Chinese Medical Research Professionals in the Northwestern Suburban Metropolitan Philadelphia Area and Their Return Migration to China: Transnational Citizenships in the Era of Globalization

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Dissertation Abstract

Chinese medical research professionals utilize their intellectual cultural capital and flexible citizenship for their lives in two localities: the western suburban metropolitan Philadelphia area and Shanghai, China. In addition, this dissertation discusses modern Chinese culture through Chinese returnees' eyes in Shanghai. This research will discuss migration of skilled intellectuals under globalization and the change in these Chinese professionals' transnational identities in different localities. Moreover, this research presents the impact brought by neoliberal ideology in the United States and by policies of privatization in modern Chinese society to these transnational professionals as part of the global process of migrating professionals.

This research contains two parts. The first part of this research will study Chinese medical research professionals' lives in the western suburban metropolitan Philadelphia area—the Philadelphia Mainline, West Chester, and Exton. The second part of my research studies these Chinese medical research professionals' return experience when they relocate back to Shanghai, China.

Most of these Chinese professionals who I studied came to the US from China (the People's Republic of China), Hong Kong, and Taiwan (the Republic of China) for their graduate degrees. After graduation in the 1980s and 1990s, they stayed for work in pharmaceutical companies in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Despite having US citizenship or permanent residency, these Chinese professionals never identify themselves as "Americans". Their lives in the historically European-American cultural dominant western Philadelphia suburbs are challenged socially and culturally when they

try to carry out their "American dream". Not being able to engage in activities in American society and often feeling disempowered, these Chinese professionals maintain their social connections with their "hometowns" in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan in many cultural ways. At the same time, these Chinese medical professionals are involved in cultural activities such as Saturday Chinese Schools and Chinese Christian churches. Saturday Chinese Schools and Chinese Churches provide pivotal social network milieu for these Chinese professionals to construct their safety network in living in the western suburban Philadelphia area. Unlike Chinese immigrants in California and New York City where the Chinese population is huge, these Chinese professionals do not distinguish themselves by their countries of origin since they all consider themselves as a pan-Chinese minority in this Philadelphia metropolitan area. They do, however, distinguish themselves from Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia's Chinatown owing to social and economic differences, though a shared sentiment of pan-ethnicity emerges when they experience racial discrimination. These Chinese professionals conceive of neoliberal ideology as a natural fact of life in the US which they appreciate. They consider the social milieu of China as making it harsher for them to be prosperous than in the US since they do not need to have existing *guanxi* networks based on their families and friends in the US context. Intergenerationally, these Chinese professionals try to pass down their cultural heritage by ensuring that their children are educated, formally and informally, in Chinese language and culture. Their children—the second generation Chinese immigrants—identify themselves mostly as Chinese Americans with an imagined identity that connects them with their parents' respective homelands. Gender plays a vital role for these second generation Chinese immigrants with respect to the issue

of becoming well-adjusted in attending to American high schools. Girls are more accepted by non-Asian peers than boys. Most of these second-generation Chinese boys tend to socialize only with Asian boys, and are very protective about themselves with respect to other groups in high schools.

The second part of my research discusses these Chinese medical research professionals' return experience to China, particularly to the fast-paced, rapidly developing context of Shanghai. Starting from the year 2007, the economic recession has gradually been taking over the United States. At the same time, the booming Chinese market and economy are becoming the new focus of American companies. American pharmaceutical companies in the Philadelphia area recognize that these Chinese medical research professionals' transnational background enables them to broaden the company's economic development in China; therefore, they repatriate some Chinese medical professionals to China at management levels. Simultaneously, other Chinese professionals are returning to China to start their own small businesses because they were laid off in the United States.

Having come to the US to pursue their American dreams, the unexpected return challenges Chinese professionals in every aspect of life. First, the process of relocation of the whole family can take years and lead to separation of the family. The separation leads to a shift in gender roles. Usually the mother takes charge of the whole family while the father moves to China for work. Some families are broken because some family members opt to stay in the US, which leads to adoption of children, love affairs, and divorces. China has developed dramatically economically and culturally since these Chinese professionals left in the 1990's; therefore, these Chinese professionals, who become

returnees after returning to China, realize that they have difficulties adjusting themselves to life in Shanghai. Feeling like outsiders again, they have developed strategies to counter these difficulties. First of all, these Chinese returnees find that their identities as Chinese are strongly challenged since they are recognized as Americans by local Chinese. They realize that they have been Americanized in their social behavior, and they have had to force themselves to adapt to contemporary modern Chinese culture—which is heavily influenced by capitalism and neoliberalism after the PRC market reforms. Realizing that *guanxi* relationships are the main element in social networking in Chinese society, these Chinese returnees have to learn to adjust themselves to *guanxi* politics and engage themselves in Chinese style networking. Trying to avoid local people's secretive attitudes, these Chinese returnees tend to be friends only with people of similar background. Having social status and economic privileges in Shanghai, most Chinese returnees are able to maintain their own personal spaces and privacy by avoiding public spaces and public transportation. Most Chinese returnees are aware of the embedded social control by Chinese government in every corner in the city, and see the freedom they have in China as limited mostly to economic aspects. Some devout Christian Chinese returnees are always prepared to be deported by Chinese government since they insist on holding their non-legally authorized gatherings for fellowship and worship in private properties. These Chinese returnees' children are surprised to find that China is extremely different from what they have imagined after their move to Shanghai. They identify themselves as Americans and refuse to learn Chinese language and culture in order to distinguish themselves from local people. While people in Shanghai enjoy their imagined participation of globalization by consuming the Shanghai EXPO, these Chinese returnees

keep themselves updated with US news and media through satellite television in order to retain a broad view of the world.

These Chinese medical research professionals' lives in the Philadelphia metropolitan area and in Shanghai are examples of the migration and return migration of skilled professionals under the force of neoliberal ideologies and globalization. Their living experiences in China highlight changes in their ideas about national identity as Chinese transnationals in the context of modern Chinese society, which is highly influenced by state controlled capitalism and Chinese nationalism promoted through mass media and propaganda. This research will contribute to the lack of literature about Chinese professional immigrants to the East Coast of the United States, and their return migration to China.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I want to thank my advisor, Sydney White, for giving me instructions throughout my dissertation research. Dr. White also serves as my mentor and guided me to go through one of the most difficult part of my life—being a mother of a child with disability and doing my dissertation research at the same time. Dr. Judith Goode gave me instructions of how to conduct my dissertation research, kindly listened to me when I was in despair and encouraged me. Dr. Jayasinhji Jahla (Bapa) offered his broad knowledge in visual anthropology to help me with filmmaking. I would like to thank Dr. Roselyn Hsueh served as my outside reader. During my research process, Dr. Luis Mangione gave me insights into modern Chinese culture and Chinese immigrants in the United States. I am very grateful for a fellowship from the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholar Exchange for composing this research, which made it possible for me to go Shanghai for the second part of my study.

I appreciated all my informants' generosity for sharing with me their information. I want to thank my informants in both Philadelphia and Shanghai for their help to make my research possible. In particular, I would like to thank Betty Foo, the president of Mainline Chinese School, who provided me great access to and insights from the observation of the school. I would also like to thank my friend Chin, who helped me make connections to informants in both Philadelphia and Shanghai. My host families in Shanghai generously provided me housing, insights and information as residents in Shanghai, and introduced me to informants. Without their help, it would not have been possible to do my part II research in Shanghai.

This dissertation is for my parents and my husband,

who have always supported me throughout my doctoral years.

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS RESEARCH

Motivation and background of this research

"Chinese" is a term that I was taught to recognize myself since I was young, but not until I have moved to different locations did I realize it has very different meanings in different geographic localities. I was born in Taipei, Taiwan, and had my college level education there. After graduating from Cheng-Chi University in fall 2002, I decided to move on to my graduate study in anthropology at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and then to Temple University in Philadelphia. During my study in Buffalo, New York, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, my identity of being "Chinese" was challenged mainly by "Chinese immigrants" in both localities and during my fieldwork in Shanghai, China. The definition of being "Chinese" can vary in individuals' explanations, or group identities. "Chinese" can serve as a culture symbol in transnational settings to acquire group identity in politics when necessary (Fong 1994). It can be used as an identity for wealthy transnationals in California to broaden their social network for their business in East Asia (Ong 1999). While "Chinese" in transnational settings serves as a form of identity, "Chinese-ness" in China changes according to the rapidly developing Chinese society and its altering ideology. Instead of the "Chinese-ness" many Chinese transnationals in the United States refer to as cultural and historical elements, the "Chinese-ness" in Mainland China has transformed into a complicated combination of Chinese modernity and Chinese nationalism during the past one decade.

My living experience in metropolitan Philadelphia kindled me to research the complexity of Chinese identity among Chinese transnationals in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. After I finished my master's study in Buffalo, New York, I have moved from the small town of Buffalo to the huge city of Philadelphia. Interestingly, Philadelphia does not provide a more open-atmosphere environment for first generation Chinese immigrants than Buffalo even though Philadelphia is the sixth largest city in the US. After spending two years with my Chinese informants, I realized that the unique historical background of Philadelphia and the racial components in the city provide a complex and challenging environment for Chinese transnationals than in Buffalo.

Since 2004, after moving to Philadelphia, I have met Chinese immigrants in both Philadelphia city and its metropolitan area. I found it is much more difficult to become close friends with Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia than in Buffalo, especially Chinese immigrants from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Even though Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia do not voluntarily distinguish themselves as Taiwanese or Chinese Mainlander, Chinese immigrants from the PRC are more careful when socializing with me. In 2006, I was married to a Shanghainese from Shanghai in Philadelphia. The condition changed dramatically. I found my appearance in Chinese mainlander groups was accepted naturally and they started to talk to me more often. Surprisingly, my marriage to a Chinese mainlander granted me access to Chinese informants in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. This fact encouraged me to research the everlasting question in my study—the meaning of being a Chinese in a transnational setting.

During the six years of staying in Philadelphia, I have met different Chinese groups in Philadelphia city and its metropolitan areas, such as first generation Chinese immigrants (legal or illegal, well-educated professionals or illiterate), second generation Chinese immigrants and so-called half-generation Chinese immigrants who immigrated to the United States when they were children. I have joined their activities through various kinds of activities held by different organizations and volunteer work. During my stay in Philadelphia, I have explored activities held by Chinese organizations, and broadened my social contacts with these varieties of Chinese immigrants. Through the process of participating in their activities for four years, I finally determined my study which mainly focuses on the group of Chinese immigrants who share similar backgrounds to me, and are my closest friends—Chinese professionals who live in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia metropolitan areas, mostly in Mainline Philadelphia. This group well represents the new trend of immigrants emerging from the 1990s, and the rapid increasing portion among Chinese immigrants in the United States. They are highly skilled elites who follow the trend of globalization flow to come to study in the United States and choose to stay. However, the environment of Philadelphia challenges their social status as transnationals while the Chinese economic status is dramatically rising in the world during the past decade.

In the year of 2008, the economic crisis started to put the United States in a shadow. At the same time, pharmaceutical companies started to build up their branches in China for manufacturing and opening up new markets. Consequently, many of my Chinese professional friends were on the fringe of being laid off or choosing to go to work in their new branches in China. Through their weekly gatherings and meetings in

Chinese churches and schools, my Chinese friends talked about their difficulties caused by the relocation and unexpected living experience they have faced in China. Out of curiosity, I inquired and got more information, and was encouraged to go to Shanghai to experience the dramatic change myself. Therefore, I decided to go Shanghai, one of the main destinations my Chinese professional friends headed to in China, to continue my research in summer 2009.

My fieldwork in Shanghai offered much more research materials than I originally expected. Fortunately, I had relatives, friends, and connections there before I went for my fieldwork. These people, who have extremely different ethnic, social, and economic backgrounds, opened different gates for my study of this amazing city from different angles and aspects. They allowed me access to different diversified groups of people who live in this massively growing city. Their multifold interpretations of the same subject and social event provided me with more information than I originally expected. Originally I planned to present Shanghai, the emblematic city of Chinese modernization, mainly through the eyes of Chinese professionals who have returned to China. However, I decided to add different interpretations of modernity in Shanghai through different angles through my diversified informants' eyes, though many of them are not Chinese returnees. By presenting my research in Shanghai with different opinions from local Chinese people and Chinese returnees, I found subjects such as Chinese modernity, Chinese nationalism, and globalization have been interpreted from different angles and sometimes with contrasting opinions by my informants from different backgrounds.

