at

least a college degree. The discrepancy between the second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands and the United States supports hypothesis I.

5.5.3 Intermarried vs. intramarried in the Netherlands: education as element of skillset vs. optimizing abilities

In the Netherlands, intermarried parents trust in their children's personal abilities and efforts; parents approach education as a part of their children's overall growth and ascribe equal importance to educational, athletic, social, artistic, and emotional development. Parents let their children advance at their own pace. The majority of second-generation Chinese with a Dutch partner talk about their children's academic achievement as part of a general set of skills. They believe that academic abilities, like other talents, are based on the child's inborn capabilities. "I believe that he is an individual and someone who has to learn to discover himself. So, I cannot decide for him" Jia says of her infant. Parents explain that education is just one tool children should develop for their future to become successful and happy.

Intermarried parents pair their children's academic skills with these other proficiencies and follow their children's lead in deciding which skills to develop and to what extent. They ensure that their children will not overdevelop one skill to the detriment of another, as they are all important. Parents include skills other than education in their success frame. Marit, for example, says that: "[my toddler] should just do whatever it is he wants. We will guide him from our experiences. If he will only focus on studies, I will stimulate him to also play sports. I hope he will like sports". Seeing education as part of a larger set of tools implies that parents incorporate their children's school experiences as one aspect of their overall development and success frame. This approach is similar to the ideology of most native-born Dutch parents, who

believe in their children's autonomy and consider zeal and ambition as one of the least important childrearing goals (Herweijer and Vogels 2013). The attitude of intermarried parents becomes especially evident during the conversations I had with Satu. I interviewed Satu and her Dutch husband, Robert, twice: Once in 2008 and then again in 2011. During these interviews, Satu and Robert express that they want to stimulate their sons' educational advancement, but see it as part of their larger development. In 2008 Satu tells me:

I don't think that a child should work too hard because it will only create frustration for the child to attend a school that is above his level. That said, we are currently looking for a primary school that suits [our oldest son's] needs. We have the feeling that, well, it is kind of silly to say this of your own child, but we think that he is pretty smart. He writes his own name and he is only three and a half! So we are looking for a school that can stimulate him.

Three years later, during our second interview, the couple tells me that their son is still outperforming his peers. In fact, his teacher recently asked them to consider allowing him to skip a grade and take a test to determine whether he is gifted. Native Dutch often see overachievement and ambition as rather negative (Herweijer and Vogels 2013), and many of the second-generation Chinese start share these sentiments, as Satu's reaction to her son's teacher illustrates:

Oh no, that is so sad!' No, we are not going to test him and we are not letting him skip a grade. (...) He might be cognitively advanced for his age but social-emotionally he is not. I was thinking, 'He is already an early student [and younger than his classmates] and if he will skip a grade he will start [junior] high school at age 10 or 11. I don't want that'. So no, he skipping a class is not something we'll consider.

Satu's thinking process is typical of the intermarried second-generation Chinese and their Caucasian spouses. They describe their belief that each child has his or her own capacities and that children can become miserable if they are pushed beyond these abilities. Even if a child has certain gifts, such as being considered more intelligent than others, parents like Satu focus on other skills, too. Satu feels almost embarrassed to say her son is so smart. She does, however, feel that this intelligence should be nurtured, just as other skills should be nourished. Satu and her husband do not want their son's intellectual improvement to hinder his social and emotional development. Parents revisit the success frame when raising their children and no longer emphasize education. Second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands include other skills when framing success and no longer solely focus on academic outcomes. To support their new success frame they stimulate their children's other development too by sending them to sports classes, encouraging them to develop social skills, and by reducing the pressure to achieve academically.

But how is it for the intramarried second-generation Chinese? How would Satu's response have been if she had had a Chinese husband? If Robert were Chinese, she probably would have let her son skip to the next class. Perhaps she or her husband would have been influenced more strongly by their success frame and it would have been taken for granted that higher achievements are better, or perhaps her in-laws would have put more pressure on her and her son. In the Netherlands, second-generation Chinese with a Chinese partner are more likely than their intermarried peers to stimulate their children's educational development. The intramarried parents in the Netherlands try to stimulate their children to achieve to their maximum capacities.

It must be stressed that their approach still differs greatly from the way they were raised. While their immigrant parents had certain educational expectations of their children's academic outcomes and pushed their children to these ends, the second-generation intramarried parents focus on stimulating their children to reach the maximum within their own capacity. They stress they want their children to 'do their best'. Still, the intramarried second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands are more likely to fall back on their own upbringing. Moreover, having a Chinese spouse implies that both parents were raised with the success frame and that they have two Chinese childhoods to draw upon and no alternative childhood to be inspired by.

The intramarried second-generation Chinese also indicate that they want their children to be happy and have no intention of pushing them into specific educational or occupational tracks. However, in a de facto way, they are directing their offspring on a path toward academic accomplishments and they do raise them with an alternated version of the success frame. For instance, intramarried parents often speak in terms of "stimulating" their children in their academic development, vocabulary that is rarely used by their intermarried peers. For example, Ah Kum says: "I consider education important and want to *stimulate* [our son]." Parents ascribe this need to 'stimulate' their children toward university to their cultural background. The success frame they expose their children to is not as ridged as the one they grew up with and they do not plan to push their children as much as their parents pushed them, honoring the limits of their children's abilities. But, they are aiming for their children to reach their maximum abilities. Kaij, the father of two girls, says that: "Chinese in general want their children to attend university. We would like that, too. If they cannot, well, that would be ok too, but we would try to *stimulate* them". Second-generation Chinese parents with a Chinese spouse support the success frame by becoming involved in their children's schools. Volunteering at school provides parents the

opportunity to engage in their children's education. For Luli, this was the main incentive to become a computer support volunteer at the school of her two daughters.

I like to be involved in their school performance, to connect to the teacher, and to see the other kids. This way I know who is who and how they are doing... and that way I know that if they are working on their tables, for example, which ones to practice at home.

Parents with Chinese partners see school fulfilling a role they could not meet themselves. They consider formal education a crucial element in the success frame and important in their children's personal growth. It is part of the success frame because they view it as a typical Chinese trait to consider education this essential to their personal development. In this awareness, they stimulate their children to reach for their complete aptitude and take an active role in their children's education. Parents with a native-born Dutch spouse, on the other hand, see education as an integrated part of their children's life, much like sports and arts. The intramarried and intermarried second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands show how the former continue to hold on to some of their cultural values while the latter are more assimilated. This discrepancy supports hypothesis II.

5.5.4 Intermarried vs. intramarried The United States: college degree vs. graduate degree

In the United States, there is a similar discrepancy between intermarried and intramarried second-generation Chinese parents. For all parents the success frame is still very relevant; nearly all parents want their children to obtain a college degree and they have confidence in their children's abilities to reach this goal. The couples differ in how they envision their offspring's career after college and in how central a role the success frame plays their children's daily lives.

Second-generation Chinese with a native-born Caucasian partner emphasize that they want their children to follow their own path once they finish their bachelor degrees. Second-generation Chinese with a Chinese spouse expect that their children continue their education, obtain at least a graduate degree. For both parents prestigious occupations are no longer an element of the success frame. Parents focus only on education and obtaining the base for occupational success from there.

Intermarried second-generation Chinese indicate that they are influenced by their native-born American spouse in the way they approach education. That their children obtain a bachelor degree is important for both partners, but once their children complete college, parents leave it to their children to decide what to do with their lives. They do not direct them into specific study fields or occupations. “I want them to choose their, ultimately, their careers. Their field,” May says, of her son and daughter. Like nearly all other second-generation Chinese, the intermarried second-generation Chinese in the U.S. grew up with high standards of success towards which they were pushed by their parents. They no longer want this for their children and instead leave it up to their offspring to decide what they want to do once they finish college. This approach is different from their own upbringing, in which specific study fields and occupations were part of the success frame. To help their children in making career choices, parents help them “discover who she is, and, and what is suitable for her” as Phyllis puts it for her daughter. They want their children to develop their own opinions and choose their own directions. They feel that having their own choices will make their children happier. The pursuit of individual happiness, the opportunity to make personal choices, and the ability to pursue their dreams are typical American traits. Parents are aware of this. They realize that they have adjusted their childrearing

practices from the way they were raised themselves. They often ascribe these changes to their native-born American spouses, as Victoria illustrates:

I'm trying not to have too many expectations but I would like to, them to be more successful than myself in the sense that, more knowing who they are, more free to pursue their passions and knowing what their passions are from an earlier age. And being emotionally intelligent about what they're feeling and being aware of themselves, which is, I think, a kind of an American value.

Like their intermarried peers, the second-generation Chinese with a Chinese spouse also want their children to obtain a bachelor degree. But they take their educational expectations further by expecting a graduate degree, as well. For the intramarried couples, education plays a central role and they expand the success frame to include this higher level of education. Many parents, such as Gregory, see high academic expectations as part of their culture. Gregory says that he and his wife "have certain expectations of our kids, you know. We value education. As an educated couple, we value education, and as a Chinese couple". Parents grew up with this emphasis on education. Parents even continue to stress the importance of education when they do not agree with the way their parents raised them. Although they do not want to pressure their children to the same extent, they still expect high academic outcomes. Obtaining a graduate degree is pivotal in the current economy, and parents stress and feel that in order for their children to get by and create financial security, they need to motivate their children towards a graduate degree. "If you want a job, a good job", Sarah, a mother of two, explains, "you have to get at least get a masters".

Intramarried second-generation Chinese parents in the United States resort to the tactics they know to shape their success frame and as such increase the odds that their children will

reach this goal and obtain a graduate degree. What they know is mostly based on the way they were raised. They continue to implement the cultural practices they grew up with, but to a lesser degree. The parents instill values of filial piety in their children, make investments to improve their children's academic outcomes, and choose their children's schools carefully. Contrary to their childhoods, education is not the single focus of the success frame anymore and they do not push their children to the same extent. Intramarried parents do make sure, however, to help their children toward their academic path. The intergenerational transmission of filial piety is subtle. Parents do not instill the same parent-child hierarchy that the first-generation had demanded, but they do expect that their children will fulfill their educational expectations. Lydia, for example, explains that she and her husband still have high demands of their children, and that they raise them with high educational hopes. They have clear and strict rules in the house to make sure their son and daughter will complete graduate degrees. But in comparing herself to the ways she and her Chinese husband were raised, Lydia says she is "more loving to our kids, uh, in terms of giving them affection". Lydia adds "that's more of the western influence. But at the same time I feel I have to--we have to have the high expectations for them". As was shown in chapter 4 as well, the intramarried second-generation also invest more to support their children's success frame and are also more likely to send their children to specific schools. For some parents, such as Ruby, this meant enrolling their children in private school. Ruby describes the choice of school for her twelve and nine year old, and that she is "already expecting them to enjoy education and school. That's why they're in private school." For other parents, choosing a specific school implied focusing on a particular school district. Joshua, a father of a three-year old, stresses the importance of school districts: "I want us to be in a decent school district. But, I think, the other half of it is parenting, and the other half of it is, so he can have his own

motivation, his own desire to learn”. The LA metropolitan area, in which many of the U.S. interviews were conducted, is home to school districts with a wide variety of ratings, and parents made strategic choices to move to “better” school districts. Sometimes, as Betty explains, parents even made this decision before having children:

When we were looking at this home that was definitely one of the first things we checked out, even though we didn't have kids at the time. We looked at the school system, the school district here, and the school that we would be sending our kids to because we will full time working. It would have been hard for us to trek to a private school or something like that.

The success frames of the intermarried and intramarried parents in the United States differ in two main aspects: those of intermarried couples remain similar to those they grew up with; parents expect college degrees of their children and tend to trust in their abilities to obtain them. They are, however, more flexible and no longer include specific expectations of specific occupations. Parents stimulate their children by encouraging them to do well in school but do not employ many of their values to bring about this outcome. The intramarried couples, on the other hand, set the expectations of their success frame higher than those they grew up with. Parents expect graduate degrees and take extra precautions to strengthen the boundaries of their successful standing by stressing certain values (e.g. filial piety), investing in their children’s education, and placing them in private schools or specific school districts. These findings demonstrate that in the United States, intramarried are more likely than the intermarried parents to emphasize the importance of their children’s education, which provides support for hypothesis II.

5.6 Discussion & conclusion

In this chapter, I examined how the intergenerational transmission of success frames is influenced by national context and level of assimilation. The focus lied on second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands and the United States, comparing intermarried and intermarried couples in each country. The research connected two bodies of literature: studies on the childrearing practices of Chinese immigrant parents and research on the assimilation of second-generation Chinese youth. There are virtually no studies that examine second-generation parents and the way they raise their children (Noam 2014). There are plenty of studies on intermarriage (Kalmijn 1993, Lucassen and Laarman 2009, Perlmann and Waters 2004, Qian and Lichter 2007)}or on bi-cultural parenting (Crippen and Brew 2007), but none approach intermarriage as an indicator of assimilation to evaluate the second-generation's childrearing approaches.

Chinese (immigrant) parents recently received a plethora of media attention when Amy Chua turned the spotlight on their parenting styles and dubbed them 'Tiger Parents'. Tiger parents have high educational expectations for their children and raise them with specific cultural values to push them to obtain these outcomes. There is more to culture alone, however, and parents can support their emphasis on education by creating a success frame. Indeed, the second-generation Chinese themselves were raised which such were highly successful in objective terms (Vogels 2011, Louie 2004). The majority of Chinese Americans have at least a bachelor's degree, and they are disproportionately employed in high-skilled and managerial sectors. Their annual median household income is at least \$10,000 higher than non-Hispanic Whites (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Smith 2013). But the second-generation does not always agree with their parents' childrearing styles } or want to follow the paths that create such success frame for their

own children. The findings indicate that the childrearing practices of second-generation Chinese have become milder and that the majority no longer reinforce the boundaries of the success frame as strictly as their 'tiger parents' had. There are important variations between and within countries.

The national context in which the second-generation Chinese raise their children impacts to what extent they continue to emphasize the success frame. In the Netherlands, second-generation Chinese parents place their children's happiness above anything else, certainly above educational success and professional achievement, and as such create a success frame in which success is formulated as happiness. They emphasize their children's individual abilities and believe that pushing their children academically could impair this happiness. Similar to native-born Dutch, parents believe that there are limits to their children's abilities and that they should not be pushed beyond these borders (Herweijer and Vogels 2004). Parents do not connect academic achievement to their children's future financial well-being. It appears that in this social democratic welfare state, parents no longer feel the need to stress education or their children's materialistic wellbeing. There is no incentive to obtain education to provide a financial safety net, because the government would provide this. This incentive is still very relevant in the United States. Here, second-generation Chinese parents continue to emphasize the success frame and expect their children to obtain at least a college degree. But, like their peers in the Netherlands, the second-generation in the United States also let their children decide what to study and which career path to follow. Occupational prestige is no longer included in the framework.

In both countries, assimilation had an important impact on the way parents restructured the framework of success and how they raised their children. Assimilation, as measured by intermarriage, resulted in less ridged boundaries in both countries. Or put reversely, second-

generation with a Chinese partner appear to hold on tighter to the success frame and to what it represents. In the Netherlands, the intermarried view education as one of many skills to develop in their children, while their intramarried counterparts want to stimulate their children toward the upper boundary of their abilities. In the United States, there is a similar gap between the intermarried and intramarried couples; the intermarried couples want their children to complete college, but the intramarried expect their children to continue to graduate school and thus increase the levels of the success frame. They support the success frame by investing in their children's education and by enrolling them into specific schools.

The differences between and within the countries can have important implications for the socioeconomic incorporation of the third-generation. Second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands vow for their children's happiness and no longer stress the importance of education in the way their immigrant first-generation parents did. Native-born Dutch believe that children should not be pushed beyond their abilities (Van Stigt 2014, Herweijer and Vogels 2004) } and second-generation Chinese parents have adopted this creed and reframed their success frame accordingly. They stress that the success frame that they were pushed into made them unhappy and do not want this for their own children. In the Netherlands, they add, emphasis on education plays a less central role and has less importance for creating occupational opportunities. Native-Dutch parents base their expectations on their children's innate academic abilities, rather than on their zeal and hard work (Herwijer and Vogels 2004). The Dutch social democratic welfare system enables them to do so because the Dutch tracked system has various educational and professional alternatives, while the social democratic welfare state takes care of those who fall between the cracks. The Dutch government provides a financial safety net for its unemployed

and the income gap between those with a university degree and those without is not particularly large (CBS 2013).