Introduction to this research and the methodology:

This research studies Chinese medical research professionals' lives in two localities—the northwestern suburban metropolitan Philadelphia area and Shanghai, China. This study looks into their strategies of utilizing their intellectual cultural capital and flexible citizenship to cope with their lives in this historically European-American culture dominated area as well as in their return to a dramatically-changed China (PRC) decades later.

These Chinese medical professionals came to the US for their graduate studies in the 1980s and 1990s, and stayed to work for pharmaceutical companies in Philadelphia's metropolitan areas. Most of them chose to live on the Philadelphia Mainline for its highly reputed school district. These Chinese medical research professionals have developed their own social networks with other Chinese professionals through Saturday Chinese schools and Chinese churches in this area in order to deal with their feeling of disempowerment as Asian minorities and of not being able to participate in many activities in this area. Though these Chinese medical research professionals are US citizens or permanent residents, they do not identify themselves as "Americans". Moreover, they do not identify themselves with Chinese immigrants in Chinatown or American-born Chinese. But they stick together as Chinese professionals whether they are from China (the People's Republic of China), Taiwan (Republic of China), or Hong Kong. Moreover, they try to pass down their Chinese identity to their children—who are second generation Chinese immigrants.

Starting from 2007, the real estate and financial turmoil dragged the USA into a deep recession. At the same time, the Chinese economy was booming and by 2010, China replaced Japan as the world second largest economy[1]. Therefore, China became a market focus of the world. Some Chinese professionals were laid off, and chose to go to China to start small businesses. At the same time, many pharmaceutical companies re-organized their structures and opened up branches in China. Some Chinese medical research professionals were repatriated to China since pharmaceutical companies recognized their cultural background as Chinese. This unexpected return challenged these Chinese medical research professionals. Some Chinese professionals' families were separated for years since some family members were unwilling to return to China. These Chinese professionals found their lives as returnees in Shanghai also challenging since China had turned into an unfamiliar country for them resulting from decades of fast development after they left. Their identities have also been challenged since local Chinese consider them as Americans, and they have to adjust themselves to PRC Chinese culture, which is structured mostly according to guanxi social networks. Moreover, the environment in Shanghai impinges on these Chinese returnees' children to switch their identity from "Chinese", which they acquired in the United States, to "Americans". However, these children utilize their Chinese and/or American cultural citizenship to gain advantageous status whenever necessary. This research has studied their strategies to deal with all these difficulties after their return in Shanghai.

These Chinese medical research professionals' experiences in both the US and China are examples of the migration flows caused by globalization. In the 1990's, these Chinese

[1] China announced its GDP as $5.9 trillion in 2010 and passed Japan as the second largest economy in the world. Source: Economist, February 19th, 2011. Page.8.

professionals moved from China to the US as a common migration flow, but in the early twenty-first century they were forced to go back to China as part of the flow of the global economy and their roles as skilled intellectuals. Their transnational lifestyle in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia metropolitan areas made them an example of the new type of immigration—intellectual and professional immigrants who are different from other early Chinese diasporas to the US and the rest of the world. They utilize cultural citizenships and intellectual capital as strategies to deal with their difficulties of living in this historically wealthy northwestern Philadelphia metropolitan area. Neoliberal ideology, which is well-recognized and accepted as a characteristic of American life by these Chinese professionals, sends them back to China through the global strategies developed by those pharmaceutical companies they work for. The strategies these Chinese professionals employ to cope with these dramatic changes in their lives provide examples of international immigration caused by the political economy of globalization. Their multifold experiences in Shanghai concerning Chinese modernity, Chinese nationalism, and the Chinese urban experience all provide a first-hand modern China experience to outsiders who were once insiders. Their experiences provide a contrast between the earlier post-Mao China they left and the China developed by the more recent market economy now.

To acquire research data, I have spent six years in Philadelphia and five months in Shanghai to carry out ethnographic study and to collect media footage to make a documentary film about these Chinese medical research professionals. During this period, I have (1) participated in their cultural institutional activities as a participant-observer (2) conducted household surveys and two-hour structured, open-ended interviews for

members of twenty families in each location and (3) conducted personal life history interviews with ten selected individuals. I plan to make a documentary film about these Chinese professionals and their family members' lives in both localities after I complete my dissertation.

Northwestern Philadelphia metropolitan area (February 2005- May 2009): During these years in the northwestern Philadelphia metropolitan area, I participated in these Chinese professionals' activities mostly through two organizations: the Mainline Chinese School and the Trinity Chinese Church of Greater Philadelphia. I participated and helped organize their activities, such as Chinese classes in the Chinese school and church, cultural festivals, picnics, and church fellowships. Moreover, I have attended their family and friend gatherings, and listen to their discussions about their daily life. In this research, I focus on their conversation topics about their transnational life style in the northwestern Philadelphia metropolitan area, and their dealings with it, especially on the methods for educating and bringing up their children.

In two-hour in-depth interviews, I have gathered information from my informants about (1) background information in China and (social or economic) reasons they stayed in the United Sates (2) their interactions with each other and their American neighbors, and their thoughts about contemporary American society (3) their motivations to participate in activities organized by these Chinese communities (Chinese churches and schools) (4) their ways to educate their children as Chinese Americans (education problems) (5) their thoughts about other Chinese communities in the US (e.g. legal or illegal Chinese immigrants in Chinatown, American-born Chinese.) (6) Other information provided voluntarily by informants.

Shanghai, China (June 2009- October 2009): I have followed my informants to Shanghai for the second part of my research about Chinese medical research professionals who have a return experience in China. During this period, I have followed my informants through their daily activities in Shanghai such as working, shopping and gathering with their friends (American friends and their Chinese local friends). My research focuses on impacts brought by difference in identity and transnational status, problems in child education, and unexpected conflicts. By examining their daily lives, I have documented these Chinese professionals' and their family members' interaction patterns with local Chinese people and Americans in China at work, school, and as friends. Moreover, during my fieldwork in Shanghai, I have observed various social and cultural aspects such as relationships between different ethnic groups, social control, and a media-created social atmosphere. My extreme living experiences in Puxi and Pudong provide me with chances to observe exacerbating class differentiation based on the developing social and economic conditions.

In a 2-hour in-depth interview with my Chinese returnee informants, I have gathered information about (1) the major differences between their lives in Shanghai and in the United States especially in the pursuit of their economic success and child education, and how different it is from their expectations (2) their thoughts about Chinese modernity and modern China in general (3) local Chinese people's point of view about their transnational status (4) the benefits and drawbacks of their transnational social status when working in China (5) (for families separated in two places) methods for getting through the transition (6) Other information provided voluntarily by informants.

My six years of studying in anthropology focused on transnationalism and globalization which provides me basic knowledge for doing this research. In my master's study as a sociocultural anthropology student, I completed papers and films about transnationalism and Chinese immigrants in the Buffalo, New York area under the influence of globalization. After I moved to Temple University in Philadelphia, my training has been mainly in sociocultural anthropology (including visual anthropology). My general training in sociocultural anthropology at Temple focused on the political economy and cultures of diverse ethnic groups in the greater Philadelphia area, which offered me research background information about urban and suburban Philadelphia. My visual anthropology training mainly focused on visual/media representation and filmmaking. These help me analyze how environmental differences in two localities affect Chinese medical professionals' way of life. Filmmaking techniques enable me to document my informants' life as ethnography. It is also a medium for me to be friends with them by making films for them. From 2006, I started making documentary films to document their lives at the Mainline Chinese School. Through the process of making documentary films and joining in their activities at the Chinese school and the church, I have developed friendships with my informants since 2005.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no ethnography as yet that has been written about Chinese professionals' lives as a minority in a traditionally conservative wealthy suburban area with strong European-American heritage, or about the dramatic changes in their lives after returning to China. This research is conducted in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area where Chinese immigrants consist of less than 1% of the total population. Related anthropological research on contemporary Chinese immigrants in the

United States is conducted either in California (Fong 1994, Loo 1992 and 1998, Ong 1999, Wong 1998) or in the New York City metropolitan area (Chen 1992, Zhou 1992, Wong 1982). These places have a larger percentage population of Chinese immigrants (about 20% of the total population for parts of California), as well as dynamic rises in immigrant population and a relatively liberal broader political climate compared to the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area (where approximately 85% of the total population was white in 2006[2]). The social atmosphere and the environment in the historical western suburban Philadelphia area is very different from the other research areas addressed before—it is relatively conservative and historically dominated by European-American culture and economically based on "old money" accrued since the seventeenth century. Research on Chinese immigrants in the western suburban Philadelphia area provides first-hand anthropological data about immigrants as a minority group in a different region of the US. My research also provides a comparison to existing theories based on different geographical, demographic, social, and cultural contexts regarding migration.

This research will also provide the first study of these Chinese professionals' return migration experience to China. In anthropological studies, the return experience is well studied mostly in Mexican immigrants to the US, and "cultural citizenship" has served as an important framing concept on their returning experience and identity dilemma. The study of the return experience of Chinese professionals who have returned from the US to China presents a different pattern from the Mexican model since there are differences along lines of social status (educational and economic), as well as geographical area,

[2] Data from US Census Bureau website: www.census.gov.

history and culture. Since the 1980s, Chinese society has moved from post-Mao Chinese socialist modernity to a new narrative of Chinese modernity that includes western discourses. Chinese nationalism, which is formulated by state discourses, rose in the 1990s. These Chinese professionals missed this dramatic process of change in China culturally and economically. My research provides a unique study to present how Chinese professionals utilize their cultural citizenship and Western capital in their returning to China.

Research themes and its relation to existing scholar works:

This research is tightly connected to theories and themes below, mainly through the three sets of anthropological scholarly literatures listed below:

Modernity, Globalization and Transnationalism:

The study of immigration is deeply related to globalization. Anthropology research points out that globalization gradually becomes an inevitable result of the development of the neoliberal market and modern technology. Under the force of globalization, the power of cultural and social transformation is beyond the boundaries of nation states since technology provides rapid information flow and transportation of resources (Tsing 2000 and 2001, Harvey 2005, 1989, Giddens 1990 and 1991, Kearney 1995). The power of globalization which comes from the global economy makes the circulation of money, skills, commodities, and technology possible, and in velocity (Basch, Schiller and Blanc

1994). While highly skilled elites are considered as assets, these Chinese medical research professionals' immigration experiences from China to the United States are prominent examples of these circulations of high-skill human assets and technologies, which are made possible by globalization. Their stay in the US and return to China reflects the floatable movement of elite resources, which is driven by the global market and global capitalism.

Modern media connects immigrants all over the world by providing them with information across the world beyond state boundaries. Modern media, which transports information to the world through modern technology, can construct national and ethnic identities through its presentation (Anderson 1983; Appadurai 1996). Anthropologists propose that globalization connects distant communities and societies to form a complicated network which affects local structures and local people in their everyday lives through modern media (Goode and Schneider 1994; Ong 1999, 2007; Hannerz 1996; Appadurai 1996). Living in the Philadelphia metropolitan area for more than one decade, these Chinese professionals utilize modern technology, such as satellite television and the internet, to keep themselves informed with information in China. Interestingly, after they have been relocated in Shanghai, they still use the modern technology to keep themselves updated with US mass media. The usage of modern technology enhances their transnational identity and redefines their definition of local or global.

Modernity and globalization lead to cultural, social and economic interactions between multiple localities (Hannerz 1996, Silver 2003), and promote "time-space compression" (Harvey 1989) with technical innovations of flexibility (Featherstone 1990). Based on these advantages provided by modernity and globalization, Chinese elites, most

of whom are professionals, create Chinese transnationalism as their alternative modernity with their distinctive social arrangements and practices (Ong 1996). Chinese transnationalist discourses and practices, according to Ong, are economic, cultural and political processes for reworking every aspect of life with their flexible capital accumulation (Ong 1996, 1999). My discussion about these Chinese professionals' transnational lives, which is different from previous research due to their social status as professionals, is constructed through transnational narratives that are located in different local structures and political states. Their transnational lives, which are filled with arrangements through their particular background and localities, are examples of high-skilled immigrants' lives under neoliberal market dominated society under globalization and modernity redefined by them as transnationals.

Chinese Diasporas and the Anthropology of Modern China:

Anthropological studies of Chinese diasporas provide not only immigration history of Chinese Americans in the United States since the eighteenth century (Pan 1990, Siu 1953) but also information about lives and changes of Chinese immigrants. Ethnographies of Chinese immigrants present similarities in their lives in different localities in the United States, and the changing trend of newcomers. Ethnographies about Chinese immigrants in California and New York City suggest most Chinese immigrants who immigrated to the US tend to have ethnic entrepreneurships in their ethnic enclaves before the 1990s (Wong 1998; Fong 1995). After the 1990s, there is a new emerging trend of Chinese immigrants who came to the US as professionals (Wong 1998). These

Chinese professionals brought changes to the politics where they immigrated to. Because of the growing number of Chinese immigrants who are highly educated professionals, Chinese immigrants have started to demand their rights in the American society by networking, protesting and participating in political activities in California's Silicon Valley and the Monterey Park area in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Fong 1995, Wong 2006). Unlike previous Chinese immigrants who limited their power within Chinatown, these Chinese immigrants demand their own rights by using their social networks for outreach for support from other ethnic groups (Fong 1995). Feeling disempowered in the major society, these Chinese professionals see maintaining their transnational life style and their Chinese identity as a flexible way of their lives. According to Ong, Chinese tycoons in the San Francisco area maintain their Chinese identity in order to build up their business in China and Southeast Asia. They maintain their transnational identities and flexible citizenships to maximize their private accumulation of capitals (Ong 1999). These literatures provide research models for studying Chinese professionals in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area, and materials to compare differences between Chinese immigrants in the eastern and western United States.

Chinese modernity is similar to the modernity defined in western world, but with much more elements from Chinese culture and history. Anthropology of modern China offers ethnographies and theories to point out that Chinese modernity is different and changing with the development of China. Chinese modernity was rooted in nationalist and Maoist transformations. It can be traced to the May Fourth Movement in 1919 when Chinese elites held up movements to promote China in the globalized world. After 1949, Chinese modernity has developed in the post Mao period after market socialist economic

reforms. Owing to its unique development in contemporary history, Chinese modernity is different from the modernity widely discussed in the West in many social and cultural ways owing to Chinese history and politics (Rofel 1999). In the barely post-Mao period, Chinese modernity was introduced carefully by state-controlled media without Western cultural influence, but with characteristics of the modernized and commercialized Chinese societies of Taiwan, Hong Kong and other overseas Chinese instead (Yang 1997). After market reform in 1979, Chinese modernity is deemed to relate with modern development in China, which emphasizes mostly hardware and urbanization. By the 1990s, Chinese society was gradually adjusting to the global economic system, which has inevitably brought in American and other Western narratives of modernity with its own definition. Capitalism and neoliberalism have been introduced to China by the flow of global capital; therefore, adjusting the changing culture brought by Western modernity becomes part of Chinese modern life in one of the prominent Chinese metropolises—Shanghai (Ong 2006). Anthropologists start to question that neoliberal ideology is inserted by the state in the narrative of Chinese modernity (Zhang and Ong 2008). After the Chinese state allowed privatization, Chinese citizens learned to depend on themselves and shift their political interests to the material world. Modernity in China is presented with a combination of certain ideologies posted by the state such as Chinese nationalism and its state controlled capitalism. Some scholars refer to this condition as China's post-modernization (Dirlik and Zhang 2000). I draw on the research of the above-mentioned scholars for background information on modern Chinese society vis-avis Chinese immigrants return to Shanghai in this dissertation.

Politics of Cultural Identity—Cultural Citizenship, National and Ethnic Identity:

In this research on Chinese professionals in the Philadelphia suburban area and their returning experience in Shanghai, my informants are aware of their cultural citizenship of being Chinese in the United States, and the change of their national and ethnic identity owing to their localities. In anthropology, national identities are much discussed under the impact of the globalized political economy and state policy in anthropological literatures (Ong 1995; Eriksen 2002; Wong 2006). In anthropological study of Asian immigrant identities, Asian American panethnicity—whereby Asian immigrants collectively build up a common identity as Asian Americans and a large scale affiliation with Asian groups who come from different cultural heritages—has emerged in the United States as an opposition to the external forces from other ethnic groups (Espiritu 1992, Espiritu and Ong). Within this Asian American panethnicity, however, Chinese immigrants, like other sub-groups, started to differentiate among themselves in identities based on social class, economic, regional and cultural differences after they immigrated to the United States for a period of time (Espiritu 1992; Ong 1995). This process of differentiation is natural because national and ethnic identity changes due to the change in cultural and political environment (Eriksen 2002). Wong even suggested that there is no single identity for Chinese diasporas in the United States (Wong 2005). These Chinese professionals on the Philadelphia Mainline experience similar identity changes after staying in the US for more than one decade. However, their children experience more complicated identity changes than the first generation Chinese immigrants. Anthropologists in the study of diasporic communities suggest that hybridity and hyphenated identities are created after a long period of time after immigrants have

resided in the place they emigrate to (Lessinger 1996; Mortland 1998; Webner 2002). These children of my Chinese informants tend to identify themselves as both American and Chinese, or Chinese-American. Moreover, many of these so-called one point five and second generation Chinese immigrants experience shifts in identity after their relocation to Shanghai. Cultural citizenship is suggested as a form of identity by anthropologists in the study of immigrants in the United States (Rosaldo 1989; Ong 1996). In this research, I suggest "being Chinese" is a cultural citizenship promoted by certain Chinese groups, but the interpretation of "Chinese-ness" is different according to different interpretation.

A brief overview of this research

Chinese medical research professionals utilize their intellectual cultural capital and flexible citizenship for their lives in two localities: the western suburban metropolitan Philadelphia area and Shanghai, China. In addition, this dissertation discusses modern Chinese culture through Chinese returnees' eyes in Shanghai. This research will discuss migration of skilled intellectuals under globalization and the change in these Chinese professionals' transnational identity in different localities. Moreover, this research presents the impact brought by neoliberal ideology in the United States and by policies of privatization in modern Chinese society to these transnational professionals as part of the global process of migrating professionals.

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of my research studies these Chinese medical research professionals' return experience when they relocate back to Shanghai, China.

Part I discusses the living and immigration experience of Chinese medical research professionals in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area. Chapter 1 provides background information on these Chinese medical research professionals' immigration history and daily lives. The unique historical and social background of Philadelphia provides additional challenges to these Chinese professionals' lives. First generation Chinese professional immigrants find themselves facing difficulties in fitting in to the so-called "mainstream" society. Their strategies to cope with this condition are to construct their own social networks, maintain their Chinese heritage inter-generationally, and to accumulate wealth to secure their lives.

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss these Chinese professionals' main sources of social networking though two major non-profit organizations: Chinese schools and Chinese churches. Chapter 2 discusses the function of Mainline Chinese School in the Philadelphia Mainline area. Mainline Chinese School serves as a platform for first generation Chinese professionals to socialize with each other and exchange information. Both American and Chinese parents in Chinese school are highly aware of cultural capital that would bring potential advantages to their children. The Chinese culture activities promoted by Mainline Chinese School are based on Confucian teachings, which does not reflect the unique development of modern Chinese culture. However, both PRC and ROC teachers work together to promote "traditional Chinese culture" to their students without problem.

Chapter 3 analyzes the function of Chinese churches in the northwestern Philadelphia suburban areas by observing the largest Chinese church in the Philadelphia metropolitan area—Trinity Chinese church. Like Chinese schools, Chinese churches provide a platform for social networking for Chinese professionals. Trinity Chinese church serves as an enclosed society for practicing Chinese ways of social interaction. Moreover, Trinity Chinese church provides a safety net and an infinitely extendable social network for its members. Recently the emerging neoliberal characteristics of modern Chinese culture impede Chinese newcomers from becoming "true" Christians since they emphasize private accumulation of capital.

Chapter 4 discusses different levels of identity acquired by different groups of Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia, and their strategies in coping with difficulties. These Chinese professionals in northwestern Philadelphia distinguish themselves from other Chinese diasporas in Philadelphia metropolitan areas owing to different social, cultural, and immigration background. However, under important events when collaboration is needed to fight for their rights, pan-Chinese identity does emerge among these groups as a framework within which to help each other.

Chapter 5 discusses how the Chinese nationalism of these Chinese medical professionals is different from the PRC state-created Chinese nationalism, which is spread out through the Chinese mass media these Chinese professionals are watching. Most of these Chinese professionals in the northwestern Philadelphia metropolitan area keep themselves posted with Chinese news by watching Chinese programs from satellite television broadcasting. However they are very aware of the Chinese nationalism which is in the Chinese TV programs, and even criticize the embedded ideology.

Chapter 6 presents discussions by these Chinese professionals about the economic turmoil, and whether they should stay in the US or go back to China. These Chinese professionals have embraced capitalism in the United States. Even though the economic crisis challenged their American dream when some informants were laid off or expatriated to China by pharmaceutical companies, they still believe that US society provides more opportunities for them to become prosperous than in China, where *guanxi* networks and politics dominate the economic system.

Part II presents observations of modern Chinese culture in Shanghai through Chinese professionals' return experience. In the chapters of Part II, I present and analyze social events and circumstances through different groups of people's thoughts—Shanghainese, Chinese residents, foreigners, and Chinese returnees. The same events can be interpreted and experienced differently by people from different social strata and ethnic backgrounds.

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to my fieldwork sites in different districts in Shanghai, and the general social situation. People in Shanghai are highly aware of their economic position in the society and of their ethnic identity. People divide themselves voluntarily into Shanghainese, people from other places (*waidiren*), and foreigners. These groups stand for different social hierarchies in Shanghai owing to residence laws and private accumulation of capital. Chinese returnees find themselves in an awkward position in this set of distinctions but they construct their own isolated social circle by using their transnational cultural capital.

Chapter 2 introduces Chinese returnee's lives in Shanghai. These Chinese returnees in Shanghai realize that their identity as "Chinese" is not recognized by local Chinese

people, and they find themselves dissimilar to local Chinese. Therefore, they have formed their own social networks and minimized contact with local Chinese. These Chinese returnee's children experience a shift of identity from being "Chinese", which they were taught in the US, to being "American" in order to distinguish themselves from local Chinese. These aspects and changes challenge Chinese returnees in educating their children, especially on the issue of identity and integrity.

Chapter 3 observes social impacts brought by capitalism and privatization in Shanghai. Capital becomes the main aspect to determine one's class, and the ability for consumption becomes the universal standard to evaluate people in Shanghai. One's appearance, which is believed to express the ability for consumption, becomes an essential fact for getting commercial services and respect. Counterfeit products are tools to equip one up for better judgments. Accumulation of capital becomes the most important goal in civilians' lives in Shanghai while moral values are relatively ignored. Chinese returnees refuse to follow this trend and consider this skewed social atmosphere a disturbing aspect in Shanghai.

Chapter 4 observes the government control on Chinese mass media and public information. Mass media in China provides selected information to maintain social control, while at the same time promote consumerism to the extreme. Internet information flow is under strict control such that foreign Chinese blogs, news, and non-Chinese social network websites are blocked by Chinese officials. Television shows present only positive images of the society to create the image of a "harmonious society." People in China know this implicit rule—don't trust information from media or from

others. Chinese returnees acquire information from English news websites and satellite television programs to avoid misleading information and Chinese propaganda.

Chapter 5 discusses the underneath ideology of EXPO 2010 in Shanghai. Chinese officials introduced EXPO 2010 in Shanghai as a huge international event that every Chinese civilian should participate in in honor of Chinese modernity. Propaganda films and slogans are displayed in public places in Shanghai to encourage civilians to sacrifice their convenience and living quality for EXPO 2010. However, the unaffordable ticket prices of EXPO 2010 reflects the fact that EXPO 2010 is targeted for the wealthy and foreigners. Chinese returnees see EXPO 2010 as another form of amusement park, and EXPO tickets are great gift for gift politics for *guanxi* networks.

Chapter 6 observes embedded social control in residential communities in Shanghai. The management teams of gated communities in Shanghai provide Chinese government information about their tenants in their communities, which enables the government to have direct information from residents. Generally speaking, high-end residential communities enjoy more privacy and less surveillance than lower-priced residential communities since its tenants have powerful connections and wealth. Chinese returnees are extremely aware of the surveillance in their residential communities, especially Chinese Christians. These Chinese returnees do not view Shanghai as their new hometown, but a place for the transition of their lives.

Chinese identity at different levels

During the seven years of study of overseas Chinese identity and Chinese nationalism in China, I encountered myriad awkward incidents that are extremely strange that I am unsure if it is proper to mention. However, these incidents reflect ideologies hidden behind the obvious one—the implicit thoughts which dominate people's acts but which are difficult to discover in a short time.