The second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands relinquish the success frame because they no longer need for it. That said, there is a striking difference between the intermarried and intramarried second-generation Chinese. While both populations want their children to be happy, the former believe this can be accomplished by supporting their children in the career path they choose. The latter believe, as was demonstrated in chapter 4 as well, that it is still their role to direct their children to reach the maximum within their capacities and often want their children to attend the highest level high school (VWO). Attending this high school is often a good predictor of continuing to university since most VWO graduates continue to university and (children of) immigrants are even more likely to do so (Van der Aart 2002). This adjustment is likely to lower the academic outcomes of their offspring compared to their own accomplishments. But only future research on the third-generation can indicate if this is indeed the case.

In the United States, parents do hold on to the success frame and their overall educational expectations are higher. Here, parents expect at least a college degree and employ mechanisms to support the success frame. Parents rank achievement higher and talk about the monetary incentives for (high) achievement. In the U.S. liberal welfare state, a college degree provides opportunities and financial security. Education is pivotal in improving one's labor market position and making more money (Lipset 1996). Parents of most ethnoracial populations hope their children will obtain a college degree (Goyette 2008). Nearly all second-generation Chinese expect this minimum too, but a stark difference between intermarried and intramarried second-

generation Chinese appears: Second-generation Chinese with a Chinese spouse have even higher expectations of their children. They hope their children will obtain a graduate degree. They distance themselves and their children from the mainstream by setting a success frame that has standards that are even higher than the once they grew up with. It is not unreasonable of parents in the U.S. to have high expectations of their children. Economists at the Bureau for Labour Statistics (2013) explain that higher levels of education are required for lower skilled jobs and that college degrees are the minimum to get hired for entry level positions. In the U.S., the unemployment rate for people with a college degree is almost half (4.5%) of those with only a high school diploma (8.2%) and for people with a master's degree, it is even lower (3.5%). Since intramarried parents back up success frame with a belief that it will lead to their children's occupational opportunities and financial well-being, it is not surprising that they adjust the boundaries of this frame based on these facts. It is likely that third-generation offspring of intramarried parents will have an even higher SES than their parents and obtain a top position in the ethnoracial hierarchy.

This chapter shows that in both countries, intermarried second-generation Chinese have lower educational expectations than their intramarried peers. Assimilation is thus likely to lower the socioeconomic outcome of their children. However, future research needs to point out if the success frame of intermarried second-generation Chinese in each country differs from their native-born peers. Since parents' educational expectations are one of the greatest predictors of children's academic outcomes (Wang & Benner 2013; Beal & Crockett 2010; Davis-Kean 2005), it is important that future research will contrast the findings with the success frame of the native-born. The children of the intramarried second-generation Chinese are likely to still outperform

their peers, especially those in the United States, where level of education is an important tool to survive. These between- and within- country findings provide a glimpse into third-generation children's potential academic outcomes, and as such, their socioeconomic assimilation in the long run.

Chapter 6

Folk bilinguals vs. elite bilingualism; second-generation parents raising bilingual children

6.1 Introduction

As repeatedly argued in this dissertation, the extent to what immigrants and their offspring adapt to the host society can be important to predict their potential socioeconomic status (SES). One of the most important domains of assimilation to influence socioeconomic incorporation is language acquisition (Bean and Stevens 2003, Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006). Speaking the language of the host country enables immigrants and their children to participate in the host country's labor force and/or attend school successfully. Regarding the second-generation Chinese, research has shown becoming fluent in English was part of the success frame with which they were raised, since their parents realized its importance to advance academically (Portes and Hao 1998). But whereas the emphasis and public policy used to be geared toward English immersion and speaking English only, it has recently come to light that there are advantages for (children of) immigrants to *also* maintain the mother tongue. That is, for being bilingual (Portes and Hao 1998).

The majority of children of post-1965 immigrants, grows up in households where languages other than English (or in addition to English) is spoken. However, by the time they reach adulthood, the second-generation are most likely to have shifted to English (Portes and Hao 1998, Suarez 2007). This language change is known as the 'language shift' (Fishman 1972). The shift does not automatically imply that the second-generation will speak English to their offspring. In fact, the shift is only complete if they will. If second-generation parents choose to

speaking their mother tongue to their children instead, a stable bilingual situation occurs (Lieberson and Curry 1971). In this chapter I argue that based on the second-generation's background—disadvantaged vs. advantaged—two forms of bilingualism have formed: 'folk' bilingualism and 'elite' bilingualism (Romaine 1998). In 'folk' bilingualism parents do not consciously choose raising their children to become bilingual but it is likely that their offspring grows up as such regardless. In 'elite' bilingualism parents make a conscious effort to raise their children with their mother tongue because they recognize the added benefits of speaking more than one language. Zooming in on a particularly advantaged population that expresses a strong emphasis on educational achievement—second-generation Chinese—shows that parents not only switch to their mother tongue once children are born, but that they also utilize other tactics to increase their children's bilingual potential and as such add the bilingual skills to the success frame of their children.

6.2 Theoretical background: language assimilation, shift, and different types of bilingualism

6.2.1 Background, language assimilation of the new second-generation

There is a positive correlation between language skills of immigrants and their earnings (Dustmann and van Soest 2001, Chiswick and Miller 1995). Moreover, according to the classical straight line theory, language and culture acquisition leads not only to socioeconomic incorporation, but also to large scale intermarriage; ethnic identification with the host culture, and, eventually, to the end of discrimination and conflicts of values between the immigrant population and the host society (Gordon 1964). Speaking the language of the host society is thus essential and language acquisition is the foundation on which the assimilation of other domains is built. Without speaking English the second-generation cannot obtain access to the success

frame. The majority of the second-generation has a preference of English over their heritage language and the vast majority speaks English by the time they reach adulthood (Portes and Schauffler 1994, Portes and Hao 1998).

But as important as it is to speak English, there is also value to maintaining the language of one's (parents') country of origin. In fact, the second-generation continues to value speaking the heritage language highly (Portes and Hao 1998, Rivera-Mills 2001). Speaking the mother tongue can connect them to cultural heritage (Imbens-Bailey 1996), and boost ethnic identity (Guardado 2002). Speaking the heritage language can also provide the second-generation with practical advantages: for those living in ethnic enclaves, it provides ties with the community at large (Tse 2001) as such it can thus support the success frame; it can ease communication when visiting the (parents') home country (Cho 2000); or aid the interacting with (live-in) grandparents (Ishizawa 2004). Moreover, as the sizes of certain immigrant groups increase, some scholars such as Huntington (2004) argue, the importance of being eloquent in languages such as Spanish may become increasingly important, especially within certain ethnic enclaves (Beckhusen et al. 2012). Indeed, based on 1980 U.S. Census data, McManus (1990) shows that in certain Hispanic communities, Spanish speakers get better jobs than those speaking only English.

6.2.2 Language shift or movement towards bilingualism

Whether or not immigrant parents elect to raise their children with English, it is likely that their offspring acquires it by participating within the American society. The vast majority of second-generation youth speak English either well or very well. This presumption is in line with Joshua Fishman (1972) predominant model on the language shift. Fishman's language shift model holds

that the immigrant generation often uses its native language at home, but that their second-generation children grow up speaking the host-country language and by adulthood shift to this language altogether (Portes and Hao 1998). While there are plenty of studies that examine how language shifts from native tongue to English between the first and the second-generation, respectively (Bean and Stevens 2003, Stevens 1992) it remains largely unknown which language the second-generation decides to speak with their offspring (see for exceptions: Alba et al. 2002). This is in part because until recently most second-generation populations have been too young to have their own children.

It is important to examine the language spoken by second-generation parents because this generation might still have the opportunity to choose a language, as they mostly grew up with two languages: their heritage language at home and English with their peers. The language(s) that the second-generation decide to speak with their third-generation children determines to what extent a complete language shift may or may not take place. If second-generation parents do not pass on English as the mother tongue to the next generation and instead “maintain their mother-tongue in socializing the offspring, then a stable multilingual situation will exist in which bilingualism does not generate mother-tongue shift” (Lieberson and Curry 1971, 126). Since language acquisition is not a zero-sum situation, parents may decide to raise their children with more than one language. Unlike some other elements of the heritage culture, such as religion, acquisition of English can go hand-in-hand with maintaining heritage language.

Parents from different backgrounds have different incentives to raise their children bilingual. Even parents who do not consciously choose to raise their children with a second language might end up with bilingual offspring. For example, their children pick up a second language ‘on the street’ or because their parents talk a language other than English in their

presence. This distinction matters because speaking the heritage language at home can represent a conscious choice, at least for parents, whereas language loss and maintenance is less intentional (Stromswold 2001). The former implies that parents are active players in facilitating their children's bilingual upbringing and may do so as a strategic choice to improve their success frame; the latter suggests that parents may not make the conscious decision, but that children will learn a second language regardless. This distinction also indicates that there can be a language shift in household once couples become parents, but not in all households. In other words, while the second-generation may have a preference for English during adolescence (Portes and Hao 1998), this may no longer be the case once they become parents. By transmitting their heritage language intergenerationally, second-generation parents also expose their children to their heritage culture, provide them access to their ethnic community, and increase their communication with non-English speaking relatives. Second-generation parents may have more than one incentive to raise their children to be bilingual. And if so, they should be more likely than the childless to speak their heritage language at home, particularly when their children are preschoolers and in the most critical phase of learning language (Johnson and Newport 1989).

Until the 1960s, thus regarding the early waves of (mostly European) immigrants, it was believed that bilingualism could impair successful assimilation into the host society. Bilingual individuals were believed to have lower I.Q.s and speech retardation (Hakuta and Diaz 1985, Brigham 1923). In order to successfully integrate, scholars and politicians believed, fluent English, and only English, was fundamental (Brumberg 1986). Recently and mostly referring to the post-1965 influx of immigrants, it has come to light that being bilingual, and especially being fluent bilingual, can have great benefits. The sum of speaking English plus another language seems to be bigger than its parts: fluent bilingual individuals have increased cognitive abilities

and are better at problem solving (Bialystok 1986); they have higher GPA's and standardized academic tests scores (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, Rumbaut 1995); and people who grow up with more than one language are more flexible, think more creatively, and have a larger imagination than those who grew up with only one language (Baker 1988). Speaking more than one language can be thus especially of interest for parents who want to fit their children in high achieving success frames.

But, as I will argue below, even parents who do not choose to raise their children bilingual, many do so. Second-generation parents from less educated and more vulnerable backgrounds might not be fluent in English themselves (PewResearchCenter 2013b) and automatically provide their children with a bilingual childhood (given that their children learn English at school). Parents from disadvantaged backgrounds who do speak English may feel they do not have the 'luxury' to raise their children bilingual because they do not want to jeopardize their children's educational development. On the other hand, some advantaged second-generation populations, are likely to make a conscious effort to raise their children with more than one language because they want to raise their children's ethnic awareness or realize it can boost their children's educational outcomes. There seem to be two types of bilingualism: an unconscious and unavoidable kind, and an elective and encouraged version. Before arriving at the hypotheses, I discuss each in more detail. Moreover, I zoom in on second-generation Asians, whose fear of losing their obtained educational privilege adds another incentive to raise their children bilingually. I argue that given their strong emphasis on education (Louie 2004, Kao 1995), this population of parents will be especially prone to switch to bilingualism once children are in the household because it adds to their notions of the success frame.

6.2.3 *Folk bilingualism (bilingualism as a result)*

Compared to other second-generation populations, Hispanics have lower levels of education, and lower socioeconomic standing—both first and second-generation (PewResearchCenter 2013a). Moreover, they are less likely to be part of a privileged population that decided to immigrate. Their immigrant selectivity, in other words, is low (Feliciano 2006). Compared to Asian or European Americans, Hispanics are more likely to live in ethnic communities, as is the case for immigrants (and their children) from other disadvantaged backgrounds, such as African or West Indian immigrants (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008). Living in an ethnic community implies regular interaction with co-ethnics and, given the multi-generational composition of these communities, provides later generations the ability to use their heritage language (Jiménez 2009). The vast growth of Spanish speaking communities since the 1970s has ensured the flourishing of Spanish-speaking communities and culture for decades to come (Solé 1990, Bean and Stevens 2003). Moreover, because people from different countries of origin share the same language—which is lacking among European or Asian language—there is a large number of Spanish speakers. This creates a critical mass and a niche market for numerous Spanish-language newspapers, radio, and television stations (Lopez 1996).

Within these ethnic communities, some argue, speaking English loses its importance and Spanish takes its place (Huntington 2004). Indeed, Alba and his colleagues (2002) found that the children and grandchildren of Spanish-speaking immigrants retained their language longer when they live in ethnic enclaves. Moreover, in certain cities, like Los Angeles, the primary language of the working class is Spanish (Van Hook and Bean 2009, Bachmeier and Bean 2011) and,

based on 1980 U.S. Census data, McManus (1990) shows that Spanish speakers get better jobs than those speaking English. These are cultural, contextual, and socioeconomic factors that

can influence the likelihood of households being Spanish-speaking. Given the large role of Spanish in the day-to-day life, second-generation parents may not feel they can choose to speak Spanish with their children because speaking Spanish is more a matter of necessity. The type of bilingualism with which these second-generation parents raise their children can be termed ‘folk bilingualism’. In this type of bilingualism, parents feel they do not choose to raise their children bilingual because either parents themselves lack the English skills to raise their children monolingual or because their children become bilingual by growing up within an ethnic enclave.

Hypothesis I:

Disadvantaged populations do not actively seek to raise their children bilingual. In other words, couples will not become more bilingual once they have children.

6.2.4 Elite bilingualism (bilingualism as choice)

The above described ‘folk bilingualism’ can be contrasted with so-called ‘elite bilingualism’ (Romaine 1998). In elite bilingualism, parents make a conscious decision to raise their children with more than one language. Parents who opt for this form of bilingualism come from advantaged backgrounds and are often at middle or upper ranks of the socioeconomic ladder. These are usually the children from European and Asian immigrants who were highly selected—immigrants from these origins have a higher education compared to the national average in their country of origin (Feliciano 2006)—or who have obtained advanced degrees within the United States (PewResearchCenter 2013a). While this second-generation usually grew up with their mother tongue at home, they themselves have the experience of becoming fluent in English (Zhou 1997, Zhou and Bankston 1998, Zhou and Kim 2006). When many Asian

immigrants grew up, language acquisition and educational success went hand in hand; second-generation Chinese, for example, recount that they were told by their parents to assimilate linguistically so they could access opportunities generally reserved for the white mainstream (Zhou 2011). In other words, speaking English would support their success frame. This experience of growing up with a language other than English at home yet being pushed by their parents to learn English fluently, can give the second-generation parents the confidence that their children can grow up bilingual too and that it can add to their chances for success.

Second-generation parents who subscribe to this form of elite bilingualism want their children to grow up with more than one language because they recognize that in an increasingly global world, speaking more than one language can be a great asset (Sassen 1991, 1984). Educated parents may be aware of the consensus in the literature that there is, “regardless of the exact causal order, [a] positive association of bilingualism with intellectual development” (Portes and Hao 1998, 274). Thus, for these parents, bilingualism is a choice and a luxury that they feel they can afford. Parents may decide to shift to speaking a language other than English once they have children, hire a nanny from their (parents’) country of origin, or enroll their children in bilingual or language immersion schools. Maintenance of a heritage language in the host country thus requires both individual motivation and a support network (Lieberson and Curry 1971, Solé 1990). Since home is the last stand of the heritage language (Fishman 1965, Veltman 1981), such motivation must come from parents and other members in the household.

Hypothesis II

Advantaged populations will make a conscious effort to socialize their children in more than one language. They are likely to become more bilingual once they have children in their household.

One advantaged group of second-generation parents that is particularly known for its emphasis on education and increasing the socioeconomic outcomes of their children are the Chinese, also known as ‘Tiger Parents’ (Chua 2011a). I focus on Asian bilingualism separate from the folk bilingualism and elite bilingualism.