Anthropologists discuss reflexivity in fieldwork, and it is an important fact that the presence of the anthropologist definitely affects subjects' acts. During my fieldwork in both Philadelphia suburbs and Shanghai, my presence and my appearance has had a huge impact on my fieldwork and information I have received from my informants. I found that I was in an extremely disadvantage position since I was not a "foreigner". When my first generation Chinese immigrant informants heard that I was studying Chinese identity in the US and China, their first reaction was that "it is going to be very difficult for you to get information since you are not a white person." Moreover, my informants did not recognize the value of studying Chinese identity especially when I am a Chinese. Many of them asked me what the value and usage of studying this subject is since I, as a Chinese, already know much of Chinese culture. My elder Chinese friends in suburban Philadelphia even spend hours to "talk" to me and try their best to persuade me to give up this "useless study".

In China, I found myself in a difficult position to ask people for interviews simply because I was not considered as a "foreigner". Many of my informants told me that "if you are a white girl, I can find many informants for you to interview right away. You do

not even have to try to build up your connections with them." Being a Chinese in China gives me disadvantages for interviewing people I do not know well. I found that my informants always tell me that "As everyone knows, Chinese people respect foreigners, especially white people." As one of my Chinese returnee informants said, "White supremacy is much more prominent in China than in the United States...Our company thinks it is a courtesy to send us back to Shanghai as managers to manage Chinese workers here; however, I find management is much more difficult for me to be a manager because I am Chinese returnee!"

Chinese identity can be imagined, interpreted, and utilized in infinite ways by different Chinese groups of various backgrounds. However, certain interpretations of identities can lead to challenges from various groups. While overseas Chinese relate themselves with Chinese in China owing to their family cultural background and consider it might be advantageous for them to do business in China, Chinese in China do not identify their "Chineseness" from the same angle, and do not consider overseas Chinese as truly Chinese. As my Chinese returnee informants expressed, local Chinese people in China even respect white-looking foreigners more than these Chinese looking non-Chinese. In this situation, if even my Chinese returnee informants find themselves facing difficulties to "re-fit in" to Chinese culture when they return, how would the second or later generation Chinese immigrants grab the imagined cultural advantage they imagined in China? The misinterpretation could be costly when the decision is made in certain areas. A famous recent example is that president Obama has chosen Gary Locke as the new ambassador to China to replace Jon Huntsman[3]. President Obama valued Locke's

[3]MSNBC News, March 9th, 2011 http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41988577/

Chinese heritage as an important advantage when choosing him as ambassador to China. However, this imagined "Chinese-ness" by Washington is not accepted by Chinese in China. Forum and discussion of this news in Chinese websites in China express Locke as betrayer to Han people (汉奸), a source of "shame" (耻辱), and a "thief" (毛贼). Negative comments flowed ominously on Chinese cyber space even before this ambassador position was confirmed[4]. While Jon Huntsman received mostly positive feedback and acclaim in Chinese online forums, there is a strong aggressive loathing flow on the internet blogs in China that Chinese do not recognize Locke's Chinese heritage as a positive plus but rather as an extremely negative drawback. Chinese nationalism, which is embedded within Chinese identity in China, emerged on Chinese online forums in the form of criticizing this Chinese American ambassador.

I argue that one's Chinese identity is a complex form of a person's living experience and educational background. In other words, it is imagined to fit into one's experience, whether inside or outside of China. Chinese identity can be manipulated by the government through social controls and propaganda. It can be transformed into Chinese nationalism through thorough management of mass media and propaganda. The interpretations of "Chinese-ness" are very different among Chinese diasporas in the US, and Chinese in Taiwan and China. Through this research I hope to present an example of the complexity of constructions of "Chinese-ness," and hope this research can provide a lens into the understanding of the complicated relationships, Chinese identity, Chinese nationalism, and modern Chinese culture, which contains myriad implicit ideologies that are hard to discover through a short period of time.

[4] I use baidu.com, one of the most prestigious search engines in China, to search for the keyword "骆家辉". All comments showing up on discussion boards were negative.

What is the use of this research (as my informants always ask me)? I believe it is very essential for developing understandings of modern China whether for business decisions or politics. By understanding this, one would realize, for example, that sending a Chinese American to be American ambassador in China is perhaps not the most appropriate and effective decision.

PART I: PHILADELPHIA

Chinese Professionals in the Historical Northwestern Suburban Philadelphia Metropolitan Area

The Philadelphia Mainline and northwest suburban areas are historical areas with wealthy population and European heritage dominated residence. Since the 1860s, this area is famous for the wealthy to build up their suburban farm houses as an escape from Philadelphia city. Starting from 1990, Chinese medical professionals who worked for pharmaceutical companies in the Philadelphia and New Jersey areas chose to move into this area owing to its reputable school district and nice residential environment. However, living in this historical European cultural dominant environment challenges these Chinese professionals socially and culturally when they try to carry out their "American dream" in this area. They experienced what they call a "conservative atmosphere" in this area and developed strategies to cope with it—to socialize with mostly Chinese immigrants in this area and develop their own social networking through Chinese Churches and Chinese Schools. Unlike Chinese immigrants in California, these Chinese professionals do not distinguish themselves by their countries of origin—Chinese Mainland, Hong Kong, or Taiwan.

Introduction and background information:

Philadelphia is a unique environment to study immigrants since it was not a main destination of international immigration for more than one hundred years in the history of United States. In addition, until the 1940s it is far from a main focus in immigration studies in the United States. But Philadelphia has some specific cultural characters and histories that shape the behavior and living patterns of people of different ethnicities and races. Historically, Philadelphia was not the main destination for Chinese immigrants, nor was its suburban areas. However, these unique traits of this historical city shape certain special behavior and characteristics of Chinese immigrants who work as professionals in the Philadelphia suburbs, especially in its Mainline area. I am going to introduce the history of Philadelphia and its Mainline suburbs in the beginning of this chapter, move to Chinese immigrants' history in the US, and end this chapter with how life is in general for these Chinese professionals who live in the Philadelphia suburban areas. The end of this chapter will serve as an ethnographic introduction to my key informants.

Philadelphia and its Mainline area:

Philadelphia is one of the oldest cities in United States history. The Philadelphia Mainline is one of the oldest suburban areas along with the development of Philadelphia. Moreover, it is one of the most famous "old money" affluent areas since the early eighteenth century.

As a suburban area for Philadelphia, the development of the Philadelphia Mainline is related to the development of the city of Philadelphia. In the seventeenth century,

William Penn arrived in Philadelphia from England, and he planned to build up his ideal city Philadelphia and the surrounding areas were developing as farm land. Since then, Philadelphia has served as a port city and developed its trade business under Penn's plan. Most of the early population were Quakers, but later other European immigrants moved in as Philadelphia grew as a trading port according to Penn's plan. The nearby area from Philadelphia to Lancaster has been developed into farm land by immigrants from Europe, mainly from Germany. By 1691, in the suburban Philadelphia areas Welsh Tract (Lower Merion, part of Philadelphia Mainline today) contributed a large portion of tax owing to its development. However, this rural area was not dwelled in by the wealthy in the seventeenth century. The fast development of Philadelphia town discouraged the business development of the rural areas in the early 1700s. During 1700-1750, Philadelphia served as a port city and provided a passage way to Europe and imported goods from west India. Philadelphia attracted a huge amount of immigrants and established a diversified social hierarchy in the eighteenth century. The fast development of Philadelphia in the early 1700s created an affluent class, which is the first traceable "old money" population in Philadelphia history. Heir and heiress inherited wealth from their family and enjoyed their extravagant life in Philadelphia and its nearby areas for recreational purpose. It was in the 1740s that wealthy residents in Philadelphia started to build up country houses in the northwest suburbs, from present Germantown to the Mainline areas. The wealthy in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century enjoyed their country life and hid from epidemics, which marked the early development of the Mainline area and northwest suburban Philadelphia (Weigley 1982).

Philadelphia was the central port in the seventeenth and eighteenth century triangle trade circuits, and started to have its manufacturing of textile mills in the early nineteenth century. While the city's newly formed industrial plants attracted new waves of labor immigrants, it gradually yielded its leading immigrant gateway status to New York City. Until the Great Depression in the 1930s, Philadelphia was a classic second city like Manchester, England. However, the manufactures never fully recovered from the great depression and deindustrialization was inevitable since the city's industry became obsolete and new technologies were replacing them rapidly (Goode 2008).

According to Goode, the disinvestment in local manufacture facilities increased the segregation process in Philadelphia although race has always played a significant role in the city's industrialization. As early as in the late 19th century, class segregation started to develop since the Main Line railroad suburbs, which are called the "green belt" elite by Goode, were built. In the early 20th century, the Great Migration of southern blacks began to shape a segregated city (Goode 2008). Population in Philadelphia now is highly segregated residentially (Goldstein, Adams, Bartelt, Elish, and Yancey 1986). Eastern part of Philadelphia city is dwelled mainly with white residents, western zone is black. This patter was shaped during post population movement of black-in and white flight. The postwar suburbanization that enable many whites to leave the city and the red-lining of working class neighborhoods on top of the rapid declining of the local economy finally resulted in a destitute "war zone" image of the once glorious city (Goode 2008).

The name "Philadelphia Mainline" came from the development of regional rail. Mainline area was developed during the 18th century when the regional rail was built for the wealthy to commute from Philadelphia city to their country homes in northwest

suburban Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Mainline included towns located along the Regional Rail Number 5, which started from Philadelphia center city (Suburban Station) to the northwest suburban areas Overbrook, Merion, Narberth, Wynnewood, Ardmore, Haverford, Bryn Mawr, Rosemont, Villanova, Radnor, St. Davids, Wayne, Strafford, Devon, Berwyn, Daylesford, and Paoli.

Nowadays the Philadelphia Mainline is famous for several reasons: its affluent neighborhood owing to "old money"—inherited wealth—with high family average income of a hundred thousand per year, and its highly reputed school district which was one of the best in the nation[5]. Owing to its reputational school district, Philadelphia Mainline area is becoming the new destination to reside for Chinese professionals who started to move in since the 1980s.

Chinese immigrants in the United States and Philadelphia Metropolitan Area

Historically, Chinese started to emigrate out of China starting in the early 18th century in Qing Dynasty. Most of these immigrants are from the southeast part of China—Fujian and Guangdong province, where there is a history of immigration and doing business abroad. By the early 19th century, there were over 2 million diasporic Chinese all over the world (Pan 1990). According to US immigration history, Chinese immigrants came as all kinds of workers since the 1850s, and the most famous kind is as

[5] According to "The Top of Class 2008: The complete list of the 1,300 top U.S. high schools" in News Week, http://www.newsweek.com/id/39380/?q=2009/rank/1, high schools at Mainline, are in the top 5% of American school system from 2007-2009.

railroad builders in the West Coast (Wong 1982, Pan 1990). In 1965, the Immigration and Neutralization Act, which favor immigrants with well-education and skills, enabled an increasing number of good-educated Chinese immigrants to immigrate to the US (Wong 1982). It created a new trend of Chinese immigrants who are well-educated and work as professionals. Even though this new trend of Chinese immigrants is not large enough to outnumber previous Chinese immigrants in the United States, they do bring political impacts to places where they reside. California, where a large amount of high-technology companies locate, has the largest population of these Chinese professionals in the US (Wong 2006), and most them work in the Silicon Valley.

Chinese immigrants in the United States are very diverse socially and culturally based on social background and the time they immigrated to the United States. Generally speaking, Chinese immigrants in the United States are roughly different before and after 1965. Most Chinese immigrants who immigrate to the US after 1965 when the Immigration and Naturalization Act was enforced are high skilled and well-educated compare to Chinese immigrants who came to the US before 1965. Residence patterns and social boundaries among Chinese populations are different because of the differences in education and background.

Chinese immigrants differentiate themselves according to their cultural background. Even though the umbrella term “Chinese immigrants” seem to cover every Chinese who immigrate to the United States, Chinese immigrants still distinguish themselves according to their hometowns: Taiwan, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and all other parts of the world.

Contemporary Chinese history and political differences provide explanations for the differences between Chinese immigrants from Mainland China and Taiwan. In 1911, the eight-hundred-year-old Qing Dynasty was overthrown by Sun Yatsen. Sun named this first republic "Republic of China". The whole country was divided by warlords soon after Sun died, and China was still the vulnerable target of foreign invasion by Russia and Japan. Chiang Kai-shek took the lead of the Republic of China government, and represented China for the post World War II meetings with Stalin and Roosevelt. Mao Zedong, who was the leader of communist party in China, took over China in 1949 and built up the People's Republic of China. Chiang and his government officials of Republic of China flew to Taiwan, an island located to the southeast of China.

The People's Republic of China and the Republic of China (Taiwan) are totally different in their development in history, which has had a great impact in contemporary Chinese immigration history in the United States. The People's Republic of China was in alliance with Soviet Union during the 1950s, while Taiwan was in alliance with the United States during the Cold War period. There were laws both in P. R. C. and the United States which forbid Chinese immigrants emigrate from Mainland China to the United States. However, there was no such restriction for Chinese immigrants to emigrate from Taiwan to the United States. This restriction in the P.R.C. was lifted in late 1979. Therefore, most Chinese immigrants who go to the United States before 1979 came from Taiwan, or the rest of the world but Mainland China. After 1979, Chinese Mainlanders increased in the percentage of the total Chinese immigrants in the United States.

Because of different government systems and histories, some Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and the P. R. C. have identified themselves differently from each other,

even though they all consider themselves “Chinese”. These Chinese immigrants have different political views even after they have immigrated to the United States, but they not necessarily divide themselves from each other.

Most literature divides Chinese immigrants mainly into two groups: Chinese immigrants who immigrate to the United States before 1965 and after.

Chinese immigrants who came before 1965

Historically, the first large Chinese immigration to the United States, according to reliable resources was in the 1850s (Wong 1982; Lach 1985; Lennon and Yang 2003; Lai 2004). Most of these Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century came to the United States as miners, railroad workers, farmers, and domestics. Racism and discrimination against Chinese is prominent in Chinese immigration history in the United States in the nineteen century. In addition, in United States immigration history, Chinese were the principal victims of mob attacks and discriminatory legislation (Saxton 1971). There are cases of legalized racism against Chinese in California, and massacres of Chinese immigrants that occurred in Los Angeles, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Wyoming, and Denver (Sandmeyer 1973; Daniels 1988). In the late nineteenth century, the immigration numbers steadily increased and peaked in 1890. In 1882, Chinese exclusion laws, the anti-Chinese Scott Act law of 1888s and the Geary Act of 1892 were designed to stop the huge influx of Chinese immigrants. Chinese laborers were the first and the only ethnic group in the United States who were singled out by immigration legislation as racially undesirable in Chinese exclusion law (Wang 2001). The anti-Chinese Scott Act law of

1888 prohibited the entry or reentry of Chinese laborers. Because the law was enforced without a grace period, twenty thousand Chinese immigrants with reentry permits could not land after visiting their families in China (Chan 1991). Moreover, the Geary Act of 1892 prohibited Chinese wives from joining their husbands or reuniting with their families in the United States. Consequently, the Chinese American community was like a bachelor's society for the latter six decades (Chan 1991).

Two business types are suggested for Chinese immigrants who came to the United States before 1965: small business and the ethnic enclave economy (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Wang 2001; Fong and Luk 2007). Ethnic enclave economy, which is usually found in Chinatown or Chinese resident clustered places, depends on the clustered networks of businesses owned by members of the ethnic group. Small businesses, which usually found in suburban areas where most people are non-Chinese, are based on loyalty and kinship lines. Because there was discriminative legislation prohibiting Chinese immigrants from competing with whites in businesses, the ethnic enclave economy became the main type for Chinese immigrants to open up businesses in Chinatown without direct competition with white enterprise. By the 1940s, twenty-eight Chinese enclaves, such as Chinatown, were developed all over the United States (Lee 1947).

In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, but official quotas for Chinese immigrants was very few (only 105 people were permitted per year) (Holdway 2007). As mentioned before, because of political issues, after the Chinese Communist revolution in 1949 up to the late 1970s, most Chinese immigrants came from Taiwan, Hong Kong/ Macao, Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, and South America. Therefore, Chinese

immigrants are very diverse in their place of origin during this period even though they identify themselves as Chinese (Holdway 2007). This is the main character of Chinese immigrants who immigrated before 1965—they come from all over the world except Mainland China (the PRC).

Chinese immigrants who came after 1965:

In 1965, the Immigration and Naturalization Act abolished national origins quotas and established a system of preferences and reasonable principles: immigrants were admitted on the basis of their skills or close relatives living in the US (Waters and Ueda 2007). In other words, Chinese with higher skills and education had better chances to stay in the US. This act led to coherent policies as a compromised response to political pressures in order to expand the postwar economy. These political pressures included civil rights to fight against racism, the desire of political elites, and capital. The goal of these policies was to help the United States to construct a free-market image with cultural diversity and without any racial discrimination (Ong and Liu 1994). Therefore, Chinese immigrants were treated equally with people of other nationalities. This new immigration law encouraged highly skilled professionals and talented people whose skills were needed in the United States to apply for immigration visas under the Third Preference—about twenty percent of the total visas. People who filled these quotas were mostly Asians who were part of the highly educated surplus workforce with capitals in their country of origin because of the political and economic situation in Asia (Liu and Cheng 1994). Within these Asian immigrants, there were a large amount of relatively well-

educated Chinese immigrants who came after 1965 from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, while most immigrants who came before 1965 were from rural areas in China (Wong 1998). After 1979, when China lifted their restriction for its citizen to go abroad, there were increasing numbers of immigrants from PRC. Unlike Chinese immigrants who came before 1965 who were mostly sojourners (Barth 1964), Chinese immigrants who came after 1965 are interested in rooting in the United States. While Chinese immigrants came to the US before 1965 to escape poverty, Chinese immigrants who came after 1965 were mostly here to avoid political instability in Asia (Wong 1998).

Since 1979, the People's Republic of China relaxed its requirements for giving permission to Chinese mainlanders to join their family overseas, and short term visas were given to students and officials to study and work overseas. This prompted many Chinese mainlanders to consider immigrating overseas (Wong 1998). Started from the early1980s till now, the vast majority of foreign-born Chinese immigrants in the United States are from the People's Republic of China. In 1980, over half foreign-born Chinese immigrants came from PRC (Holdway 2007). In 2008, 59.5% foreign born Chinese Americans are from mainland China, 15.9% from Taiwan, and 9.4% from Hong Kong[6]. More than half Chinese population reside in New York state and California state[7], and more than half Chinese population reside in urban areas.

Holdway's study shows a growing rate of Chinese immigrants, who came after 1979, were highly educated professionals, even though they were still a small percentage

[6] Resource: A Preview of A Portrait of Chinese Americans: Key Findings by OCA and the Asian American Studies Program, University of Maryland, July 2008.
[7] According to 2008 census data, 53.8% of Chinese Americans reside in New York state and California state, and 55% Chinese American live in urban areas. Resource: A Preview of A Portrait of Chinese Americans: Key Findings by OCA and the Asian American Studies Program, University of Maryland, July 2008.

compared to all Chinese immigrants. The census figures of 1980 show that while 16 percent of the general population had completed 4 years of college, 30 percent of Chinese immigrants from China, 43 percent from Hong Kong and 60 percent from Taiwan finished their college education (Zhou 1992). By 1990, while 7 percent of the general U.S. population completed their graduate degree, 20 percent of the Chinese immigrants from China, 28 percent from Hong Kong, and 38 percent from Taiwan have done so (Wong 1998).

These highly educated Chinese immigrants are different from the Chinese immigrants who came earlier than 1965. They work as professionals and choose to live in suburban areas instead of in Chinatowns. These Chinese professionals do not share similar cultural and social experiences with Chinese immigrants in Chinatown. According to a study composed by National Council of Chinese Americans and Asian American Studies Program at University of Maryland published in 2011, this group of Chinese Americans, who have received higher education from the United States, earn the most money than both Chinese Americans who do not receive education in the US and American-born Chinese[8]. The Chinese population in Philadelphia is an example of this group.

[8] Source: Sina News, February 11th, 2011: http://dailynews.sina.com/bg/news/usa/uspolitics/chinapress/20110211/02162218538.html

Chinese population in the Northwest Suburban Philadelphia Metropolitan Area and Philadelphia Mainline

There is a rising new trend of Chinese immigrants who choose to live in suburban areas instead of Chinatowns according to the census data of Chinese American in 2009[9]. Since the late 1990s, anthropologists start to compose ethnographies about suburban Chinese immigrants' lives in California (Wong 2006, Fong 1994, Ong 1999). These ethnographies provide insights into different groups of Chinese immigrants than literatures about Chinatowns. Fong points out that in Monterey Park, due to the large Chinese population, the Chinese population is actually diverse and divide into different groups owing to the time they immigrated to the United States, their professions, and their country of origins (Fong 1994). Wong has done studies of Chinese population in Silicon Valley, and he points out that the high-tech Chinese immigration to Silicon Valley was brought by the trend of globalization. That is, globalization made these Chinese high-tech professionals' immigration to the California possible. These Chinese professionals in Silicon Valley maintain their transnational identities, adjust their lives in Silicon Valley, and have social networks through their professional careers. However, most anthropological studies of Chinese population on the East Coast are about Chinatown in New York City. Since the study of Chinatowns in San Francisco and New York suggests the differences of Chinese immigration between the east and west coasts, I wonder if there is a difference between the suburban Chinese immigrants on the east and the west coasts since my informants always suggest that there is a huge difference

[9] Through a non-profit-academic partnership, the National Council of Chinese Americans (NCCA) and Asian American Studies Program (AAST) at University of Maryland released a new snapshot of changing features of Chinese American communities on February 10th, 2011. This research uses data collected in 2009 to do the analysis. Reosource: Xinmin News, February 11th, 2011 http://news.xinmin.cn/rollnews/2011/02/12/9261882.html

between these two places. Moreover, Philadelphia and its Metropolitan area have a long history of radical racial issues since the early twentieth century (Wolfinger 2007, Goode and Schneider 1994). In 2010, racial problems have been news foci in Philadelphia in the Philadelphia Weekly and the Philadelphia Inquirer. I wonder if these incidents and the social atmosphere had influences on these Chinese professionals who live in the suburbs of the Philadelphia metropolitan areas in social and cultural aspects. Are they eager to engage in politics and racial issues in Philadelphia like Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park are? Do they feel marginized in this historical city with its mainly black and white population? I would like to find out characteristics that these Chinese professionals possess owing to the fact that they live in this unique city with a long history of racial tensions.

My work in Mainline Philadelphia

I moved to Philadelphia in the year of 2004. In the spring semester 2004, I started working as a volunteer for a class project for Mainline Chinese School, a Chinese language Saturday school held in Radnor High School in the northwest suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area. When I was there, I started to notice that Chinese families who go to the Chinese Schools were different from the Chinese people I met in Philadelphia's Chinatown. I chatted with parents in the waiting room while making teaching material preparation for kids, such as cutting papers or linking color beans. These Chinese parents, whether from Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, or third countries, are very friendly to me and willing to talk to me since we were all doing

preparation work for kids. Unlike Chinatown where most Chinese people talk in Cantonese and Fujianese, people in the Mainline Chinese School mainly use mandarin when chatting, and English while talking to non-Mandarin speakers. I found it was very interesting to hear Mandarin with different accents at the same time in the same room.

In a sunny day of 2004, I chatted with Mr. Yei in the parents' waiting room in the Mainline Chinese School, and told him that the difference I found about Chinese School and Chinatown. He smiled and told me that people here are very different from Chinatown since they are Chinese professionals who live in the suburbs. "However, we are different from Chinese professionals in Silicon Valley since we are not that lucky to have large Chinese population here! Ha!" He said this in a humorous way, but with a tone of bitter metaphor. His words made me wonder, and intrigued me for a long while. I could not find any books or articles related to the Chinese population in this particular area. But I did find information about the Philadelphia Mainline and its prestigious status in United States history. Obviously, there is a social and cultural difference between these Chinese professionals and other Chinese immigrants anthropologists studied. Therefore, I decided to find out how different Chinese immigrants' lives are in the Philadelphia Mainline area, Philadelphia Chinatown, the so called California suburbs, and the Chinese diaspora in general.

As a volunteer, I had plenty of chances to talk with parents I do not know when helping the principle to deal with errands and prepare teaching materials. When there is nothing that needed my attention, I chatted with parents in the parent waiting room, and joined Chinese parents' activities and workshops. In the year of 2008, when they are not able to find a Chinese teacher they needed, I became a volunteer Chinese teacher for the

Mainline Chinese School. Therefore I gain more opportunities to talk with not only the parents, but also those teachers, the Chinese school principal, and the board member of the foundation who founded the Mainline Chinese School.

In the Spring 2006 semester, some Chinese School parents recommended to me to visit their church—the Trinity Chinese Church of Greater Philadelphia in Newtown Square. Parents in Chinese school suggested that I would get to know more Chinese professionals in Chinese church since they have more Chinese people in the church. Therefore, I started to go to Chinese churches in 2006 and started to explore different churches in the Philadelphia Mainline area and had chances to meet different groups of Chinese people from different congregations in different Chinese churches.