6.2.5 Asian bilingualism Second-generation Chinese (Asians) parents incentives for raising bilingual children

I focus on Asian bilingualism separately from the folk and elite bilingualism because I predict that second-generation Asians have an exceptionally high incentive for raising their children bilingual. There are three reasons for this: 1) They few having bilingual skills as a way to support the success frame with which they raise their children; 2) second-generation Asians climbed up the socioeconomic ladder themselves and want to prevent that their children’s socioeconomic standing will decline; 3) their immigrant parents are less likely to speak English than the first-generation from other countries because their mother tongues are very different from English (Miller and Chiswick 2004), teaching their children their mother tongue will enable them to connect to their grandparents and their heritage culture.

Many second-generation Asians grew up with an enormous pressure to succeed (Gibson 1988, Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou 1997, Zhou and Bankston 1998). Their immigrant parents raised them the success frame which included cultural values of zeal, filial piety, and collectivism that led exceptionally high levels of education and prestigious occupations which became the norm (PewResearchCenter 2013a). Certain second-generation Asians in particular, such as the Chinese, are less likely to drop out of high school, often outperform their peers, and get accepted to top universities disproportionately (Lee 2012, Vogels 2011). The success frame

created a position in the socioeconomic racial hierarchy that is even superior to native-born whites (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013). In the previous chapters of this dissertation I showed that, based on this structure of success, the second-generation want their children to succeed too and especially intramarried couples continue to raise their children within this success frame. Being bilingual can help their children reach this goal.

Moreover, the success frame sets the educational standards of Asian Americans exceptionally high. By supporting the success frame, second-generation parents aim to prevent their children from moving down on the socioeconomic ladder. In other words, second-generation parents have much to lose if their children do not succeed. Raising them bilingual is one way of many that they can aim at avoiding this.

Last, Asian languages have a larger distance to English than most European languages. This implies that it is harder to learn English for immigrants from Asian countries than it is for immigrants from European countries (Miller and Chiswick 2004). If the second-generation wants their children to communicate with their (grand)parents, it becomes important to learn the language of their parents' country of origin. Grandparents influence heritage language acquisition and play crucial a role as cultural broker and family historian (Alba 1990). The presence of a grandparent living in the household (which is traditionally very common among Asian families) can improve the likelihood that children use their heritage language (Ishizawa 2004). Moreover, having the ability to communicate with grandparents whether or not in the household can support the success frame.

If Asian parents indeed have added incentives for their children to be bilingual, they will be also more likely to switch to being bilingual than their other advantaged peers. It also implies that they should be more likely than the childless to speak the heritage language at home,

particularly when their children are preschoolers and most susceptible to learning their language (Johnson and Newport 1989).

Hypothesis IIIa

Compared to other groups, Asian Americans are the most likely to switch to bilingualism once they have children.

Hypothesis IIIb

Asian Americans focus on their heritage language because it can support their success frame by providing their children with potential superior socioeconomic outcomes and by it providing their children with cultural heritage.

6.3 Data & methods

The data for this study are both quantitative and qualitative and derived from the American Community Survey (ACS) between 2008 and 2010, and based on in-depth interviews with second-generation Chinese, collected between March and October 2012, respectively. The mixed methods approach adds depth to the findings and increases their reliability (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, Emerson 2001, Lofland 2006). Mixed methods also provide the ‘best of both worlds’.

6.3.1 Quantitative data

The ACS asks respondents if they speak a language other than English at home, and if so, which other language they speak and how well they speak English. It allows for examination of family structure and the presence of children. However, because the ACS does not distinguish the second-generation from later generations, I substitute 1.75-generation for the second-generation.

1.75 generation consists of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. as preschoolers and were entirely educated in the United States (Rumbaut 2004). Immigrant from English-speaking countries of origin or from countries where English was an official language (e.g. India) were excluded. The data are divided by country or region of origin, resulting in groups of immigrants from: China, Korea, Vietnam, Other Asian countries, Dominican Republic, Central America, Mexico, Haiti, West Europe, East Europe, Russia/Ukraine/Israel, South America, Middle East (without Israel), Non-English speaking Africa, and Other (see Table I in appendix C). The sample size of all 1.75 generation respondents is 113,794. To test these hypotheses, the respondents were divided between having ‘Advantaged’, ‘Disadvantaged’, or Asian background. The division was based on country of origin, average level of education, immigrant selectivity of the specific population, and racial disadvantages (see also: Alba and Foner 2014). Table II in appendix C lists the countries by group and number (N) and percentage of total sample (%).

Of the 113,794 respondents I selected only households that included a member of the 1.75 generation and his/her partner (or are widowed/divorced living with another adult) and/or biological children. It excludes households in which an adult member of the 1.75 generation would live only with a parent or other family member, and it excludes single-person households. The final number of households is 26,040 (see Table III in appendix C). In the analysis I control for gender, age, years of education, years in the United States, the presence of children aged six years and older in the household, as well as partner variables (partners’ age, years of education, years in the U.S. and whether the partner was born in the US).

6.3.2 Qualitative data

The qualitative data are based on 39 in-depth interviews which I conducted with second-generation Chinese parents and their spouse in the United States (mostly Southern California) between March and October 2012. During the interviews, I took an inductive approach, asking open ended questions based on a topic list. focus here on the conversations regarding language, which includes: parents' language expectations of their children, parents' efforts to instill their mother tongue, and parents 'motivations for speaking English and/or Chinese (I use the term 'Chinese' here while in reality respondents referred to a range of different dialects including Mandarin, Cantonese, Taiwanese and Hakka). The interviews lasted around two hours. All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed with AtlasTi. After re-reading the interviews, I coded them based on general topics and then recoded each topic in more detailed to dissect specific themes.

6.4 Findings: folk and elite bilingualism and Asian parents' motivations for bilingualism

6.4.1 Quantitative findings

Using 2008-2010 ACS data, I selected 1.75 generation respondents in households that include: a partner, and/or other adults, and/or biological children. It excludes single-person households or households in which 1.75 respondents (still) live with their parents without their own children. The final number of households is 26,040 Table III in appendix C shows the sample's breakup by region/country of origin. The majority comes from Mexico (38.2%), or Western Europe (20.9%).

As table 6.1 below shows, except for respondents with Vietnamese and African heritage, the majority does not (yet) have young children living in their household. Those born in Western

European are least likely to have a child under 5 in their household (19.5%) and respondents arriving from Africa are the most likely (56.4%). Comparing these percentages to those of having children of six or older in the household (47.3% and 38.5%, respectively) and average age (54.1 and 34.4, respectively) indicates that the African population is simply younger than the West European, the 1.75 generation from Africa is therefore still more likely to be in childbearing age. The Vietnamese and Central American populations seem to be a similar young population while the respondents born in East Europeans and 'other' countries are older populations. Not surprisingly, the average 'years in the United States' is close to the average age (because the selection was based on age).

For all the groups, more than half of the respondents are female and there are especially many females among Korean (68.1%), African (66.7%), and Dominican Republican (62.6%) respondents. Another discrepancy between the populations can be found for those who are single parents. There are very few single parents among the African, Chinese, and Russian/Ukrainian/Israeli populations (all just over 5%) but nearly a quarter of the respondents from the Dominican Republic raises a child without a partner. The last divergent that needs to be pointed out are in the years of education, the lowest average education (just under 12 years) is obtained by Mexicans and the highest by Chinese (almost 16 years). Indeed, this discrepancy is well documented in the literature (Portes and Hao 2004).

Table 6.1: Descriptive for person 1 variables

	Child> 5	Single Parent	Female	Child 6<	Age		Years of education		Years in US	
					<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
China	31.0%	5.2%	53.6%	43.6%	40.1	11.60	15.7	2.43	37.3	11.59
Korea	42.0%	6.4%	68.1%	39.8%	36.0	7.39	15.3	2.41	33.8	7.16
Vietnam	51.0%	7.2%	58.5%	39.5%	34.4	5.48	15.0	2.59	31.7	5.60
Dominican Rep.	35.8%	23.5%	62.6%	53.1%	38.0	11.65	13.4	2.92	35.1	11.91
Central America	42.1%	17.2%	58.7%	52.0%	34.9	11.23	12.9	3.02	32.1	11.40
Mexico	37.0%	16.4%	57.7%	61.8%	37.7	13.17	11.9	3.02	35.2	13.22
Haiti	33.1%	16.0%	58.3%	54.3%	36.7	9.33	13.9	2.63	33.6	9.62
West Europe	8.6%	8.3%	52.0%	47.3%	54.1	12.80	14.0	2.52	51.6	12.74
East Europe	19.5%	8.2%	54.2%	43.7%	49.5	18.25	14.4	2.73	46.6	18.26
Russia, Ukraine, Israel	32.2%	5.0%	55.7%	43.1%	40.4	14.88	15.0	2.55	37.5	15.05
South America	31.8%	11.2%	58.3%	54.0%	39.2	10.60	14.3	2.44	36.6	10.68
Middle East	31.6%	5.9%	53.0%	50.6%	41.2	12.37	14.7	2.78	38.5	12.35
Africa	56.4%	5.1%	66.7%	38.5%	34.4	10.10	14.8	2.43	32.0	10.08
Other Asia	36.2%	12.4%	57.8%	50.1%	38.6	12.32	14.1	2.34	36.4	12.32
Other	13.1%	11.2%	52.3%	65.8%	45.9	8.54	14.2	2.52	43.1	8.54

Source: ACS 2008-2010

When studying bilingualism I included both partners in the household. It was important to add the respondent's spouse to the sample because he or she of course has as much influence on the language spoken in the household as the respondent. Table IV in appendix C shows the average ages, years in the U.S., and years of education of the spouses, which are showing a similar pattern to the one described above. The only main difference between spouses is the number of years spent in the United States. Including the spouse in this study, results in the examination of households, rather than individuals (except for single parent households). The spouse can have an important influence on the linguistic socialization of the child because if the respondent speaks only English but the spouse uses his or her mother tongue when raising the child, the child will still be raised bilingual. Some parents may, in fact, make this strategic

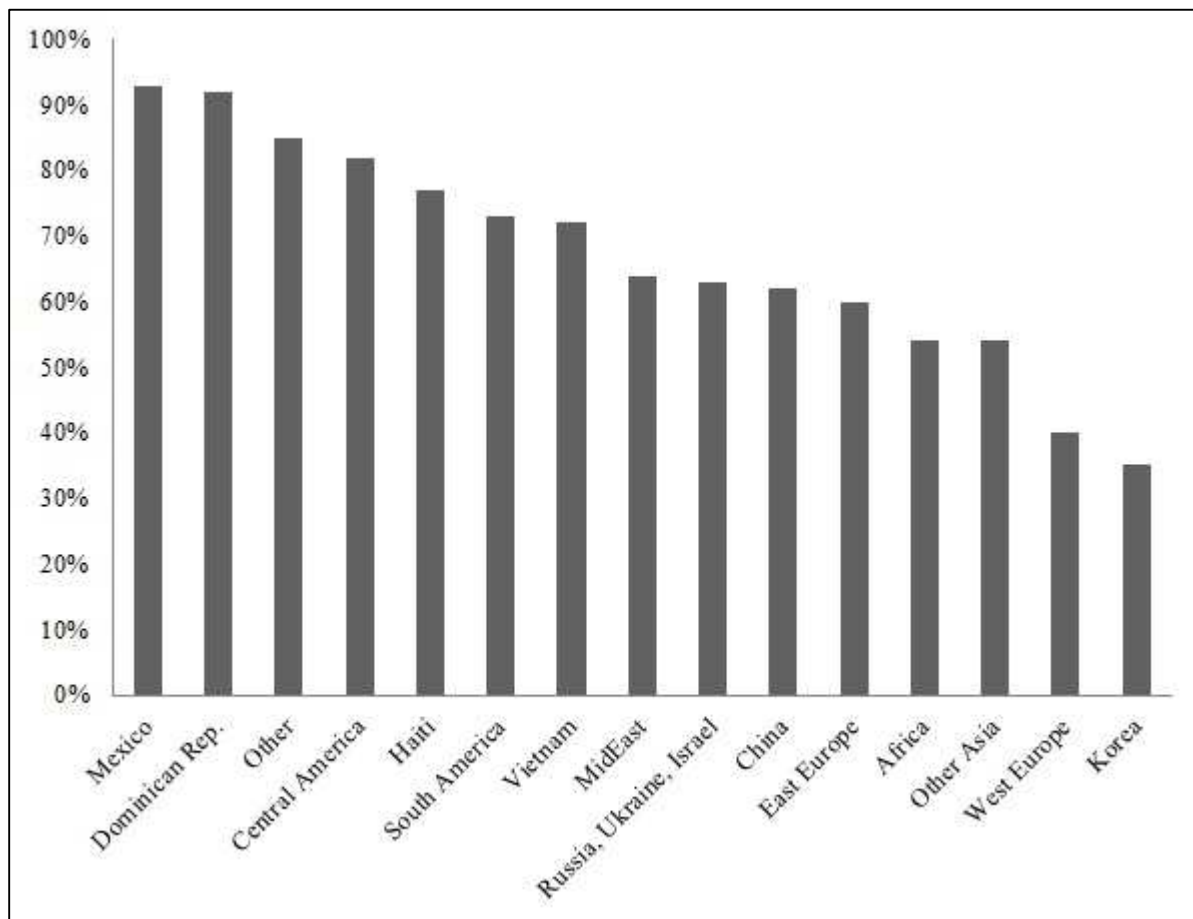
decision and divide the languages spoken in the household by parents: one parent speaks English, the other parent his or her mother tongue. Parents from different countries of origin could even decide to raise their children trilingual; each parent speaks to the child in his or her respective mother tongues, in addition to the English the children learn outside of the household (Hoffmann 2001). In this chapter trilingual and bilingual families are compiled together and treated as bilingual families.

Table V in appendix C shows language usage in the household and the language each parent speaks: only English, only non-English, or both English and non-English. Since the main interest of this chapter is to gauge to what extent households are bilingual, and specifically if they change to being bilingual once children are born, I present figure 1. Figure 6.1 below presents the percentages of households that have at least one of the partners speaking a language other than English at home (regardless of whether children are present in the household). Potential children raised in these households will be (at least partially) bilingual, assuming that they will learn English outside the home, for example in school. The survey does not ask which other language is spoken, how frequent it is used, or how well the respondent and/or his or her spouse speak the other language. The range and level of bilingual potential can thus vary greatly. In this chapter I make the assumption that the ‘other’ language is the respondent’s heritage language.

Figure 6.1 shows that only Korean and Western European couples are more likely to speak only English compared to in addition to or only (some of) their heritage language. In households where the respondents were not Korean or Eastern European, more than half speak a language other than English at home, without applying any controls. Respondents and spouses

from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, ‘Other’, and Central American countries are most likely to use a language other than English at home (between 82 and 93%). For respondents from Haiti, South America, or Vietnam this percentage drops about ten points (to around 72-77%). It drops another 10 percentage points for respondents from Middle East, Russia, Ukraine, Israel, China, or East Europe (around the 62%). In just over half (54%) of the households with respondents and spouses from African or other Asian countries a language other than English is spoken.

Figure 6.1: Extent of bilingualism in the household, by country/region of origin



Source: ACS 2008-2010

I hold a few variables constant when examining if couples switch to being more bilingual once there are small children in the household. These variables are both at the individual and at

the household level. The individual level variables are: gender, age, number of years of education, and number of years in the United States. The household level variables are being a single parent and whether or not there are older children (6 years and up) in the household. I also control for partner characteristics: partner's years of education, years in the U.S., and whether or not the spouse is native-born. Table VI in appendix C shows that there are strong correlations between the different variables ($p < .001$); the exceptions are between years of education and having a child under 5 in the household ($p < .01$) and between female and own years of education (.5) or between female and partner's years of education (.05). I left out the correlations between single parent household and partner related variables.

To examine if having children in the household increases the usage of a language other than English in the household I applied logistic regressions. Logistic regressions are preferred over Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression because the outcome variable—that is, the dependent variable of speaking the heritage language—is dichotomous.