Through my exploration of Chinese churches both in Philadelphia city and its metropolitan area, I found Chinese churches provided a great amount of support to Chinese professionals' lives. Considering each member as a brother or sister, Chinese churches provided a social network for Chinese professionals in the suburbs to get to know each other, and most important of all, a safety net when someone needed help. Under the ideology that the church is a big family, Chinese professionals in congregations, whether from the PRC or Taiwan, all disregarded their different cultural and political backgrounds. Under the lead of their pastor and board members, these Chinese Christians constructed a safety net to help each other within their network, especially during the economic crisis in 2008. Chinese churches provided strong support for Chinese professionals' lives in the northwest Philadelphia suburban areas.

In the year of 2008, I decided to write my dissertation about the lives of Chinese immigrants in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area. Since most Chinese medical professionals resided mostly on the Philadelphia Mainline, I focus my research on that area. After three years of participant observation, I have found many interesting aspects of the Chinese population in suburban Philadelphia which are both similar and dis-similar to Chinese populations in other parts of the United States. Moreover, the economic crisis, which started from 2007, brought in a new aspect and dramatic change in the living styles of this Chinese population. While still participating in Mainline Chinese School and church activities, I started my interviews with 20 families who reside in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area—the Philadelphia Mainline, Exton, and West Chester—in late 2009.

In these two-hour in-depth interviews, I asked my informants questions about (1) (social or economic) reasons they stayed in the United Sates (2) their interactions with each other and their American neighbors, and their thoughts about contemporary American society (3) their motivations to participate in activities organized by these Chinese communities (Chinese churches and schools) (4) their ways to educate their children as Chinese Americans (education problems) (5) their thoughts about other Chinese communities in the US (e.g. legal or illegal Chinese immigrants in Chinatown, American-born Chinese.)

My informants chose where they would like to be interviewed. They usually chose to be interviewed in their houses, where they felt the most comfortable. Though it was a formal interview with my camera rolling under their permission, it always proceeded as a relaxing conversation between friends with a cup of tea with delicious snacks or food

since most informants were my friends, friends' friends or acquaintances. Usually after asking the list of questions, we start chatting randomly. Most of the time, my informants would tell me stories they wanted to share with me, and thoughts they thought would be significant for my study. I found interviews always took longer than estimated, and they provided more information than I expected.

Background information:

During my interviews, my informants often referred to their cultural and social background to explain their feelings and the choices they made in transnational live styles in the Philadelphia Mainline. This following information has been gathered from interviews I conducted with my informants.

All of my informants—Chinese professionals who resided in Mainline Philadelphia and in the northwest suburban Philadelphia Metropolitan areas—moved to these areas during the 1980s and 1990s. Most of them initially came to the United States for their graduate degrees. About half of them came from the People's Republic of China, and the other half were from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, or were Chinese diaspora from other countries.

About 80% of these Chinese professionals worked for pharmaceutical companies in the Philadelphia metropolitan areas such as GlaxoSmithKline, Merck[10], Bayer, Johnson and Johnson, DuPont, and Barr. After the 1990s, most Chinese professionals came from

[10] Most Chinese professionals who live in the Philadelphia suburban areas work for the Merck branch located in North Wales, Pennsylvania. Some of them work for the main company in New Jersey.

China when the Chinese government allowed Chinese students to study abroad. After they finished their graduate school, they first use Optional Training Program (OPT) to apply for a job in the United States, and then received a working visa (H-1B Visa) to work for their companies. After working for several years depending on the time and company process, they applied for immigration visas and received permanent residency from the United States usually within five years after working. It would take at least another four years for them to take the exam to qualify for United States citizenship. However, some of my informants did not take this step to become a United States citizen even though they were qualified for doing so. I will talk more about this aspect will be discussed in later chapter.

Some of these Chinese professionals who worked for pharmaceutical companies went to other countries for their graduate degrees, such as Great Brittan and Canada, where they received a graduate degree. After receiving their degree, some of them worked in the place where they studied before moving to the Mainline Philadelphia. They move to the Philadelphia metropolitan area for job relocation and to work for these pharmaceutical companies.

Several individuals among these Chinese professionals who worked in these pharmaceutical companies were medical doctors in China before they came to the United States. They were hired by pharmaceutical companies directly from China as consultants, and moved to the Philadelphia Mainline for consultant jobs.

All of these Chinese immigrants worked in pharmaceutical companies as professionals, such as pharmacists, consultants, computer programmers, statistic

specialists, accountants etc. Only a small portion of them worked as a small business owner, and all of these were Chinese restaurant owners.

Frankly, not all the Chinese population in the Mainline Philadelphia area came to the United States with higher education degrees and started their American life with a working visa. However, there were very few who did not in the Mainline Chinese School and the Chinese churches in the Mainline Philadelphia area. I found only one family from the Chinese school and only several families in Chinese Churches in this category. In this research, I mainly focus on Chinese professionals who work in pharmaceutical companies. However, I will discuss different groups of Chinese populations in Philadelphia and its metropolitan areas in later chapters.

Introduction to My Key Informants in Mainline Philadelphia

I would like to give a basic introduction of my informants' background in the following section. I met all these informants through the Mainline Chinese Schools and Chinese Churches. They have been my friends since 2005. Knowing that I was conducting a research about Chinese immigrants in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, they were willing to be interviewed. Some of them even provided more information and their thoughts for my research data. Among these twenty families interviewed, there were ten couples from China (the P.R.C), five couples were from Taiwan (the R.O.C), three couples with mixed national of origin (one from China and Taiwan), and two couples from Hong Kong. At least one member of the couple selected for interview worked in

medical research or related fields, whether in pharmaceutical companies, medical material businesses, or postdoctoral research.

Mr. Zhu grew up in the country side of Shanxi province, China. Mrs. Zhu was from a small city in Shangdong province, China. Mr. Zhu told me that the place where he grew up was a small town, and he did not even bother to mention its name. They met each other when they came to the United States studying for their master degrees. Mr. and Mrs. Zhu received master degrees in statistics and accounting from the University of Indiana in 1993. Mr. Zhu received a job offer from Barr in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, while Mrs. Zhu works in a small company as an accountant in King of Prussia, which is close to the Philadelphia Mainline area. They have two daughters, Lena, who is eleven years old, and Gina, who is four years old. They moved to Gladwyne in 2005 for the good school district.

Mr. Yei, who is in his 50s now, came to Philadelphia from Taiwan to pursue his master degree in pharmaceutics at Drexel University in 1983. He told me Philadelphia in the 1980s is much more "order" in the appearance of the city than now. He calls himself an "old Philadelphian" though he has moved to the suburb for about twenty years. He kept telling me that "Philadelphia has made good progress in my opinion" in the interview. He met his wife at Drexel University. After they graduated in 1985, they worked for Merck at Philadelphia center city office, and have resided in Philadelphia center city for several years. In 1990 after they had their first child, they moved to Paoli. They have two sons, Michael who is twenty, and Jack, who is eight years old. Mr. Yei was laid off in 2008, but soon found a new job to work as the senior general manager in a Chinese pharmaceutical company in Exton.

Weber came to the United States in the year of 1993 for his master degree in biochemistry at Ohio State University. Originally he is from Henan, China. His wife, Patty came with him to Ohio in 1994 with their son Paul who was nine years old. After graduated in 1995, Weber received a job offer from Barr and moved to Swarthmore, in northwest suburban Philadelphia. Ping used to work in a small local company, but now she is retired owing to her health condition. Paul is working for the United States government in Washington D.C now.

Anita's husband, Rick, brought Anita from his hometown—Hong Kong—after he graduated from the University of South Florida. They moved to Wynnewood in 1983 when Rick received a job offer from Johnson and Johnson. Anita worked at home as a housewife to take care of her three children. She described her first years in Mainline Philadelphia as boring since it was very difficult for her to make friends with her "white" neighbors in her area. Chinese Church became the most important place in her life at that time. She has two daughters, Cary and Nina, who are working in Philadelphia now, and a son Allen, who graduated from Penn State University and had received a job offer right away from Johnson and Johnson at the end of 2008. Anita and Rick are now in their 50s and are enjoying their lives as retirees.

Mr. Zheng came from China for his graduate degree in chemistry from a University in Illinois. His wife, Unice, came from Taiwan, and has a doctoral degree in nursing. They moved to Philadelphia from Illinois after Mr. Zheng received a job offer from Bayer in 1999. Unice teaches in a nursing college in Exton. They have two daughters, Carry, who is seven years old, and Zoe, who is two years old.

Mr. Lin went from Wuhan, China, to the University of New Hampshire for his Master degree in Electronic Engineering in 1994. He received his degree in 1996, went back to China working for two years, then moved to California to work for a medical equipment company. His wife, Ruth, who received a master's degree in education from the University of New Hampshire, worked as a housewife when they were in California. In 1998, Mr. Lin and his family were relocated to the company branch in Philadelphia. They live in Wynnewood, and are still searching for a house in Philadelphia Mainline for its great school district since their son loves his school. They have a son, Paul, who is seven years old, and a daughter, Julie, who is two years old.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Chen went to Drexel University for their biochemistry master degree in 1991. Mr. Chen is from Beijing, while Mrs. Chen is from Taiwan. They received their degrees in 1993 and started working for Merck in the same year. They moved to Wayne from center city Philadelphia. They have a son called Jack, who is 4 years old.

Luke and France met each other when they were pursuing their graduate degree in chemistry at University of Cincinnati. Luke was from Hangzhou, China, while France is from Tainan, Taiwan. Before moving to Philadelphia in 1995, they had worked in Cincinnati for three years. They both work for Johnson and Johnson. They have a daughter, Amber, who is ten years old.

Mr. and Mrs. Wang are from Taipei, Taiwan. Mr. Wang met Mrs. Wang in a party when they both were student. Mr. Wang graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with his Biochemistry Doctoral degree in 1990, while Mrs. Wang received her MBA

from Drexel University in the same year. Mr. Wang stayed at the University of Pennsylvania for post-doctoral research. Mrs. Wang stays home to take care of her three children, Kara, who is twelve, Victor, who is ten, and Andrew, who is four. They moved to Narberth in 1992 for its good school district.

Mr. Xie met Mrs. Xie when they were studying for their master degree in Drexel University. Mr. Xie came from Taiwan while Mrs. Xie came from Zhejiang, China. Mr. Xie received his master's degree in chemistry in 1987, and Mrs. Xie received her degree in accounting. Mr. Xie works for Johnson and Johnson after he graduated in 1989, and Mrs. Xie stays home taking care of their daughter, Sherry, who is nine years old. They live in Paoli, which, in their opinion, has the best environment and school district for them.

Mr. Li and Mrs. Li are both from Shenyang, northeast China. Both of them went to Saint Joseph University for their mathematics degree in 1983. After they graduated, they worked for Bayer and moved to the Philadelphia Mainline. In 1993, they realized there is a huge need in computer science even in the pharmaceutical industry. Mrs. Li resigned her job and went back to St. Joseph's for her computer science master's degree. She received her degree in 1995, and worked as a programmer for Bayer. Her husband followed similar steps and received his computer science degree in 1997 and went back working in Bayer too. They have a daughter, Elena, who is twenty six years old. They are very proud of her because she went to medical school at the University of Pennsylvania, and is in her residency as an internal medicine doctor.

Mr. and Mrs. Huang are both from Taiwan. They met each other when they were both studying at Temple University. They both received their master's degree in computer science in 1990. Mr. Huang works for a consultant company while Mrs. Huang stays at home. They moved to Paoli in 1995, and had two daughters, Giana, who is thirteen, and Elisha who is eight years old. Mrs. Huang told me living on the Mainline is all about status, and she has had to adjust to living in her neighborhood after moving from Philadelphia center city to Paoli.

Julia is a nurse who works in a children's home in Rosemont, at the Mainline. Her husband, Frank, works as a programmer for Barr. Julia was a nutritionist, and her husband was a programmer in China. In 1991, they moved from their hometown, Tianjin, China, to Singapore for work as part of their interest "to explore different life in another country". Later in 1993, they move to the United States with her new born son for pursuing their master degrees in accounting and computer science at Saint Joseph University. However, Julia transferred from the accounting department to the computer science department and later she transferred again from computer science to the subject she was interested in most—nursing. Her husband graduated in 1995, and started working for a local company in Philadelphia. However, he was laid off in 1996, and had to switch his working visa (H1-B) back to a student spouse visa (F-2). She told me it was a horrible experience since they were afraid that they would not be able to stay in the United States. However, her husband received a job offer from Johnson and Johnson in 1997 and Julia started to work at Bryn Mawr hospital in the same year after receiving her nursing degree, but switched to work for a children's home in 2005. Her son, Joe, is a senior in Radnor

high school. Julia is very proud to tell me that her son is the high school champion in swimming in Pennsylvania in 2010.