Table 6.2 shows the results of the multivariate logistic regression. To ease the interpretation of these findings, the table presents the odds ratios. Western Europe is the reference category, which implies that the odds ratios of the other countries are given relative to the odds ratio of Western Europe. Odds ratios greater (or smaller) than 1 indicate that the people from this country are more (or less) likely to speak a language other than English in the household. Model III, and IV include also a set of covariates to control for demographic and household level variables. The first model shows the empty model with only the countries. Comparing the findings to the reference group, which is birth country in Western Europe (e.g.

Germany, Spain, Denmark) shows that all but those born in Korea, are more likely than Western Europeans to speak a language other than English in their household.

Table 6.2: Logistic regressions for bilingual neither parent vs. both parents

	model I		model II		model III		model IV	
	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE	OR	SE
West Europe (reference)	.275		.256		1.928		1.952	
Korea	.965	.089	.758**	.091	.526***	.094	.471***	.131
East Europe	1.179*	.080	1.169*	.080	1.263*	.083	1.274**	.091
Non-English African	1.705*	.255	1.304	.259	.989	.270	1.225	.381
Russia, Ukraine, Israel	2.036***	.100	1.905***	.101	1.780***	.107	1.823***	.122
Other Asia	3.690***	.076	3.046***	.078	2.048***	.083	1.766***	.105
China	3.488***	.080	3.002***	.082	1.996***	.086	1.889***	.104
Vietnam	4.175***	.098	3.187***	.100	2.101***	.104	2.001***	.147
Middle East	4.713***	.097	4.095***	.098	2.974***	.102	2.881***	.123
Other	7.917***	.080	7.750***	.081	6.248***	.084	7.007***	.092
Haiti	6.305***	.218	5.287***	.221	3.468***	.231	5.836***	.313
South America	6.169***	.096	5.385***	.097	3.649***	.102	3.823***	.121
Central America	7.550***	.093	6.291***	.094	4.088***	.102	4.35***	.126
Hispanic	12.938***	.109	11.684***	.109	8.466***	.114	11.075***	.136
Mexico	16.924***	.052	14.838***	.053	11.326***	.059	12.89***	.066
Dominican Rep.	15.122***	.187	13.523***	.188	1.165***	.200	11.293***	.236
Child >5 in household			1.907***	.042	1.321***	.047	1.739***	.112
<i>Controls Variables</i>								
Female					.976	.037	.974	.038
Age					1.089***	.011	1.088***	.011
Single parent					.111***	.091	.113***	.09
Years of education					.976***	.007	.976**	.007
Years in the US					.884***	.011	.884***	.011
Child 6< in household					1.211***	.038	1.204***	.038
<i>Interactions birth country and having a child of 5 or younger in the household</i>								
Korea & child <5							.993	.199
East Eur & child <5							.936	.233
NE Africa & child <5							.532	.541
Rus, Ukr,Isr & child <5							.802	.258
Other Asia& child <5							1.17	.183
China & child <5							.969	.191

Vietnam & child <5	.874	.219
Middle East & child <5	.923	.23
Other & child <5	.451**	.229
Haiti & child <5	.230**	.475
South Am & child <5	.720	.228
Central Am & child <5	.693+	.217
Hispanic & child <5	.326***	.252
Mexico & child <5	.544***	.138
Dom Rep. & child <5	.577	.444

Source: ACS 2008-2010

Adding a dummy variable for having a child below five years old in the household (model II) results in slightly less variance between the different countries and Western Europe, but does not change the picture a whole lot. The largest change takes place among Koreans, who now are significantly less likely than Western Europeans to speak their language of origin. And among Non-English Africans, who are no longer significantly different from Western Europeans. The difference between those born in Western Europe and Korea becomes even larger when adding the control variables (model III), but not the difference between Western Europeans and those arriving from non-English speaking Africa remains insignificant (this is probably in part because the sample of the latter group is so small). Adding the interaction variables between birth country and having young children in the household (model IV) shows that almost all disadvantaged countries of origin (except South America) are significantly less likely than those from Western Europe to switch to their native tongue when children are present. This is not the case for the respondents with advantaged backgrounds.

Figure V in appendix C shows the regression lines for all the countries. Closer inspection of this figure shows some patterns based on birth country. The regression lines for Korea; Western and Eastern Europe; Russia, Ukraine, and Israel; Vietnam, China, Other Asia all display an upward slope, whereas the slopes for Hispanic, Mexico, Other, and Haiti, and Non English

Africa are nearly having a downward angle. Table 6.3 below shows the logistic regressions of model III for the three groups.

Table 6.3: Logistic regressions for bilingual neither parent vs. both parents, grouped countries

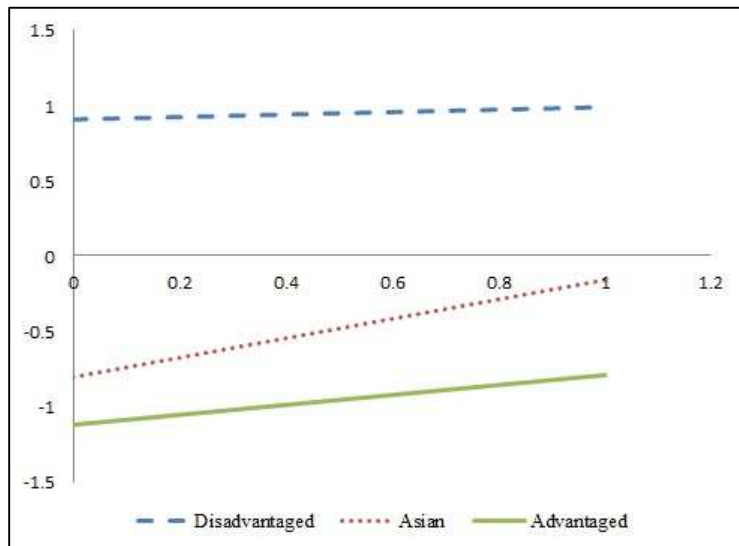
	OR	SE
Disadvantaged (constant)	2.059	
Advantaged	.131***	.044
Asian	.180***	.059
Has child under 5 in household	1.086	.052
<i>Controls Variables</i>		
female	1.05	.035
Age	.1059***	.010
Single Parent	1.013	.150
Years of education	1.034***	.007
Years in the US	.937***	.009
Child 6< in household	1.132***	.032
Spouse years of education	1.026***	.006
Spouse age	.971***	.003
Spouse years in the US	1.024***	.002
US-born spouse	.303***	.061
<i>Interactions birth country and having a child of 5 or younger</i>		
Advantaged & child <5	1.282**	.083
Asian & child <5	1.760***	.094

Source: ACS 2008-2010

The multivariate logistic regression in table 6.3 shows that people from Advantaged and Asian backgrounds are much less likely than people from disadvantaged backgrounds to switch to speaking a language other than English at home once children are born. Respondents from Advantaged and Asian backgrounds are likely to switch to their heritage language once young children are present. Asian parents especially make this switch, even when controlled for level of education, spouses' country of origin (i.e. controlled for native-born spouse), and a number of

socioeconomic covariates. These differences between the groups are especially clear when they are illustrated with the regression lines for each of the population groups (see figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Logistic regression lines of speaking language other than English at home



Source: ACS 2008-2010

6.4.2 Qualitative findings

To add depth and context to the above presented findings, to explore the underlying reasons of why second-generation Asians are most likely to switch their household language(s) from English to their heritage language once children are present, and to place the above findings in the light of the success frame, I examined one of the most successful Asian American populations: second-generation Chinese. Second-generation Chinese are often portrayed as a model-minority; they have an average education that surpasses that of non-Hispanic Whites, they are disproportionately employed in high-skilled and managerial sectors; and they have an annual median household income that is more than \$10,000 above that of non-Hispanic Whites (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Smith 2013). While the second-generation does not always agree with the model-minority stereotype, or even suffers from the pressure of the associated high expectations (Lee 2012), they are accomplished in objective terms (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013).

They measure themselves by the model minority stereotype and use these standards in creating their success frame. The sample contains second-generation Chinese whose parents were born in China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. There are slightly more females (55.3%), as is the case in the ACS data (53.6%), the average age is about the same as the average age in the ACS data too (37.8 and 40.1 respectively), and the respondents in the data are highly educated, as is the case in the ACS data. Because the interview data are part of a larger dissertation there were no single parent households. The average number and age of the children is relatively low (1.5 children per household with an average age of 6.4 for the oldest child). The average number of hours the respondents work each week (including only the employed) is 40.1. Almost 16% of the respondents are stay-at-home mothers (there were no stay-at-home fathers). Nearly all respondents identify as Chinese (52.9%) or as Chinese-American or American-Chinese (41.2%).

The respondents in the sample talk about their own childhoods were shaped by the success frame and vice versa. Their parents had raised them with traditional Chinese values such as zeal, filial piety, and collectivity (Zhou 2009a). It was important for their parents that they were aware of being Chinese and that they carried this identity with pride. Although there are people who grew up with parents who spoke English, the majority is raised in a household speaking only Chinese. When they grew up, nearly all respondents attended Chinese school. Attending Chinese school reinforced the success frame because it provided ethnic networks and brought the second-generation in contact with peers (who had equally high standards for what being successful meant). Only few respondents have fond memories of attending Chinese school, however, and most felt they had to sacrifice their free Saturday. Richard illustrates this

sentiment: “They made me go to Chinese school on the weekends, and I hated it. Right, so everything I’ve ever heard about Chinese school is that the kids just hate it”.

The parents realize, however, that the Chinese school served a purpose and looking back they often wish they had applied themselves more. This insight leads many parents to consider or actually send their own children to Chinese school. Chinese school could support the success frame. The conversation with Karen and Steven about their toddler was typical of many similar interactions. I asked the couple if they consider sending their son to Chinese school. “Yeah, I think so. I went for ten years when I was a kid”. Karen answers and explains why she thinks it is important, rather than fun: “It’s kinda like piano lessons, you know? You hate it at the time, but you appreciate it later. So, yeah, we’ll probably send him”. Others share these sentiments. It is part of growing up, Lisa and George explain, even if it will not make their daughter fluent in Chinese. Lisa explains that: “I don’t expect her to have a full on conversation”. But, George elaborates “[we] do want to pass on something”. And language is such a practical element of their culture. Speaking Chinese can provide their daughter with future opportunities. The couple had even thought about this before their daughter was born. Because Lisa speaks Cantonese and George speaks Mandarin they decided that it will be more helpful for their daughter if George would pass on his heritage language: “So we kind of loosely said, George will speak Chinese and I will speak English”. “But”, Lisa regretfully adds, “that hasn’t happened yet”. The couple changed their strategy and now sends their child to a Chinese school, because, “we are having a hard time speaking Chinese at home”. This can be a solution even though the couple does not have fond memories of their own years in Chinese school. Lisa explains: “It is part of the rite of passage, damn it! We had to go, she has to go too,*laughs* [even though] I hated it!”

Thus, learning Chinese is important for the second-generation Chinese parents, it can support their success frame. Hence they go to great lengths to teach their children their heritage language. As the quantitative findings indicate, Asian parents are likely to shift from a monolingual English household to a bilingual (or sometimes even trilingual) household once they have children. These findings are confirmed in the interviews. Some parents switched to using Chinese between themselves. Speaking Chinese comes in handy, Donna explains, “if we don’t want them to understand [what we are saying]”. But most parents make the shift in the hope that their children will become bilingual. Jing and Mathew explain that it was “our goal to have them be bi-lingual from the beginning”. Between themselves Jing and Mathew still speak English. Most parents speak English between themselves because that is what they feel most comfortable with. Sometimes parents are forced to because they do not speak the same dialect. Not speaking the same dialect does not necessarily prevent parents from raising their children with more than one language. Parents can focus on both or either one of the two, as Gregory and Ruby explain:

Gregory: I wish I could, you know, I wish I could do a better job of [speaking Chinese].

Interviewer: What do you speak, is it Mandarin mostly?

Gregory: I think that’s one of the factors why they don’t speak a whole lot of Chinese. Because my family speaks Mandarin, and Ruby’s family speaks Cantonese. So, at home we speak English. *laughs* And she tries. She tries to speak to them in Cantonese.

(...)

Ruby: I’m speaking to him more. I have started because I felt like, before I wanted him to learn mandarin, and I don’t speak Mandarin, so I was trying to like get my in-laws to help, and it didn’t really work out that way [laughter], and, now I’m like, I’ll just do the Cantonese part [laughter]. It’s still Chinese, so I’ve been trying to speak to him more, and now I’m encouraging him. I’ll tell

him: 'repeat the sentence what I just said to you'. Or I'll just give him an answer to answer back, so he can at least practice".

Many parents feel that they do not speak Chinese well (enough) to sufficiently teach their children. For example, Max says he feels bad about the Chinese he tries to teach his son, because it is "about the level of a two year old—or three year old". And Claire says that "[I] probably know Dim-Sum Chinese". This limited Chinese proficiency brings many parents to seek help. They send their children to Chinese school, as described above, or, as Ruby had explained, include their parents (in-law). Betty also employs the latter strategy: "I speak Chinese to her, Mandarin. And that's why I want her, my daughter, to be around her grandparents...because she'll get Mandarin from my mom and then Cantonese from [my husband's] mom". The immigrant grandparents are still more proficient in Chinese. Grandparents can thus help with teaching their grandchildren Chinese. Timothy's mother comes twice a week and Timothy's wife Sharon explains that her mother in law "actually helps the girls with Chinese because we can't really talk, because it's Mandarin. So she helps them with the writing and the speaking".

In fact, because some of these first-generation grandparents do not speak English (that well), the second-generation often is forced to speak Chinese with them, even if they do not speak it with their children. Speaking Chinese to the grandparents in the presence of their children can increase the language skills of their children, especially if the first-generation grandparents live within the same household. Ronald explains that he and his wife Sandra "both still speak Taiwanese with my parents". They see his parents about twice a week and "we get together and have dinner with them every Sunday night". In addition they see Sandra's parents "probably like once or twice a week". With both sets of grandparents they speak Chinese. Their

children can pick up Chinese at these get-togethers because they are present too and “they do hear us communicating with them”.

Second-generation Chinese are thus not only likely to transform their monolingual household to a bilingual one, but even transmit Chinese to their children if they do not even intent to do so, via the interaction with the first-generation grandparents. Those second-generation Chinese parents who intentionally transmit their language to their children say they do so for two main reasons: practical skills and cultural maintenance. Many parents mention either one, Timothy and Sharon, who earlier had explained that Timothy’s mother helps their daughters with Chinese put both together:

China is now a global powerhouse. So it is a definite life skill for them to know Chinese, you know, job wise. You know what I mean? Whether we were Chinese or Caucasian, I mean it's the smart move to make. And then plus it's their heritage (...) I guess it's a good thing to have them learn that; culture, and stuff like that.

Most parents mention one of the two, however. Those parents who stress Chinese to reinforce or support their success frame or, the cultural aspect of it highlight that it does not only help their children understand where they came from, but it also enables them to connect if they were to visit China (or Hong Kong or Taiwan). Edward, for example, says about his daughter, who was adopted from Taiwan, that he and his wife want “her to know her culture, where she came from. And also be able to have us bring her back there to Taiwan to communicate with the people. And it would be better if she knew the language...if she knew Mandarin”.

While cultural roots are important, the majority of parents mentions economic incentives when stressing the importance of understanding and, preferably, speaking Mandarin and as such reinforce the success frame. China's economic power has grown tremendously in the last decade or so and this has made Chinese a very important language. Speaking Chinese can benefit their children, parents argue. Joshua, illustrates this point: "Mandarin is so practical. So, I mean, I'd rather him be more proficient in Mandarin for, just for his own sake, you know, when he's an adult". Parents believe that by speaking Chinese, their children can have an advantage over those who do not speak Chinese. China's economic success also provided parents with a sense of pride and linguistic legitimacy. Speaking Chinese no longer 'just' provides their children with cultural heritage; it also supports the success frame by increasing their future opportunities and chances in the work force, which is increasingly international as China's influences are only growing. Speaking Chinese can provide their children with a great asset; "Everything is international. So China is the biggest country. So to speak Mandarin would be very important" May says when she elaborates on why she speaks Mandarin with her kids, even though her Caucasian husband does not understand most of it.

This emphasis on speaking Chinese with their children, especially in order to support the success frame, confirms that parents make the conscious decision to implement the language within their household. This stresses that parents want their children to maintain the advantage they have acquired and that parents want to give their children an extra push in upward mobility on the socioeconomic ladder. These findings are in line with the quantitative findings and confirm hypothesis III. Hypothesis III is also confirmed regarding the importance of cultural maintenance. As illustrated above, parents continue to value the linguistic element of their

heritage culture. They see their language as a way to maintain ethnic and cultural ties, especially with their first-generation parents, which too could be an indirect way to strengthen the success frame.

6.5 Discussion & conclusion

Early migration scholars had the assumption that the more immigrants and their children assimilate, the higher their socioeconomic outcomes would become. Language was a central piece in this assimilation puzzle (Gordon 1964, Park and Burgess 1921). While it is true that speaking English is imperative for successful incorporation into mainstream society, fruitful for participation at educational institutes, and crucial in (most of) the labor market, it does not have to come at the expense of maintaining the heritage language. Previously, scholars believed that a complete language shift was desirable (Fishman 1972). Currently, however, the consensus is that maintaining one's heritage language can have important added benefits. Second-generation youth who are fluent bilingual have more cognitive abilities (Bialystok 1986), more flexible and creative minds (Baker 1988), and higher standardized test scores (Rumbaut 1995). When the second-generation continues to speak their heritage language to their third-generation children, a stable bilingual situation can occur (Lieberson and Curry 1971, 126).

In this , I argued that bilingualism is not always a conscious choice of parents, but can also be a consequential outcome. I distinguished two types of bilingualism: 'folk bilingualism' and 'elite bilingualism'. The former implies children grow up with a language other than English because of their geographic location (i.e. living in an ethnic enclave) or because their parents are unable to speak (only) English. With 'elite bilingualism' parents choose to raise their children bilingual by speaking (also) a language other than English at home to provide their children with

the added benefits of being bilingual. As hypothesized and confirmed, ‘folk bilingualism’ is more likely to occur among populations from disadvantaged backgrounds while ‘elite bilingualism’ is more common in advantaged households.

Findings show that most people with disadvantaged backgrounds were more likely to still speak their heritage language compared to the majority of those with an advantaged background (Western or Eastern Europe, Korea, China, Vietnam, Other Asia and Russia, Ukraine, Israel). Except for people born in Western Europe or Korea, people from all other countries were more likely to speak their mother tongue than not to speak it. In other words, 50% or more of the people who were not born in Western Europe or Korea spoke a language other than English at home. The main interest of this study was to see if there was a difference in how people in these different households would switch to their heritage language once children were born and if there was indeed a distinction between ‘folk bilingualism’ and ‘elite bilingualism’ corresponding to this shift.

The findings revealed three distinct patterns: people with disadvantaged backgrounds were unlikely to switch to their heritage language once children were born; having an advantaged background made people more likely to switch to speaking their heritage language at home once children were present; and people with an Asian origin were most likely to make this shift. Of course, the advantaged and Asian populations are in part more likely to switch to their heritage language because they have more room to become bilingual; the percentage speaking English is lower which implies there are more people that could potentially change to speaking their mother tongue. Moreover, perhaps Asian Americans are especially likely to switch their household language because they wanted their offspring to retain the advantages they had gained with their educational success (Kao 1995).

These findings confirm hypothesis I, II, and IIIa. However, the findings do not imply that the third-generation will become bilingual or that stable bilingualism occurs. Previous research on second and later generations shows that growing up with a language other than English is no guarantee for fluency in that language (Hinton 1999). The qualitative findings of this study provide some insight in these dynamics. Drawing on a sample of second-generation Chinese, I show that parents often do not feel comfortable (enough) with their mother tongue to switch fully to speaking only Chinese with their children. The majority of parents do, however, have the intention to raise their children bilingual, at least to some extent because they believe that it can support the success frame. They try to fortify their children's bilingual potential by mobilizing their first-generation Chinese parents (in-law) or by sending their children to Chinese schools. Immigrant grandparents can improve the likelihood that grandchildren use their heritage language, especially if the immigrant grandparents and the third-generation grandchildren live in the same household (Ishizawa 2004).

The findings confirmed hypothesis IIIb because they showed that first-generation Chinese grandparents play an important role in the language acquisition of the third-generation and as such also pass on other elements of their ethnic culture, such as values, family traditions, family history (Alba 1990). Cultural maintenance is one of the reasons second-generation Chinese parents decided to speak Chinese to their children. Another, more important, incentive for second-generation Chinese parents to expose their children to Chinese was to give them an advantage over their Caucasian peers, and thus strengthening the borders of their success frame. China is a growing economic power, parents rightfully reasoned, and speaking Chinese (at least to some extent) could increase their children's future occupational opportunities.

Second-generation Chinese parents perpetuate their socioeconomic benefits by raising their children (in part) with their heritage language. Parents from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to make the switch to their heritage language, but are more likely to use their mother tongue regardless of having children. Disadvantaged immigrants are more likely to live in ethnic enclaves (PewResearchCenter 2013a) where speaking the mother tongue (usually Spanish) provides an important tool in communication (Van Hook and Bean 2009, Bachmeier and Bean 2011), community connections (Tse 2001), and even job opportunities (McManus 1990).

The potential future scenario that emerges based on the findings of this chapter needs further exploration among the third generation. My findings indicate that two types of bilingualism: folk bilingualism and elite bilingualism, which are preserved by parents from disadvantage and advantaged background respectively. If the third-generation will become bilingual following these patterns, the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged populations can widen. Since Spanish is especially important in the lower labor market segments and in some cities even the primary language of the working class (Van Hook and Bean 2009, Bachmeier and Bean 2011, Lopez 1996), it is likely that speaking Spanish will remain important for parents preparing their offspring for a future in these realms. In fact, the use of Spanish at home does not deter the learning of English and can help with the retention of Spanish (Tran 2010).

Parents who prepare their children for participation at the higher end of the labor market can focus on heritage languages that are useful there, such as Chinese. China's economic world power leads second-generation Chinese parents to stress the importance speaking their heritage language. Parents of advantageous backgrounds may stress the importance of bilingual skills among their children because they want to provide their children with advanced skills in an increasingly competitive society. If these patterns continue, the linguistic divide between 'folk

bilingualism' and 'elite bilingualism' can increase the socioeconomic dispersion between the different populations.. Future research will need to show how the potential discrepancy impacts the third-generation's socioeconomic wellbeing.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Context of the study

This research sheds light on the interaction between long-term immigrant incorporation and nation state variables. By examining how second-generation parents shape the success frame for their children within specific national contexts, I show that the shift towards diversity has different consequences in various settings. The findings reveal that the receiving country interacts with the childrearing practices of second-generation parents to create outcomes that are best for their third-generation children within their specific national setting. These findings are thus connected to the socioeconomic potential for their third-generation children because they are based on the assumption that parents can influence their children's socioeconomic outcomes by raising them within a specific framework of success.

The focus of this dissertation was on the expectations the second-generation Chinese parents have of the educational outcomes of their children and the specific elements of culture that promote and support these outcomes. In other words, I examined to what extent second-generation Chinese parents raise their children with the success frame they were raised with themselves (Lee and Zhou 2014). I concentrate on second-generation Chinese, because they are known for their high academic achievements and professional success. Previous research showed that first-generation Chinese parents have high academic expectations of their children and raise them with an emphasis on filial piety, zeal and collectivism to promote these outcomes. (Zhou 1999, 2009a, Lee and Zhou 2014, Vogels 2011, Louie 2004). As such parents create certain standards of success which become the new normal and the frame through which the second-

generation measures their success (Lee and Zhou 2014). Chinese immigrant parents can support this success frame in multiple ways: by investing in their children's (supplementary) education (e.g. SAT trainings, tutors), or by living in a high rated school districts. Often parents do so when they move to ethnic communities, which overlap with high rated school districts, provide ethnic ties, and/or house numerous educational afterschool programs (Zhou 2009b).

The second-generation does not always continue to ascribe to the success frame (Lee and Zhou 2014) nor do they always agree with their parents childrearing practices (Lee 2013, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). However, there are also reasons to believe they continue to have high academic expectations of their children and raise them within the success frame (Chua 2011b, a). This study examines if second-generation continues to raise their children in this fashion and continue to be the Tiger Parents depicted in the popular media. Being the second-generation, they were exposed to alternative childrearing strategies and cultural systems while growing up. Consequently, they have the opportunity to pick and choose elements from either their parents' culture or from their host society's culture. I have set out four research questions to examine how these dynamics interact, how national opportunities and constraints influence the socialization techniques of the second-generation, and how childrearing is influenced by the parents' assimilation. Since the research questions of this study do not align completely with the chapters presented in this dissertation, the discussion that follows synthesizes the findings of the chapters to answer the research questions.

7.2 Answering the research questions

7.2.1 To what extent do second-generation Chinese continue to socialize their children with the success frame that they grew up with?

This research found discrepancies between second-generation Chinese parents within and between the United States and the Netherlands. These discrepancies are curious because usually parents raise their children similar to the way they were raised themselves (Caspi and Elder 1988, Van Ijzendoorn 1992). I showed that the way second-generation Chinese parents shape the success frame of their children is related to their national context and level of assimilation. Chapter 4 showed that the connection between parents' own upbringing and their current childrearing is very clear for second-generation Chinese parents in the United States. They show many resemblances. Chapter 5 revealed that intramarried second-generation Chinese have even higher educational expectations of their children than their parents had of them. Both intermarried and intramarried second-generation Chinese in the U.S. want their children to obtain a solid education and keep the borders of the success frame intact. The intramarried prefer their children to do better than they have done, which is a common aspiration within the American context (Goyette 2008). But since the majority of these parents obtained a graduate degree, there is not much room for their children to do better, except for obtaining a graduate degree as well. This is what the intramarried second-generation parents in the U.S. expect. While they no longer channel their children into specific study fields or focus on specific occupations, they do encourage them towards specific collages and degrees and thus reinforce the success frame. Chapter 4 indicates that compared to the Netherlands, parents in the United States are more likely to support the success frame too; they commonly invest in their children's education and move them or the family as a whole in order to provide better educational opportunities, just as

the first-generation had done (Zhou and Kim 2006). These parents thus continue to raise their children with their heritage culture, but not as strictly. For example, while nearly all parents in the U.S. had gone to Chinese school when growing up, only few sent their own children; most did so to promote their Chinese language skills, as was shown in chapter 6.

Since the second-generation grew up with two worlds—within the culture of their parents and within the culture of the receiving culture—they have access to alternative frames of reference. Which elements they chose from each framework depends on parents' academic expectations and on the opportunities and constraints of the national context in which the transmission process takes place. Compared to second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands, parents in the United States still form and support a success frame that is similar to the one they grew up with.

7.2.2 How do national opportunities and constraints impact the flexibility of the success frame?

The discrepancies outlined in the section above indicate that national opportunities and constraints do indeed impact the shape and firmness of the boundaries surrounding the success frame. As indicated in both chapter 4 and chapter 5, parents in the United States are more likely to talk about creating educational opportunities for their children. Compared to the Netherlands, U.S. based second-generation Chinese parents also talk more about financial prospects and increasing their children's socioeconomic potentials. Parents in the Netherlands, on the other hand, are more likely to stress the importance of their children's happiness and overall wellbeing.

Comparing Asian parents to parents from other countries, chapter 6 showed that Asian parents were more likely to speak their mother tongue once children were born, which could support their success frame. Speaking Chinese to their children was a conscious decision,

second-generation Chinese parents explain, and could support the success frame by increasing their children's cultural awareness and as such provide additional socioeconomic advantage. Moreover, the educational expectations of the parents in the United States were higher than parents in the Netherlands. As shown in chapter 5, parents in the U.S. are more likely to create a success frame similar to the one they grew up with by ascribing significantly more importance to the childrearing goal 'achievement' compared to their peers in the Netherlands, and stressing the future objectives of 'a good job', 'making a lot of money', and 'obtaining prestige'. In the U.S. parents want their children to obtain at least a college degree. In fact, intramarried couples even hope their children will attend graduate school. In the Netherlands, parents bend the success frame; parents mention they would be satisfied if their children would complete high school, but the intramarried couples prefer this to be the higher level high school (VWO). In the Netherlands second-generation Chinese parents are more likely to stress their children's happiness and see that as the main defining factor of success and as such they reshape the success frame.

As outlined in chapter 4, the divide between second-generation Chinese in the U.S. and the Netherlands stems most likely from the differences between the countries' economic system, focusing on their different educational systems and social security safety nets which can influence the need parents feel to set certain expectations of their children. The United States has a liberal welfare system where education is an important predictor for socioeconomic outcome and wellbeing; the Netherlands is a social democratic welfare system where the government plays a larger role in providing a social safety net (Esping-Andersen 1996).

The U.S. welfare states has a strong belief of pulling oneself up by the bootstraps and values that resonate with specific elements of the Chinese culture stresses (i.e. importance of education, zeal, socioeconomic outcomes). In other words, the Chinese success is not too far

removed from the American Creed (Hochschild 1995, Lipset 1996). These Chinese success frame is very different from the Dutch ideology of relative mediocrity (Van Tubergen and Van de Werfhorst 2007), and from the Dutch creed of not wanting to be better than your neighbor. For example, common Dutch proverbs emphasize the idea of downplaying oneself and remind the Dutch to “just act normal, because that is crazy enough” (*Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg*). Other often heard phrases are about blending in with the crowd *Steek je kop niet boven het maaiveld uit* (do not stick your head above the mowing field) and the phrase *Wie voor een dubbeltje geboren is, wordt nooit een kwartje* (those born a dime will never become a quarter) discourages climbing the socioeconomic ladder within one generation.²⁵ Moreover, not only do the approaches towards academic achievements and its benefits differ between the countries, so do their socioeconomic safety net and general economic systems.

7.2.3 How does the level of assimilation (measured by intermarriage) impact the flexibility of the success frame?

Overall, the second-generation is more assimilated than their parents. This implies, as this study confirms, that they are less embedded in the culture of their (parents’) country of origin. This is especially the case for the second-generation who have a native-born spouse. Because people seek a partner who is similar to themselves (Kalmijn 1991, Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2006), intermarriage is usually used as an measurement of assimilation (Lee and Bean 2010, Gordon 1964). Chapter 5 shows that the intermarried second-generation Chinese in both the United States and the Netherlands place less emphasis on the success frame than their peers with a Chinese partner.

The success frame can be reshaped because intermarried second-generation Chinese are more assimilated, that is, more similar to the native-born population, and therefore more likely to choose native-born spouses. Or because the intermarried have intimate access to an alternative of the success frame because their spouses refer to their notion of success when raising their children, which is similar to the way they were raised (Caspi and Elder 1988, Van Ijzendoorn 1992). Moreover, having a native-born spouse can also provide more social connections to the mainstream culture (i.e. family) in lieu of a Chinese network, which could reduce support for the success frame and as such increase assimilation of the second-generation Chinese. The end-result is the same: the children of intermarried second-generation Chinese grow up with a less rigid success frame than their peers whose parents are both (second-generation) Chinese. Indeed, the intermarried second-generation Chinese in this study emphasize the importance of education less, have lower educational expectations of their children, and are as such less likely to support the success frame when raising their children. The discrepancy was especially prominent in the Netherlands, which is in part because there the emphasis on education was already reduced through the interaction with this nation state (as shown in chapter 4).

As the descriptive analysis of chapter 2 shows, second-generation Chinese women are more likely to intermarry than their male peers, this is true for my sample as well as for the general populations (Harmsen 1998, Edmonston and Lee 2005). This has potential gender-related implications. Warikoo (2005, 806) points out, that women “carry those links to tradition by, for example, wearing ethnic clothing on special occasions, cooking food from the native country, and symbolizing the home and tradition in contrast to the male”. Consequently, while the intermarried second-generation Chinese are less likely to reinforce their heritage culture that supports the success frame, as I showed in chapter 5, women in general are more likely to be the

cultural carrier, in part because they spent more time (at home) with their children (Luke 1994). These gender dynamics could be especially relevant for second-generation Chinese because traditionally Chinese families are very patriarchal and women are in charge of the childrearing (Geense and Pels 1998, Wolf 1972, Clark and Oswald 1996, Distelbrink and Hooghiemstra 2005). Since my sample was too small to make a detailed gender distinction, future research is needed to clearly discern such differences. Future studies could also pay additional attention to the difference between intermarried second-generation Chinese men and women and the role their native-born Caucasian spouses play. This could shed light on potential differences in assimilation between intermarried second-generation Chinese men and women.