Mr. Huang and Mrs. Huang went to Great Brittan from Taiwan. Mr. Huang received a PhD degree in pharmaceutics at the University of Edinburgh in 1994. They moved to Montreal, Canada in 1994. In 1996, they moved to a small town in Illinois. In 2000, they moved to the Philadelphia Mainline for the job relocation to Merck in New Jersey. Mrs. Huang stays home to take care of her only daughter, Jillian, who is ten years old.

Yvonne mentioned she has a complicated emotion with moving and job relocation. Her husband, Ben, went to University of Toronto for master degree in Pharmaceutics in 1980. Instead of going back to Hong Kong, Yvonne and Ben decided to stay in stay in Canada. Ben got a job in Toronto after he graduated in 1982, and worked there for four years. They moved to many places due to job relocation. They moved to California in 1985, Minnesota in 1987, and to the Philadelphia Mainline in 1989. Ben was laid off at the end of 2008, and had many job interviews in 2009. They have a daughter, Wendy, and a son, James. Wendy is working in California, and James is a sophomore in Stanford University.

Dr. Ling was hired directly from China by one of these pharmaceutical companies which he asked me not to reveal in the 1990s as a consultant. He then worked very hard to receive a medical license in the United States to open up his own clinic in 2000. Dr. Li's wife is an accountant in a local small company. They have two sons Joe and Mica. Joe is nine years old and Mica is one.

Dr. Liu was a surgical doctor in Changsha, China. He was hired directly from China as a consultant for Merck in 1989. However, he was laid off in 1996, and worked as an assistant in a plastic surgery clinic in Merion. He is in his 60s now, and retired from the clinic. He describes life in the Mainline as much easier than life in China because there are too many politics and complicated guanxi relationships that one has to deal in China. That is the reason why he chose to stay even he was respected more as a doctor in China. His wife is a pianist who teaches Chinese children to play piano. He has a daughter who works as a nurse in Jefferson hospital in Philadelphia.

Mr. and Mrs. Zhuang own a Chinese restaurant in Mainline Philadelphia. They came to Mainline Philadelphia from Taiwan in 1991 for their master's degree in business management. After they received their degree, Mr. Zhuang worked in a small company for several years. After receiving permanent residency, Mr. and Mrs. Zhuang decided to open a Chinese restaurant in this area. Therefore, they bought an old Chinese restaurant from a former Cantonese owner, and renovated it into a Chinese buffet in the year of 2003.

Mr. Wang is a successful businessman who sells medical equipment and imports a variety of goods between China and the United States. He also owns a real estate company in Philadelphia Chinatown. He went to Arizona University for his finance master's degree in 1990. After carefully studying the housing prices of Philadelphia, he moved to Philadelphia in 1992 and started investing in real estate in Philadelphia. He chose to live on the Mainline for the good school district since his son, George, was ten years old. He told me that he was from a very small village in the mountain area in Sichuan, where he had to walk through the mountains for one day after getting off the bus.

Mr. Wang told me that the living environment was very difficult in the little village where he came from. He appreciated all opportunities in the United States for him to be wealthy enough to pursue his dream—to travel around the world with his son.

Cindy came to the United States from Hunan, China, in 1996, and received her public health master's degree in 1998 from St. Joseph's University. She works as a health educator in Philadelphia. Her husband, Dan, came from Taishan, China. He works for an aviation company in New Jersey. Cindy has taught at the Mainline Chinese School for six years. Even though she has come to the US more than ten years, Cindy's favorite television channel is Hunan Satellite Channel which broadcasts her favorite hometown shows.

Hometown Identity under "Pan-Chinese" Identity

According to my Chinese professional informants, the busy life for earning their livings washed away their interests for politics, both politics in China and the United States. Most of these Chinese professionals came from the People's Republic of China, and few others came from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. These Chinese professionals in suburban Philadelphia do not specially distinguish themselves from each other as Chinese, from China, Hong Kong or Taiwan in public. When they get together, they tend to downplay the cultural or social differences among them, especially in Chinese school and Chinese churches. Sometimes they discuss cultural and custom differences, such as different usages of words when describing something, and exchange stories about different government ruling system in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Sometimes they discuss controversial political issues between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, such as "One China" or "China and Taiwan" questions. But these discussions are always end in a conclusion statement that "It does not matter where we came from! We are all Chinese".

These Chinese professionals get along very well with each other in Mainline Chinese School and churches without confronting each other on the politic topics in their home countries. In public, "Pan-Chinese" identity comes up when necessary. The "Pan-Chinese" identity is formed similar to the "pan-Asian" identity analysis provided by Espiritu. Panethnicity, according to Espiritu, is the generalization of solidarity among ethnic subgroups (Espiritu 1992). It comes from an imposed category by the other, which ignores subgroup boundaries and lumps together diverse peoples into a single ethnic framework. Though it comes from the categorized identity imposed by the outsiders, it creates political resources for the insiders. Panethnic unity, according to Espiritu, is created mainly through the symbolic reinterpretation of the common history belong to a group. Espiritu suggests that in the US, pan-ethnicity comes up "through a created political history, particularly when this history involves racial subjugation, and even its shared political history" (Espiritu 1992:8). These Chinese professionals' "pan-Chinese" identity comes up mainly with shared culture and history, and their pan-Chinese identity is different from the "pan-Chinese American" identity which can be found mainly among the second generation Chinese Americans. Owing to their pan-Chinese identity in the suburban Chinese professional population, there has never been any incident or argument about the political situation and different governmentalities in China and Taiwan in contrast to what had happened in Chinatown in San Francisco in early 1960s (Fong 1995).

In my interview with Mr. Yei, he mentions that Chinese people in Mainline Philadelphia are professionals who do not care much about politics back in home countries. “We are all busy for our families, taking care of our children, and earn enough money for our mortgage. How can we have time for politics?” Julia once tells me, “After visiting so many countries, I found it is useless to talk about Chinese politics we acquired from Chinese government. We now live in the United States and are Americans by law, Chinese politics are not very important anymore. So why bother? ”

Mr. Wang expresses that he wants to move to Miaoli, Taiwan after he retires from his business. Everyone is surprised since he is from a mountain village in Sichuan, China. He says “We are global citizens! I feel like home in Miaoli since the mountain area is similar to where I grew up, and it is easy to reach airport if I have to come back to the United States.”

However, these Chinese professionals maintain their different identities according to where they come from. They join different associations for immigrants from the same township (同乡会) to maintain their relationships with immigrants from their hometown. Moreover, they still tend to be friends with people from the same hometown, and use their local dialect when talking to each other to increase their social solidarity.

Dialects play an important role for identities here. It is interesting to find out that Taiwanese immigrants tend to get together with immigrants from Xiamen and southeast Fujian since they speak similar dialect[11]. My Taiwanese informant, Li, told me that she

[11] Taiwanese is a variety of Fujianese dialect.

feels familiar when being with Xiaman and Fujian friends since “we all speak Minnanhua (south Fujian dialect)!”

These Chinese professionals still maintain different hometown local living styles, follow different local customs and different hometown associations according to their homelands where they came from. These differences in living style among Chinese population from different places can be found in the food they cook, clothing style, entertainment programs and activities related to local cultural festivals. One example is the different styles to celebrate Chinese New Year. Chinese professionals from Mainland China always get together and watch the “Chinese New Year Celebration” program by Central Chinese Television Video (CCTV); while Taiwanese enjoy watching variety shows from Taiwanese television channels for Chinese New Year. Moreover, Chinese Mainlanders enjoy going to a formal performance of Chinese traditional culture for Chinese New Year from China if there is one held by a hometown association; while Taiwanese and people from Hong Kong and Macao enjoy hopping parties in friend’s families for Chinese New Year celebration.

Under the umbrella of the Pan-Chinese identities they used to refer to themselves in public; these Chinese professionals still maintain their local identities according to where they came from. Their living style differs from each other according to how it is in their hometowns in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. Their pan-Chinese identity is similar to the pan-ethnicity theory proposed by Espiritu: it serves as an identity umbrella that internally differences among different subgroups, which is represented by people from different hometowns; externally their group pan-Chinese identity is built up by members under this identity.

Family Background back in Their Homeland

It is very interesting that when I asked my informants to introduce their hometowns, they would describe their living situation in China as another world, which they told me Americans, who they always refer to their children as, will never understand.

For my informants from Mainland China, they tell me difficult stories about how hard they worked to come to the United States. They describe how difficult it was in their villages or their hometown. All my informants from Mainland China spent time telling me stories to express how they were extremely diligent when studying in schools in China, and that is how they could win fellowships provided by schools in the United States. They were number one in high schools and colleges, and even the only one who went to college in the entire village. They stress that this is how they earned their way to the United States. For instance, Mr. Zhang, and Mr. Zhu were the first person in his village to go to high school in nearby city, and the first person to go to university. They told me they were very lucky to do so since most people their age have to work for their family so they do not have time to study.

Some of them, who have experienced the Cultural Revolution, would mention their memory of what they called "turmoil period". Mr. Li and Mrs. Li were sent-down youth during the "Cultural Revolution". Until that time, Weber realized that his family's "composition" was really bad. Julia said she was wandering around with her classmate in high school to criticize people she did not even know. They told me these turmoil experiences encouraged them to explore the outside world after the Chinese government lifted the ban for Chinese students to study abroad.

These Chinese professionals all came from what they called “regular families”. In other words, none of my informants is related to major political figures or any wealthy businessman in their hometowns. All of them came from what they called regular middle class families and working class families. Three of them came from peasant families. In other words, they all came from families without critical “guanxi” relationships. Like most of my Chinese informants have mentioned during interviews, Mr. Zhu tells me that if he had social networking, he would not have had to work this hard to reach where he is today. Mr. Zhu said, “guanxi relationships are too important in China, and only people who neither have it nor know how to gain it like me come to the United States”. These Chinese professionals came to the United States for a better live that they could hardly reach in China owing to their lack of powerful social networks.

Pursuing the “American Dream” in the Philadelphia Mainline and its suburban area

Though these Chinese professionals have differences in their backgrounds, they all chose to stay in the United States in the end. When asking my informants the reason why they chose to stay here in the United States instead of going back to their hometowns, all of them expressed that they stayed mainly for pursuing a better life. When I asked them for more definition, they refer it to affordable housing, big cars, great natural environment, family values, and a good education system for their children as the main reasons for their staying. “It was what people called, American dream” as many of my informants said.

However, during the interview and chatting notes I collected in fieldwork, these Chinese professionals always told me that the "American Dream" does not come easily. One parent in the Chinese School waiting room said, "You have to work for it, and there is no guarantee for it, and it may crash anytime since it is not your homeland!" Mr. Wang told me he has an easy definition, "It is all about money! If you have money, you can buy good products and services here".

Pursuing "a good life" on the Philadelphia Mainline is relatively difficult, according to my informants. "Environmentally, everything looks wonderful, but in my mind, there is always something lacking." Ruth tells me during Chinese School Autumn moon picnic event in 2008, she thinks life here in Mainline is dramatically different from life in San Francisco, California, where there is a huge Chinese population. Ruth thinks probably that people on the Philadelphia Mainline do not make her feel welcome.

When talking about living on the Philadelphia Mainline, Mrs. Huang complained, "People here care a lot about social status, clearly it is about money. When we moved in to our new house in Paoli from Philadelphia center city, our neighbors ignored us. They did not invite us for neighborhood events until the day we bought a new Mercedes. Suddenly they invited us for every event they held." She said, "I like my old neighbors in Philadelphia center city more because they are always friendly!"

Mr. Wang attributes this feeling of "un-welcomeness" to cultural difference. He mentioned that he miss the feeling of "Chuanmenzi" (to drop by someone's place and chat with the family) in China. "Here you can never drop by your neighbor's place and have a great chat with them whenever you want. People would consider you rude. You

can only drop by at a Chinese family's place which is so far away, so you would not even want to do it." He thinks in the United States, especially for the upper middle class at the Mainline, people are considered "individuals", which is a very different life style from what he misses. Like most of my informants mentioned, Mr. Wang says it is lucky to have Chinese friends in Chinese churches to relieve his loneliness in his social life.