7.2.4 What are some of the strategies parents employ to support the success frame, if they choose to raise their children with high educational expectations?

An important part of the childrearing practices with which first-generation immigrant parents raised their children focused on improving their children's academic outcomes by shaping and supporting the success frame: parents moved into ethnic neighborhoods (Li 1998, Zhou 2009b); invested in their children's education (Chao 1996, Sun 1998) and, most of all, socialized them with specific values that stressed collectivism, obedience, and hierarchy (Zhou 2009a, Geense and Pels 1998). In this dissertation I explore how the second-generation continue to utilize these strategies when raising their children. The findings indicate that, while these mechanisms were largely natural for the first-generation and part of their "taken for granted culture" (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010), they are much less so for the second-generation Chinese. The second-generation recognize, however, that the emphasis on education is part of their success frame. Nearly all parents grew up being subject to this frame work. Recognizing their success

frame as something ‘typical Chinese’ enables the second-generation Chinese to challenge its boundaries when raising their own children. Both chapter 4 and 5 demonstrate that growing up in the receiving context allows parents to bend the borders that circumvent the success frame when raising their own children.

Chapter 4 also shows that assimilation does not need to imply that parents taper the educational expectations that they have of their children’s education. On the contrary, the findings presented in this chapter show that the larger national context can support and even promote the success frame. In the United States, where socioeconomic mobility is celebrated and part of the national ideology (Hochschild 1995, Lipset 1996), parents continue to support the success frame by using strategies such as geographic mobility, emphasis on educational achievement, and investment to improve their children’s educational outcomes. Chapter 5 adds that this is especially the case for the intramarried second-generation Chinese in the U.S. Chapter 4 illustrated that in the Netherlands parents are less likely to call on those strategies that they call ‘typical Chinese’. Here, parents are more likely to reject the success frame, especially if they feel that adhering to it may compromise their children’s happiness. Chapter 5 adds that especially the intermarried couples in the Netherlands are likely to renounce these strategic ecultural childrearing practices. These divergences between different subpopulations of second-generation Chinese demonstrate that the success frame, which is so prominent among second-generation Chinese (Chao 1996, 2000, 2001, Cheng and Uttal 1988, Chua 2011b, a, Lee and Zhou 2014), becomes adjustable for the second-generation.

The flexibility of the framework is also evident in the language usage of the second-generation, discussed in chapter 6. Findings of chapter 6 indicate that second-generation Chinese can revive elements of their ethnic culture if they believe they can support the success frame.

Analysis of the American Community Survey shows that, compared to other ethnic groups, Asian parents who no longer spoke their mother tongue with their spouse are significantly more likely to switch (back) to speaking their mother tongue once their children are born. While this does not always result in a stable bilingual situation (Lieberson and Curry 1971), it does imply that there is not yet a complete language shift to English (Fishman 1972). Analysis of the interview data shows that second-generation Chinese make this switch to support the success of their children.

7.3 Limitations and future research

The main limitations of this study are those that are common for most qualitative research: a) limited generalizability of the qualitative segment; b) selectivity in the qualitative sample; and c) potential bias and influence of the researcher. This study also includes constraints that are unique to this research: d) the focus is only on those specific elements of culture that are incorporated in the success frame and e) the cross-national comparison is between just two countries.

7.3.1 Common limitations

Because the qualitative sample was not randomly drawn from the total population, the findings of this study cannot be generalized. The samples in both the United States and the Netherlands are therefore not representative of these countries. It is possible that the experience of second-generation Chinese in the greater Los Angeles area is different from the experience of the second-generation Chinese in the New York, for example. The same can be said about the second-generation Chinese in the Netherlands. While the sample was mostly collected in the Randstad, which is a region that houses the majority of the Chinese population (Gijsberts,

Huijnk, and Vogels 2011, Harmsen 1998), it is plausible that those growing up in a more rural part of the country have different experiences.

The inability to generalize the data is further limited by the sample being selective. To recruit participants for this study I used multiple methods, such as placing flyers at (Chinese) organizations, attending events, and joining ‘mommy and me’ groups. Consequently, the majority of respondent in both the United States and the Netherlands were women (55.3 and 75% respectively). The gender difference is especially prominent in the intermarriage subsample because second-generation Chinese women are more likely to marry non-Chinese (Harmsen 1998, Edmonston and Lee 2005). Sampling bias also results in having a sample of only ‘nice’ people, because those were the people to volunteer their time and energy by participating in this study. The sampling bias is especially prominent among the intramarried Chinese couples in the Netherlands. The Chinese community in the Netherlands is well-known for being closed, secluded, and hard to access for social researchers (Geense 2002, Benton and Vermeulen 1987, Harmsen 1998, Linder et al. 2011). Hence, my subsample of intramarried in the Netherlands is the smallest. The sampling bias of interviewing ‘nice’ people is hard to overcome because offering a (monetary) compensation for participation would merely switch the bias; rather than studying only ‘nice’ people, the sample would then also include ‘poor’ or ‘greedy’ people, because in that scenario people participate because they want to gain access to the incentives.²⁶

Another common limitation of qualitative research is that the researcher is an integral part of the study. Being a native-born Dutch female researcher without any Chinese ancestry or relatives inevitably effected my research population, the way I approach my research population, and my knowledge of the Chinese culture (Emerson 2001, Lofland 2006). I did all in my power to familiarize myself with the Chinese culture.²⁷ Nevertheless, more than one eyebrow was

raised regarding my choice to study the Chinese second-generation and I could never become as 'proficient' in the Chinese culture as my interviewees who had grown up with it. In other words, I always remained an outsider and I might have been unaware to subtleties trivial to insiders, an aspect often pointed out as a major disadvantage in cross-cultural research (Lofland 2006).²⁸ However, I believe that not having Chinese roots also had advantages, as it enables me to see cultural elements that are taken for granted by the Chinese; implying culture on a somewhat deeper level (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010).

7.3.2 Specific limitations

One could argue that the most important elements of Chinese parents' heritage culture are those that create and support the success frame, as they can impact their children's socioeconomic outcomes. Most immigrant parents want to improve the socioeconomic standing of their children (Goyette 2008). That said, other elements of culture can be valuable too; such as language and holiday celebrations, which can nourish a sense of ethnic identity and belonging (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006, Imbens-Bailey 1996, Cho 2000), or dietary preferences and medical practices that can promote a healthy lifestyle or general wellbeing (Noam 2012). This study is limited in that it has only examined those aspects of the Chinese culture that are relevant within the success frame.

International comparative research is an increasingly important tool to understand how national context impacts immigrants, their offspring, and their assimilation processes (Lee, Carling, and Orrenius 2014). While this study makes an important contribution to this growing field, it is limited in that it compares only two countries. Including more countries could have been further clarified the impact of national context on assimilation processes. For instance,

Yiu's (2013) research shows that in certain contexts, such as Spain and Italy, even first-generation Chinese do not create a similar success frames in different contexts. Instead, parents create a success frame that includes becoming entrepreneurs because these professions provide prestige and economic success within this context. This study is thus limited in that it did not include such a country as third comparison context.

7.4 Future directions

These limitations could be approached as opportunities to generate directions for future research. Future research can fill gaps left open in this study or strengthen the findings by using complementary methods. Moreover, every good research opens doors to future directions and, as such, moves the general immigration and incorporation debate forward.

7.4.1 Examining additional elements of Chinese culture

This study fills an important gap between two bodies of literature: that of the assimilation of second-generation Chinese and that of the childrearing practices of first-generation Chinese. In filling this gap I advance the immigration discussion regarding the potential assimilation of the third-generation. One limitation of this study is its narrow focus on the success frame. While assimilation into the socioeconomic domain is probably the most important sphere, it is not the only one (Bean and Stevens 2003). Other elements that are part of culture that are not directly linked to academic and occupation achievement include: dietary preferences, dress, holiday celebrations, specific traditions and ceremonies, and values and norms. Different aspects of the Chinese heritage culture can serve different roles, for example in creating an identity and a sense of belonging (Chao 1994, Loewen 1988, Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010, Lamont 1999).

Future research could examine these other elements and the role they play as the second-generation raises their children.

Preliminary results from the U.S. data show that certain cultural aspects can serve more than one function, both overt and covert. For example, following childbirth, most second-generation Chinese women interviewed for this study continued to practice at least one element of what is known as the ‘lying’ or the ‘sitting month’ (*zuo yuezi*). During this one month period women would stay in bed, eat specific dishes, limit time spent outdoors, and/or consume traditional medicine. While there is no scientific proof for the medical benefits of any of these practices, the majority of women would rationalize their adherence to these elements of their culture as such. They talked about speeding their recovering period, improving their health, or increasing their baby’s wellbeing. While the overt reasons women gave were medical, there were covert reasons too, such as showing respect to their mother (in-law) or maintaining connection to their heritage culture and reaffirming their identity (Noam 2012). This example shows that different elements of one’s ethnic culture can play important roles on different levels of assimilation. Perhaps even more interesting, the majority of women who practice *zuo yuezi* took these practices for granted; some did not even point them out during the interview as being specifically Chinese until I explicitly asked about them.²⁹ This indicates that further scrutiny of the role of culture requires not only detecting the importance of other elements but also dissecting whether those elements that are transmitted are done so consciously or unintentionally.

7.4.2 Utilizing additional research methods

This study uses innovative methodology by making a cross-national comparison (Lee, Carling, and Orrenius 2014). Further research within each country can strengthen the findings laid out above, possibly by using a somewhat different methodology. Claiming to do something is often easier than actually doing it and this is definitely the case for cultural maintenance. Parents may say that it is important for them that their children do well in school and that they expect only straight A's, but they might be understanding nonetheless if their children come home with 'just' a B. First-generation parents are not supportive of children obtaining 'just' Bs (Lee 2013). Perhaps the best way to unfold the actual childrearing practices is by close observations within family settings. The opportunities I had to observe the interactions within the family setting (I often had meals with the entire family while conducting the interview), were too limited to include in this study. Best would be to conduct (participant) observations over an extended period and accompany families as they go through their daily routines. In other words, to become the family dog, as Annete Lareau describes of the research assistants in her study on parenting styles (Lareau 2003).

Observations or more detailed interviews could also provide additional information on the daily language usage within the different households and on the proficiency of the third-generation in both languages. In other words, these methods could assess to what extent the household is bilingual and how stable the language situation is. Given that fluent bilingualism can promote educational outcomes (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, Rumbaut 1995), future research will need to examine the bilingual skills in light of academic achievements (Baker 1988). Additional methodology can be valuable to evaluate language usage because the ACS only asks if a language other than English is spoken at home. It does not ask how frequently the language

is spoken. Hence, bilingual households include those where parents only sing nursery rhymes, as well as those where parents solely speak their heritage language. Children growing up in either household will end up with very different ‘bilingual’ skills.

7.5 Contributions & implications

This study shows that the second-generation Chinese in both the Netherlands and the United States pass reinforce the success frame to varying degrees. The extent to what second-generation Chinese transmit the values that support the frame work and the educational expectations they have of their third-generation children depends on the country in which they live. By showing international differences, this study makes an important contribution to the growing field of cross-national migration research. Specifically, this research pushes the debate further in understanding how “parental, child, and host society context and policy variables affect these [assimilation] outcomes” and how national context enables “children of immigrants [to] attain the most-inter-generation mobility and the strongest labor market outcomes” (Lee, Carling, and Orrenius 2014, S28). The quasi-experimental research design of the study in is especially fruitful because it allows keeping several variables constant that cannot be held constant when studying a single country (Alba and Foner 2014, 266).

The within country differences highlight that there are also differences between intermarried and intramarried second-generation Chinese. In both the United States and the Netherlands, the intermarried second-generation (thus those that are more assimilated) had weaker boundaries of the success frame compared to their intramarried peers. These findings highlight that more assimilation is accompanied with less rigid success frames. This is an expected outcome, but relevant to the debate on intermarriage and childrearing because it

highlights the flexibility of culture and the frames they shape. Being malleable has several implications.

7.5.1 Pick and choose; symbolic boundaries of the success frame

The findings suggest that for second-generation Chinese parents, certain elements of their culture that support or promote their success frame can in fact become ‘symbolic’. Parents no longer take all the elements that emphasize their children’s educational outcomes for granted nor do they automatically link them to their ethnic identity. By making their culture symbolic, I argue, it becomes similar to the notion of symbolic ethnicity. The concept of symbolic ethnicity was coined by Gans (1979) to describe the way third and later generations descendants of European immigrants refer to their ethnic heritage. Symbolic ethnicity, Gans (1979) explains, implies that people can choose those elements of their ethnicity that they like and want to familiarize themselves with, and discard others. Moreover, symbolic ethnicity can take place when individual identity no longer associated with the ethnic etiquette that is applied by their surroundings. Symbolic ethnicity is based on the assumption that ethnicity is “fluid and dynamic, [and] socially constructed in people’s concrete social interaction with others” (Min 2002, 11).

In this study, I showed that for many second-generation Chinese, their success frame can have symbolic sides too. Depending on their national context and level of assimilation, parents can choose to utilize and reinforce their notions of success and as such help push their children toward certain academic outcomes or they can choose to disregard elements of their culture that shape the boundaries of their success frame when they feel they are no longer needed. This stresses that the concept of the success frame is flexible and malleable. Just as symbolic ethnicity

(Alba 1990, Gans 1997, Waters 1990, Gans 1979), it has become optional and intergenerational transmission of it is a conscious choice.

Approaching the success frame as having symbolic borders has important implications for the third-generation and, in light of the diversity shift, for the larger population. When the notions of success become symbolic, parents can choose specific elements to transmit to their children depending on the purpose they hope to serve and adjust the levels and perceptions of what it means to be successful. The elective component of the success frame will be especially prominent among the intermarried couples, who have an alternative set of tools to choose from within their household. This can have important implications. Because intermarried parents have the opportunity to pick and choose the elements of their respective cultures and select their notions of success, they can create a new system of success that is unique within the specific household. As such they are able to create a system that is also known as a 'transcultural family system' (Crippen and Brew 2007). In transcultural family systems parents have to deal with their different cultural and ethnic backgrounds and somehow incorporate them into one that works best for their household (Hsu 2001). By picking and choosing the specific elements of their culture carefully and by cautiously bending the boundaries of the success frame and adapting them to their nation state, parents can thus manipulate their children's potential for success and as such, to an extent, their level of assimilation.

In sum, my study shows that for the second-generation Chinese, the success frame and the cultural notions that support it, have become somewhat symbolic. Depending on the opportunities and constraints of their receiving context, second-generation parents can stress different elements of their cultures and to varying degrees raise their children with the success frame. This highlights how modular and adaptive the success frame can be to fit into the context

in which it is transmitted. In intermarried households, for example, transmission of select elements of the success frame can create a ‘transcultural family system’, which transcends the success frame of either parent. Furthermore, this study shows not only that the success frame can be adapted to the receiving context, but also that it can be completely disregarded if there is no longer a need for it.

7.5.2 Educational outcomes of the third-generation

If there is no longer a need for a certain cultural trait within a specific context, does that mean that this trait ceases to exist? As in biological evolution, some argue, in cultural evolution also only the strongest traits will survive (Koopmans et al. 2005). Therefore, the findings of my study can imply that over time only the ‘beneficial’ traits will survive. Following this line of thought, it could be that second-generation parents only buttress the success frame if it helps their children to adapt better within their specific context. Or, in the words of cultural evolutionists Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza and Marcus Feldman (1981, 7), “the evolution of traits that are cultural depends ultimately on the way in which such traits are transmitted among individuals within a generation and between generations”.

For the descendants of immigrants, this may mean that over time the boundaries of the success frame become weaker in context that have lower standards in their notion of success. This is indeed what my findings show; in the Netherlands, with its social democratic welfare state structure, second-generation Chinese have lower educational expectations of their children and push them less hard, there the success frame is nearly non-existent. In the United States, and its liberal welfare state that promotes the exceptional creed of the American dream (Lipset 1996, Hochschild 1995, Esping-Andersen 1996), parents were more likely uphold the boundaries

of the success frame. Consequently, if parents' expectations are an accurate indicator of their children's success—which they usually are (Wang and Benner 2013a)—it is likely that levels of education of the third-generation Chinese in the United States will be higher than that of their peers in the Netherlands. In similar vein, based on the discrepancy between intermarried and intramarried couples within each country, it is plausible that the children of intermarried couples will have a lower level of education than their peers who have two (second-generation) Chinese parents.

Thus, if the cultural evolution theory does indeed apply to the childrearing practices and the intergenerational transmission of those elements that support the success frame, my findings imply that we can expect a socioeconomic gap between third-generation Chinese across and within national settings. For instance, given that in the United States, intramarried second-generation Chinese parents expect graduate degrees of their children, the socioeconomic standing of this third-generation might surpass that of all other ethnic groups. As such they might recreate a success frame that has expectations and references points of success that are even higher than those they grew up with. For the society at large this could create an ethno-racial divide within the U.S. racial hierarchy based on expectations and attainment of success (Jiménez and Horowitz 2013).

7.6 Conclusion

In this study I have shown that second-generation (Chinese) parents differ greatly in their efforts of raising their children within the success frame they grew up with. I showed discrepancies between second-generation Chinese parents in the United States and second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands and between intermarried and intramarried couples in both countries.

Intramarried second-generation Chinese parents in the United States are most likely to raise their children similar to the way they were brought up; intramarried second-generation Chinese parents in the Netherlands are less likely to do so. The study also revealed that Asian parents in the U.S. are more likely to switch (back) to speaking their heritage language with their children than other ethnic groups in the United States. This indicated –and confirmed with the qualitative data on second-generation Chinese parents in the US—that these parents value their heritage tongue because it can support the success frame.

While these findings may seem to indicate that the second-generation Chinese continue to raise their children in fashions similar to their immigrant parents, this was not entirely the case. Yes, the second-generation Chinese (especially those with a Chinese spouse) will continue to adhere to the notions of success created by their parents and maintained within their communities (Lee and Zhou 2014). But, the second-generation Chinese are by no means the austere ‘Tiger Parents’ that are portrayed in the media. Parents in both countries aspire to raise their offspring to achieve what is best for their children and let them choose their own career path. In the U.S. for intramarried second-generation Chinese parents this implies that their children should obtain a graduate degree, because higher degrees will give their children more financial security and opportunities to establish a rewarding career; in the Netherlands this implies children can follow their own educational path, as long as they finish high school, and do whatever makes them happy. Context matters, and based on the findings presented here it appears that context interacts with the childrearing practices of second-generation parents and the way they frame success for their children. As such, context is likely to influence the socioeconomic assimilation of the third-generation in the long run.

NOTES

¹ There are studies that show that some elements of heritage culture can become important again for third or even later generations (Jiménez 2009), but oftentimes these are considered symbolic (Gans 1979), as the third plus-generation has the opportunity to pick and choose only those elements of their culture that they like (Waters 1990).

² In the Netherlands the first and second-generation are joined together under the term ‘allochtoon’ (which refers to people with at least one foreign-born parent. I do not use this term here.

³ In the Netherlands many second-generation youngsters identify more with the city in which they grew up than with the country (Phalet, Lotringen, and Entzinger 2000, Nabben, Yeşilgöz, and Korf 2006, Verkuyten 2006). Some cities make an active attempt to increase the identification with the city. An example of this is the ‘**I amsterdam**’ campaign of the Dutch capital.

⁴ In a number of cases the respondents filled out the questionnaire at their own leisure after I had already left. If this was the respondents’ preference, I would either leave the questionnaire with them (and they would send it back to me at a later time), or I would send them a digital version of the questionnaire after the interview. In two instances I did not receive the questionnaire back, resulting in a smaller N for the quantitative sample compared to the qualitative sample.

⁵ The larger LA metropolitan area includes five counties around Los Angeles: Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, Riverside and San Bernardino.

⁶ The SING is the first and only time that a representative sample was collected of the Chinese in the Netherlands (Gijssberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011). The data are not yet publicly available. I was allowed to access the data while working the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) and to make these analysis.

⁷ I interview only second-generation Chinese with roots in mainland China (PRC) or Hong Kong. This excludes (ethnic) Chinese from Chinese Diaspora communities. For the Dutch sample this excludes Chinese from the former colonies Surinam and Indonesia. In the United States, this mostly excludes Chinese from Vietnam. Whereas many have suggested I include this group, I decided to keep my sample as ‘clean’ and comparable as possible.

⁸ I have no personal ties to the Chinese community at all and people repeatedly asked me where my interest for this population came from. Before I started this research I had no knowledge on the (second-generation) Chinese population in either national context.

⁹ A reason that people may not agree to participate in the study is explained to me by Han, a Chinese man from the Netherlands. Han says he is willing to talk because he is not like other Chinese; he is open, free and westernized. His sister, he says (who also married to a native-born Dutch), is more Chinese; She is closed, more private, and, as he predicted, unwilling to participate. It is possible that the results of this research are somehow biased by this element of self-selection.

¹⁰ The larger L.A. metropolitan area includes the five counties around Los Angeles: Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, Riverside and San Bernardino.

¹¹ The 'Randstad' includes the country's four largest cities: Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht.

¹² In the United States there were fewer respondents with only a Master's degree and more respondents with a Ph.D. or MD degree. The opposite was the situation in the Netherlands. This is mostly due to their different education systems: In the U.S. higher education is structured as either obtaining a bachelor degree or a Ph.D. degree. Masters degrees are available but often obtained en route to a doctorate degree. Up to 2008 the Dutch higher education was structured as either obtaining a bachelor degree at a higher professional college or going to the university with only the option of following a route directly to master degree. Obtaining a Ph.D. could be done through a four-year apprentice under a professor, working full time (and getting paid) at a specific research project.

¹³ There is a large discrepancy in income and unemployment rates between high school dropouts, those who completed high school, and those who obtained a college degree. For example, students who do not complete high school often end up in low paying jobs; the median weekly income for those without high school degree is \$471 and their unemployment rate 12.4%. Having a college degree increases median weekly income to \$1,066 and decreases the unemployment rate to 4.5% (LaborStatistics 2013).

¹⁴ Most Dutch public universities do not have a selection procedure for their students at the undergraduate level, but since January 1, 2013, they are allowed to. Since the late 1990s, there was a steep growth in private colleges (*Elbers & Brouwers* 2003). Some of them have selection procedures as well.

¹⁵ The Netherland does not have the same racial categorization as the United States, and the Dutch blacks are viewed more as immigrants than as blacks. They live less segregated than Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, for

example (Bolt and Van Kempen 2000), and Antilleans of the second-generation have nearly the same chances to find a (steady) job compared to their native-born peers (Andriessen et al. 2007).

¹⁶ Traditionally, most Dutch immigration research—especially large scale quantitative studies – has focused on these four big immigrants groups (Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, and Antilleans). More recently scholars started to look at non-conventional migrant groups such as the Chinese (Gijsberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011) and refugees (Dourleijn and Dagevos 2011, Pels and Gruijter 2005)

¹⁷ There is some overlap between the categories ‘black’ and Hispanic, because the Hispanics can also say they are black. The white category only includes those whites who say they are not Hispanic.

¹⁸ Since 2010 the Dutch Antilles are officially a province of the Netherlands. People coming from Aruba, Curacao and Bonaire are, however, still considered immigrants, and often face incorporation problems similar to ‘real’ immigrants.

¹⁹ The pillarization principal informally divided the Dutch population by (religious) ideology. The four main pillars were: Protestant, Catholic, Liberal, and Social Democratic. All pillars had their own facilities and institutions to cater to its members from the cradle to the grave.

²⁰ The size of the Chinese population in the Netherlands is hard to estimate for several reasons. First, ethnic Chinese who come from Indonesia and Surinam are not registered as being Chinese because the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS) and municipal administrations (GBA) collects data on (parents’) country of origin, not on ethnicity. Second, a relatively large number of Chinese has naturalized, no longer holds a Chinese passport, and is no longer registered as Chinese (Vogels, Geense, and Martens 1999). Third, it is hard to estimate the scope of illegal Chinese immigrant. Some say their number is as high as 67 thousand (Marinelli 2001). Forth, since 2000 the number of Chinese students that come to the Netherlands as students or to work as PhD’s or Post Docs has significantly increased while many end up staying they are not included in the statistics because of their temporal visa status (Gijsberts, Huijnk, and Vogels 2011).

²¹ I analyzed these data while working at the SCP, the SING data are not yet publicly available.

²² I interview only second-generation Chinese with roots in mainland China (PRC) or Hong Kong. This excludes (ethnic) Chinese from Chinese Diaspora communities. For the Dutch sample this excludes Chinese from the former colonies Surinam and Indonesia. In the United States, this mostly excludes Chinese from Vietnam.

Whereas many have suggested I include this group, I decided to keep my sample as ‘clean’ and comparable as possible

²³ The samples for chapter 4 and 5 differ. In chapter 4 I only selected intramarried couples and included both partners in the analysis. In chapter 5 I included both intramarried and intermarried couples but included only the primary respondent (not their spouse). Consequently the sample sizes are different, as are the values for their ages, number of children, etc.

²⁴ In the United States there were fewer respondents with only a Master’s degree and more respondents with a Ph.D. or MD degree. The opposite was the situation in the Netherlands. This is mostly due to their different education systems: In the U.S. higher education is structured as either obtaining a bachelor degree or a Ph.D. degree. Masters degrees are available but often obtained en route to a doctorate degree. Up to 2008, the Dutch higher education system was structured as either obtaining a bachelor degree at a higher professional college or going to the university with only the option of following a route directly to a master degree. Obtaining a Ph.D. could be done through a four-year apprentice under a professor, working full time (and getting paid) at a specific research project.

²⁵ It must be added that in the Netherlands approaches towards education and the value of academic achievement are slowly changing. While the Dutch are known for being slow at change, especially regarding deep rooted cultural values and traditions, it appears that globalization and a growing interdependence between different institutes of higher education start to require them to become more competitive. For example, grades start to count more in getting accepted to university and government sponsored scholarships and loans start to diminish. These changes could bring changes in the way parents raise their children and the values they instill in them—(second-generation) immigrant and native-born alike. These changes are recent, however, are not yet relevant when collected the data. It could, however result in second-generation Chinese parents to draw back on their cultural traits regarding education and academic achievement when raising their children.

²⁶ I did not offer the participants of this study any monetary compensation for their participation in this study. Because the interview would take up a large chunk of their time, however, I did feel I wanted to give them something in return. Usually I brought home-baked cookies or chocolates to compensate the interviewees for their time, effort, and openness.

²⁷ To become familiar with the Chinese population I did not only read academic research but also numerous novels on the Chinese (second-generation) experience such as ‘on gold mountain’ and ‘the joy luck club’, I watched

movies, talked with laymen and women, studied for a summer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), and traveled through mainland China.

²⁸ In the United States I was a double outsider because I was not born and raised in the United States I was also less familiar with the American culture than my American spouses. I tried to compensate this by talking a lot with American friends and colleagues and getting to understand their normal, or 'emic' point of view (Emerson 2001).

²⁹ It could of course also be that the women felt uncomfortable about discussing a practice as intimate as medical care following childbirth. (The subject had not at all come up during my preliminary interviews during which I did not have my own children.) But based on the way women talked about it, it did not seem to be the case that women were embarrassed.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Basic details

Name and age: _____

Full names and ages children: _____

Home address: _____

E-Mail: _____

Phone number: _____

Occupation: _____

How many hours do you work on average in a week: _____

Highest ducation: _____

In which city did you grow up: _____

Following is a standard questionnaire related to your background. Some of the questions I might have addressed already during the interview, however I would really appreciate it if you could answer all the questions:

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself: _____

In terms of ethnic group, I consider my children: _____

Use the numbers given below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1: Strongly DISAGREE

2: Somewhat DISAGREE

3: Somewhat AGREE

4: Strongly AGREE

- 1) I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs. _____
- 2) I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group _____
- 3) I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me _____
- 4) I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own _____
- 5) I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership _____
- 6) I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to _____
- 7) I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together _____
- 8) I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life _____
- 9) I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own _____

- 10) I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group _____
- 11) I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group _____
- 12) I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups _____
- 13) In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group _____
- 14) I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments _____
- 15) I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups _____
- 16) I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs _____
- 17) I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups _____
- 18) I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group _____
- 19) I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own _____
- 20) I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background _____
- 21) Attained level of education is determined by innate characteristics _____
- 22) Schoolwork should always come first _____
- 23) An A minus is a bad grade
- 24) Children should be raised to excel and be the number one in their class _____
- 25) The level of education children achieve depends on how hard they work _____
- 26) Math and science are more important subjects than art and literature _____
- 27) A child should study even if it did not receive homework _____
- 28) American mothers are too easy on their children _____
- 29) Chinese mothers are too harsh on their children _____
- 30) I consider myself a tiger parent _____

The below tables have three themes ‘Important traits for my children’, ‘respect’, and ‘important in my child’s future life’.

Can you please rank the terms of the left column in the right columns according your order of importance? (1 being most important)

Important traits for my children to gain in the future	
<i>Random order</i>	<i>From most to least important</i>
Achievement	
Discipline	
Respect	
Autonomy	
Social feeling	

Respect	
<i>Random order</i>	<i>from most to least important</i>
Self-respect	
Respect for elders	
Respect for authority	
Respect for parents	
Respect for family	

Important in my child(ren)’s future life(s)	
<i>Random order</i>	<i>from most to least important</i>
Extended family	
Nuclear family	
Friends	
Parents	
A good Job	
A lot of money	
Prestige/recognition	
Child’s own nuclear family	

Who does what in the household

1= only father, 2=mostly father, 3= together, 4= mostly mother, 5 = only mother.

NA= not relevant

Activity	Score	Remarks
Bringing children from/to school		
Work outside the house		
Go to the doctor with the children		
Make sure the child obeys rules		
Reading to/with children		
Eating with the children		
Trips with the children		
Punish children		
Celebrate holidays with the children		
Watch over children		
Household, cleaning etc.		
Support children with their homework.		
Religious education		
Comfort children		
Teach the child to think independently		
Groceries		
Decide what children are and are not allowed to do		
Educate about ethics		
Visit family		
Physcial care (wash and dress child)		
Provide child with sexual education		

Reward children		
Determine about school choice of children		
Cook		
Teach children about their culture/ ethnicity		
Go on holiday		
Maintain contacts with school		
Determine children's spendings		
Have fun with the children (play, joke around)		
Dicipline children		
Stimulate children at school		
Provide the family values		
Home improvement		
Maintain contacts with other parents		
Teach child new skills		
Teach the child about cultural customs		
Support other parent in childrearing		
Other:		

APPENDIX B

Semi structured interview guide

Data own purpose

Date:

Location

Name woman:

Name man:

How many children:

Name, gender, age child 1:

Name, gender, age child 2:

Name, gender, age child 3:

How long married (if at all):

Ethnic mix of the couple:

*=Chinese partner

Introduction

- Explain about the research (international comparison of childrearing goals) and its background (little is known about the childrearing of the 2nd gen)
- Guarantee anonymity
- Tell a little about me (grad student at UCI, from NL, married, one son, interested in culture's role in the family life)
- Emphasize interest in their opinions, views, feelings. There are no right/wrong answers
- Emphasize interview is voluntary. They can cancel the interview at any time and/or refuse questions (has never happened so don't get scared). Data is treated confidential, respondents remain anonymous.
- Can I record the interview
- Can they sign a consent form.

Topic list (topic are not presented in order in which they have to be addressed)

General

- Meet: how long do they know each other, where, when, how did they meet

- Did they live together before marriage, when marry?
- How was the wedding (dig for cultural elements, role of the parents, traditions, customs, see pictures?)
- How were the reactions of people around you (family, friends, parents) regarding the ethnicity of the partner (mixed marriage, expected to marry co-ethnic, etc).
- How were reactions with birth of child. (Chinese blood, gender of baby)
- What was the role of tradition at giving birth (having a boy, having 1 month celebration, stay in house, not shower , eat ginger, etc).

Own childhood

- *Caucasian partner:* Any connection to Chinese culture before? Did perspective on Chinese (culture, people) change? How, when. How is partner Chinese
- *Chinese partner:* what is the background/immigration story of your parents. What was parents' SES. Do your parents talk about background/history
- Family composition: siblings, parents, grandparents in HH?
- Do you have more family in US in this area? How often do you see them?
- Talk a bit about home situation of childhood: Did parents work, emphasis on education, punishment and reward, role of chinese culture/tradition/values. Language spoken, Did you feel different than other (american) kids, why, how, parents' (educational) expectations, pressure on education, anikdotes, examples.
- Community: how many co-ethnics, friends, family, China town
- Extracurricular: organizations, sports, music, Chinese school, volunteer
- Identity: Do you feel Chinese, how would you ID, did this change throughout time/space. How do you think others see you? How does partner see?
- What are the most important aspects of Chinese culture/tradition (ask both partners)
- Which aspects least favorable (ask both partners)
- Ask both partner also about their partner's culture
- What do you do regarding american culture? What is american culture and not Chinese
- Do you have (culture related) conflicts

Family

- Do both parents live here? Still in touch?
- How often visit/see family, when, where

- How describe ties with parents/fam. Same both side of the fam
- Chinese fam ties different than 'American' fam ties? How, why?
- Will your parents move in with you (or siblings) at old age? Why, what does other partner think? Do you want this or is this expected?
- Do you give part of your income to your parents? Both partners? Why?
- Do you give part of your income to anyone else (remittances, other family, charity, etc)

Household tasks; division of labor list – and slide into education

- Are you both happy with the division of labor? What should be different
 - Do you feel you spend both as much time with your children?
 - What do you do with your children (leisure activities, sports, crafts, music, etc)
 - What are some of the values important in your child's life.
 - Do you help your child with its homework
 - How important is school. How important is education (compare to own upbringing)
 - Stir discussion a bit to tiger mom debate: what do they feel about that? Do they agree? How do they implement education in their children. Do they want them to succeed to what cost?
 - WHY is education important? How was it in own childhood? Things different now?
 - Who is responsible for the child's education? To which extent does the school play a role? Did (will) they chose a certain school?
 - How about additional tutoring?
 - Examples
- 1) Your child comes home from school with a B in math what do you do?
 - 2) Child has an important test tomorrow and wants to go play at friend's house today

General childrearing

- How do you make sure child behaves?
- Punishment /reward? How different from own childhood? Corporal punishment?
- Is there someone else to discipline the child (school, grandparents, babysitters) do they use the same techniques?
- What is the role of grandparents? Do they babysit? Do they live with the couple? Will they? Does the couple pay them part of their salary? Which language do the grandparents speak, what speak with the children? Why?

Cultuur

- What are the most important elements of the ethnic culture? Why? (holidays, customs, values).
What does the Caucasian parent think? (each of partners)
- What are some of the most important elements of American culture? (each of partners)
- How do both cultures differ
- How do parents transmit these to the children? Explicitly? Do they use organizations, events, community to transmit the culture?
- What is the role of others (family, friends, children's friends).
- Are there elements of the culture you do NOT want to pass on? Which, why, how prevent?
- Do you want to familiarize your children with both cultures? How
- Explicit What food, what holidays, medicine, Is this modern cult or cult from COO
- Language: do you speak Chin to child, do other speak chin? Do you have books, dvd, music? Chinese school? Other programs? why
- What language do you speak with the family?
- How important is the family? Cohesion? Are there certain things that you would say are typical to your family?
- Are there things you do same/different from own upbringing?

Ethnic enclaves/ institutions

- How many Chinese in this area where you live (you think)
- How often you see others?
- Contact with 1st generation?
- Are you a member of any organization? Is this chin? How much chin in that org?
- Do you go to special Chin events? Do you go to other ethnic events?
- Do you think your kids stand out being Chinese?
- What is the role of the community? (orgs, shops, events, same as others, etc). How is this role for children
- How do you consider your children (Chinese/American) and how are they viewed by others?
- How important to be close to ethnic community?
- Did you move here because of the community?

Chinese identity

- Are you children more Chinese or caucasian? Why? How do they see it themselves? How do you view it? How do others view it?
- Do you have contacts with other mixed couples? Do your friends have more mixed friends?
- How important child knows background? Visit China why?
- How does child see itself? Do you emphasize one ethnicity more than the other? Why, how?
- Proud to be Chinese (booming economy)

Future of children

- What is important in the future of your children
- Do you have a preference marriage partner for children
- What expectations (education, job, etc) do you have for your children?
- Do you see your child as an immigrant? As different? How do others view him/her?

Thank you

- Do you know other couples
- Is there anything you want to add?

APPENDIX C
Tables and figures accompanying chapter 6

Table I. Country groups and which countries they include, 1.75 generation, excluding single country groups

West Europe		East Europe		Africa		South America	
Denmark	155	Albania	147	Guinea	16	Argentina	637
Finland	89	Macedonia	85	Nigeria	498	Bolivia	248
Iceland	140	Bulgaria	162	Senegal	26	Brazil	866
Norway	211	Czechoslovakia	94	Somalia	98	Chile	326
Sweden	270	Slovakia	49		638	Colombia	1,697
Belgium	381	Czech Republic	78			Ecuador	854
France	1,754	Germany	0	China		Guyana/British Guiana	453
Netherlands	770	Hungary	274	China	3,986	Paraguay	106
Switzerland	324	Poland	986	Hong Kong	885	Peru	931
Greece	566	Romania	566	Taiwan	1,015	Uruguay	118
Italy	2,828	Yugoslavia	268		5,886	Venezuela	673
Portugal	723	Croatia	114			South America, ns	60
Azores	149	Bosnia	250	Middle East			6,969
Spain	1001	Estonia	29	Afghanistan	149		
Austria	512	Latvia	82	Iraq	295	Other Asia	
Germany	17,420	Lithuania	84	Jordan	228	Japan	4,982
	27,293	Other USSR/Russia	2,355	Kuwait	95	East Asia, ns	34
		Byelorussia	177	Lebanon	296	Thailand	1,576
Russia etc.			5,800	Saudi Arabia	271	Nepal	119
Ukraine	1,029			Syria	129	Asia, nec/ns	338
Armenia	222	Central America		Turkey	456		7,049
Azerbaijan	19	El Salvador	1,776	Yemen	187		
Georgia	40	Guatemala	2,207	Algeria	53	Other	
Kazakhstan	205	Honduras	777	Sudan	126	Costa Rica	328
Uzbekistan	107	Nicaragua	599	Egypt/United Arab Rep.	403	Cuba	2,897
USSR, ns	73	Panama	1,102	Morocco	208		3,225
Israel/Palestine	947		6,461	North Africa, ns	125		
	2,642				3,021		

Source: ACS 2008-2010

Table II Countries grouped by background

Disadvantaged			Advantaged			Asian		
Country	N	%	Country	N	%	Country	N	%
Dominican Rep.	1,794	1.6	West Europe	27,293	24	China	5,886	5.2
Central America	6,461	5.7	East Europe	5,800	5.1	Korea	4,942	4.3
Mexico	33,645	29.6	Russia, Ukraine, Israel	2,642	2.3	Vietnam	3,377	3
Haiti	1,052	0.9	Middle East	3,021	2.7	Other Asia	7,049	6.2
South America	6,969	6.1						
Africa	638	0.6						
Other	3,225	2.8						
Total	53,784	47.3		38,756	34.1		21,254	18.7

Source: ACS 2008-2010

Table III Sample selection process by country

Country of origin	All generations		1.75 generation		selected sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
China	61,027	7.5	5,886	5.2	886	3.4
Korea	30,412	3.8	4,942	4.3	1,190	4.6
Vietnam	34,857	4.3	3,377	3	954	3.7
Dominican Rep.	18,803	2.3	1,794	1.6	422	1.6
Central America	64,001	7.9	6,461	5.7	1,260	4.8
Mexico	275,834	34.1	33,645	29.6	9,947	38.2
Haiti	13,177	1.6	1,052	0.9	175	0.7
West Europe	85,562	10.6	27,293	24	5,434	20.9
East Europe	49,065	6.1	5,800	5.1	962	3.7
Russia, Ukraine, Israel	19,257	2.4	2,642	2.3	397	1.5
South America	68,881	8.5	6,969	6.1	1,552	6
Middle East	24,720	3.1	3,021	2.7	528	2
Africa	7,302	0.9	638	0.6	39	0.1
Other Asia	25,773	3.2	7,049	6.2	733	2.8
Other	30,248	3.7	3,225	2.8	1,561	6
Total	808,919	100	113,794	100	26,040	100

Source: ACS 2008-2010

Table IV Descriptive for spouse variables

	Years of education		Years in US		Age	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
China	15.3	2.10	35.5	12.83	41.3	11.49
Korea	15.1	2.08	33.1	10.95	37.5	8.15
Vietnam	14.6	2.75	33.2	9.60	35.9	6.44
Dominican Rep.	13.3	2.73	31.8	12.95	39.9	11.62
Central America	12.7	3.24	30.0	10.90	36.7	11.12
Mexico	11.4	3.68	32.7	12.54	39.0	12.45
Haiti	13.9	2.36	30.2	10.34	37.9	9.60
West Europe	13.9	2.58	47.0	17.11	53.9	12.40
East Europe	14.1	2.40	38.1	17.48	49.5	16.02
Russia, Ukraine, Israel	14.5	2.33	32.5	13.84	41.5	13.61
South America	14.0	2.49	31.1	12.94	40.3	10.74
Middle East	14.5	2.68	31.8	12.76	42.0	11.61
Africa	14.7	2.40	30.6	14.22	39.2	10.01
Other Asia	14.1	2.46	33.5	11.66	40.2	12.24
Other	14.0	2.33	42.0	13.60	46.0	9.46

Source: ACS 2008-2010

Table V Language usage in the household, by parent

	Only English			Non- English language			Bilingual		
	<i>neither</i>	<i>dad/ mom</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>neither</i>	<i>dad/ mom</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>neither</i>	<i>dad/ mom</i>	<i>both</i>
China	38%	20%	41%	38%	20%	41%	40%	24%	36%
Korea	65%	13%	23%	65%	13%	23%	66%	15%	20%
Vietnam	28%	19%	53%	28%	19%	53%	30%	24%	46%
Dominican Rep.	8%	11%	81%	8%	11%	81%	15%	20%	65%
Central America	18%	15%	67%	18%	15%	67%	25%	20%	55%
Mexico	7%	10%	83%	7%	10%	83%	14%	21%	65%
Haiti	23%	20%	57%	23%	20%	57%	25%	21%	54%
West Europe	60%	20%	20%	60%	20%	20%	61%	21%	18%
East Europe	40%	21%	39%	40%	21%	39%	43%	22%	35%
Russia, Ukraine, Israel	37%	19%	44%	37%	19%	44%	38%	20%	42%
South America	27%	24%	49%	27%	24%	49%	29%	27%	44%
Middle East	36%	15%	50%	36%	15%	50%	37%	17%	46%
Africa	46%	15%	39%	46%	15%	39%	49%	15%	36%
Other Asia	46%	14%	40%	46%	14%	40%	47%	16%	37%
Other	15%	20%	66%	15%	20%	66%	16%	23%	62%

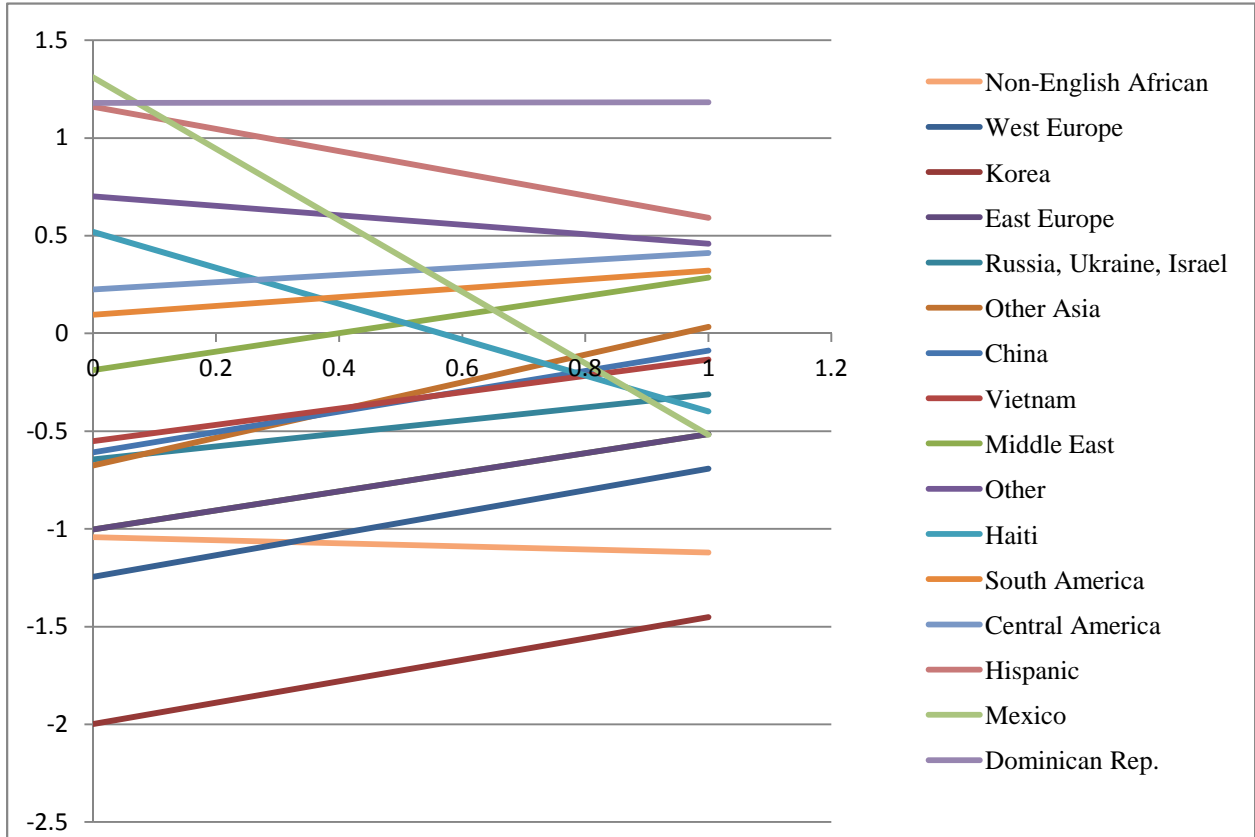
Source: ACS 2008-2010

Table VI Correlations between the different variables

	<i>Child<5</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Single parent</i>	<i>Years of educ</i>	<i>Years in US</i>	<i>Child 6<</i>	<i>Spouse years edu</i>	<i>Spouse age</i>	<i>Spouse years US</i>	<i>US-born spouse</i>
<i>Child<5</i>	1	0.023***	-0.459***	0.068***	-0.011*	-0.456***	-0.068***	-0.016**	-0.477***	-0.046***	-0.073***
<i>female</i>		1	-0.087***	0.167***	-0.009+	-0.085***	0.054***	-0.013*	0.071***	0.07***	-0.102***
<i>Age</i>			1	-0.072***	0.053***	0.993***	0.039***	0.059***	0.918***	0.059***	0.205***
<i>Single parent</i>				1	-0.123***	-0.071***	0.215***	na	na	na	na
<i>Years of edu</i>					1	0.054***	-0.095***	0.568***	0.041***	-0.11***	0.222***
<i>Years in US</i>						1	0.038***	0.059***	0.911***	0.052***	0.209***
<i>Child 6<</i>							1	-0.134***	-0.048***	0.113***	-0.102***
<i>spouse years edu</i>								1	0.051***	-0.168***	0.273***
<i>Spouse age</i>									1	0.104***	0.171***
<i>Spouse years US</i>										1	-0.805***
<i>US-born spouse</i>											1

Source: ACS 2008-2010

Figure I Regression lines for all countries of origin; horizontal axis is 0 has no children, 1 has young children in the household



Source: ACS 2008-2010