Sometimes parents discuss this topic in the parents' waiting room at the Mainline Chinese School. Everyone agrees that there is a certain anxiety among people who live on the Philadelphia Mainline; though they think the hostile atmosphere is much better than how it is in Philadelphia. However, this unfriendly atmosphere made them feel uneasy sometimes. One parent expresses his opinion in the end of the discussion, "What can we do? Just ignore it! We have too many things to worry about! Isn't that right?" Everyone laughs, and agrees with him. However, this topic keeps popping up every month in their casual chats when someone would start a new complaint.

Different lifestyles in suburbs in California and Philadelphia Mainline

Chinese professionals on the Philadelphia Mainline have a very different life style compared to the lifestyles of Chinese professionals on the Pacific west coast. The residential pattern of the Chinese population on the Philadelphia Mainline and in the northwest suburban Philadelphia is very different from how it is in suburban California. In suburban California, Chinese populations form "ethnoburbs", which means families of the same ethnic group reside together in the suburbs (Li 2006, 2009). Li thinks ethnoburbs are global economy outposts, and formations of contemporary global/

national/ local dynamics, which are characterized by its internally stratified socioeconomic structure with open socioeconomic and political systems with the outside world (Li 2006). Two prominent examples of these ethnoburbs are Monterey Park and Silicon Valley. Moreover, Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park are diverse in social status because it is like the western gate for Chinese immigrants to enter the United States (Horton 1995). Contrary to California suburban development, the Chinese population in suburban Philadelphia area is less than 1 % of the total population in the year of 2003[12]. While Chinese immigrants in California have a long immigration history of about 200 years, Chinese professionals mainly moved to the Philadelphia Mainline area from the 1980s, or with a relatively short immigration history when compared with California suburbs. Therefore, there is no significant social stratification in the socioeconomic structure in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area since most Chinese population here are middle class who work as professionals. Unlike Monterey Park and Silicon Valley where the population is highly diversified by immigrants— Indians, Chinese, and Latinos (Horton 1995), the northwest Philadelphia suburban area and the Philadelphia Mainline are dominated by a population of European heritage who was resided here since the 17th century.

Having different residential patterns and a different cultural environment from suburban California areas, these Chinese professionals in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area have similar cultural practices as Chinese populations in suburban California but in different levels. These Chinese professionals I studied all are permanent residents of the US or US citizens, but they do not identify themselves as “Americans”.

[12] According to United States Census Bureau American Community Survey 2003.

Instead, they all identify themselves as Chinese, or Taiwanese, and American "by law". Like Chinese professionals in Monterey Park and Silicon Valley (Wong 2006; Chang 2006), Chinese professionals in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area retain their transnational identities through cultural practices. Being first generation immigrants who came to the Philadelphia metropolitan area for decades, these Chinese professionals still maintain their social connections with their "hometowns" in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan in many cultural ways and by visiting there on a regular basis. They are aware of their cultural citizenships and maintain it through the practice of Chinese festivals and activities. But while Chinese immigrants in Monterey Park and Silicon Valley can engage in politics and activities in their community because of their huge population, these Chinese professionals in northwestern suburban Philadelphia always feel disempowered because they are not able to engage in the local politics in their communities owing to their small population. A pan-ethnic identity of "Chinese" emerged all over these Chinese professionals in northwest suburban Philadelphia because of the small population in this historical white heritage dominated area. At the same time, these Chinese professionals are involved in Chinese cultural activities such as Saturday Chinese Schools and Chinese Christian churches. Intergenerationally, these Chinese professionals try to pass down their cultural heritage by ensuring that their children are educated, formally and informally, in Chinese language and culture, and the most important at all—the identity of being a Chinese in the US.

Lacking social activities in their local communities where they reside, these Chinese professionals tend to stay with their Chinese friends. Chinese schools and churches provide an important social life for these Chinese professionals who reside in

the Philadelphia Mainline and northwestern suburban Philadelphia areas. The cultural differences and the atmosphere at the Philadelphia metropolitan are major obstacles which impede these Chinese professionals to socialize with people other than Chinese. Moreover, they found it is much easier to be friends with people they meet in Chinese cultural settings with similar Chinese cultural background. Chinese schools and churches provide places for these Chinese professionals to meet and social as friends other than at work. These Chinese professionals exchange information, discuss their children's education and problems in parents' waiting room at Chinese schools, and after worship luncheons in Chinese churches. They retain their Chinese style of living style socially since they socialize mostly with only Chinese families.

Mainline Chinese School

Saturday Chinese School is one of the most important social platforms for Chinese professionals in the Philadelphia suburban areas. This chapter observes the function of the Mainline Chinese School, and its development according to the needs of the Mainline Chinese community. Mainline Chinese School not only serves as a medium for Chinese professionals to socialize with each other, it also serves as a school for introducing Chinese culture and language to this area. This school has developed into two parts: the Mingde Chinese School for children of Chinese families and the Dinghao Chinese School for children from non-Chinese families. However, the Chinese culture it introduces is mainly about "traditional" Han Chinese culture which is heavily influenced by Confucianism. In fact, it is different from "Chinese culture" in the P.R. China, which is shaped by Chinese communism. Since there is a growing demand for teachers of Chinese language and culture owing to the rise of the economy in China, Mainline Chinese School broadens its service to provide activities and educational services to local communities. As non-profit organizations, Chinese schools on the East Coast compete with each other for grants and resources. Betty Foo (the head of Dinghao), as well as board members of the Mainline Chinese School, devote themselves to Chinese cultural services through the Mainline Chinese School in order to compete with other Chinese schools in the East Coast area.

Introduction: Mainline Chinese School

In Saturday mornings, whether snow, rain or shine, it is always hard to get a parking space at Radnor High School because about two hundred families are taking children to Mainline Chinese School. Mainline Chinese School is held in Radnor High School, a nice public school located in Radnor Township. Cars, mostly vans and SUVs, park all over the parking lot, and families are busy unloading their class materials—Chinese fans or musical instruments for cultural class, yoga mats for health class, and swords for taichi class. Children, most of them Asian, jump out of cars, and run or walk to Radnor High School with their parents for their Chinese classes. Saturday morning is always busy for these kids who are eager to learn Chinese culture and language!

The Mainline Chinese School is held by the Chinese Cultural Association of Greater Philadelphia, a non-profit organization for promoting Chinese language and culture[13]. It was founded in 1961 by immigrants from Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong in the Philadelphia Mainline area. The funding mainly comes from donations from the United Way, local Chinese groups, and nearby pharmaceutical companies. However, about ten years ago, it split into two schools owing to an argument about which type of Chinese characters they should teach. The group of people who insisted on teaching simplified Chinese characters left the Mainline Chinese School, and formed their own Chinese school, ZhiShang Chinese School, on City Line Avenue, about a twenty-minute drive from Radnor High School. However, Mainline Chinese School continued to grow steadily. Now Mainline Chinese School has two school divisions: Mingde Chinese School and Dinghao Chinese School. Mingde Chinese School is designed for children

[13] Information source: http://dinghao.ccagp.org/Ding%20Hao%20-%20CCAGP.htm

from Chinese speaking families. Dinghao Chinese School is designed for children from American families—mainly those adopted children from China. Now it is the Chinese school which has the most students in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area.

Mainline Chinese School not only offers Chinese language programs, it offers Chinese culture programs as well. Programs related to traditional Chinese culture, such as Kong Fu, cheling, taichi, Chinese folk dance, and Chinese musical instrument classes are offered before and after the Chinese classes. Other than providing classes, the main idea is to teach and provide an environment for children to immerse themselves in Chinese culture.

In order to immerse their students in a Chinese cultural environment in this Saturday Chinese school, there are celebrations for Chinese festivals, such as Chinese New Year (Spring Festival), the Lantern Festival, the Mid-Autumn Moon Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, Qingming and Chongyang, Laba (the arrival of Winter) and Teacher's Day. Celebrations are held in so-called "Chinese traditional" ways, such as having moon cakes during the Mid-Autumn Moon Festival. Ceremonies are held in schools and students are taught to perform them—students are taught to bow to teachers to express thankfulness on Teacher's Day. Among all these celebrations, the Chinese New Year celebration is the most important one as it is in Chinese culture.

Sometimes talks, discussions, and presentations about Chinese culture and Chinese American related issues would be held in the Mainline Chinese School. Guests and parents would be invited to these speeches and discussions.

In this Chapter I will introduce these programs offered by Mainline Chinese School to illustrate that Mainline Chinese School introduces Chinese culture which is based on "traditional" Chinese culture. These traditional Chinese culture activities reflect mostly a Taiwanese (Republic of China) agenda, which is relatively different from that of the People's Republic of China, as the two leading principles of Mainline Chinese School are from Taiwan. These culture activities are not associated with much about modern developing China under Chinese socialism. At the same time, Mainline Chinese School provides the environment for parents to discuss and exchange their thoughts and information about their life in Mainline Philadelphia. Students in Chinese school learn Chinese culture and memorize festivals in order to compete with students from other Chinese schools. Moreover, there is a competition among Chinese schools on the East Coast and even among teachers. Chinese parents give pressure to Chinese teachers, while American parents tend to focus on the happiness in the learning process. Information from interviews with Chinese school presidents—Emily Wu, the prior president of Mingde Chinese School, and Betty Foo, the president of Dinghao Chinese School will be added.

Chinese Language Programs in Mainline Chinese School

Mainline Chinese School includes two parts: Mingde Chinese School for Chinese heritage students and Dinghao Chinese School for non-Chinese heritage students. Most students who go to Mingde Chinese School are second generation Chinese immigrants,

whose parents are from Chinese speaking countries. Most of these parents are from Taiwan, and some of them from Mainland China, and Hong Kong. Several individuals of these parents are Chinese from other places such as Vietnam, Singapore, Trinidad, and South America. There are only four students from English-speaking families who go to Mingde Chinese School because their excellence in learning Chinese language.

Mingde Chinese School

Mingde Chinese School was founded for children from Chinese families to learn Chinese language and culture. It was the original Chinese School since it was founded first. It has about 150 students from the WaWa class (four years old) to the adult class. Each class has about ten to twenty students according to the enrolment.

Teaching Chinese language, especially writing and recognizing characters, is one main goal for Mingde Chinese School for children from Chinese families. The other goal is to learn Chinese culture since the environment here on the Philadelphia Mainline does not provide the social context for Chinese festivals. According to Emily Wu, the former president of Mingde Chinese School, "Most children from Chinese families understand a little bit Chinese language, but they still need to learn the characters, the culture and customs, such as celebration for Chinese festivals. In the Chinese class, teachers not only teach language usage and characters, they use traditional Chinese culture as topics for discussion and practice. Usually in two weeks, Mingde Chinese School would hold cultural contests in Jeopardy style."

All teachers in Mingde Chinese School are from Taiwan, and most parents whose students enrolled in Mingde Chinese School are from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Several of them are from Mainland China, and other parts of the world, such as Malaysia and Jamaica.

From late 2004 to 2006, I served in Mingde Chinese School as a teacher's helper and stayed in the 1st grade class for one semester. I went to a first grade class to help Mrs. Huang teach her fourteen students, who are about six to seven years old. In the three hour class, usually Mrs. Huang would do some review in the beginning of the class to review what they have learned last week. Then she would move on to character teaching and make sure they wrote their characters in the correct stroke order. After writing characters, it was usually the break time for ten minutes. A story time or activity time to introduce Chinese traditional culture would come up after the break. Sometimes, a speaker would give out an introduction for a Chinese festival, crafts, or art, such as Chinese stamps, instruments, water painting, or calligraphy. There would be follow-up with related craft-making for the children themselves. The snack time was often arranged after craft-making. The class would be dismissed with handing out homework.

It is very interesting to see how these six- to seven-year-old children learn about Chinese culture and writing. They do practice writing in the class, but they cannot help complaining, "it is difficult," in English. Growing up in Chinese speaking families, all of them can speak limited Chinese Mandarin even though they cannot speak it fluently. They have no problem understanding what the teacher says in Mandarin. But they tend to avoid speaking Chinese while talking to their classmates, or even to me. They use

English instead. Knowing that they will not talk to me in Chinese, I always pretend that I cannot understand English. Finally, they would reluctantly speak to me in Mandarin.

Mrs. Huang knows well how to make these six- to seven-year-old children interested in Chinese. She introduced the origin of every Chinese festival in interesting stories. She thinks that, as Chinese, they should know Chinese language and the culture where their parents are from. For these six- to seven-year-old children, they always tell me they go to Chinese school for fun.

In Mingde Chinese School, these Chinese teachers' teaching methods for teenagers are very different from the young children. I went to serve as a helper for ninth to twelfth grade classes in the year of 2006. Teenagers in Mingde Chinese School understand well why they are there in the Chinese School. Some students take Chinese School activities seriously since it could be an advantage for their application to colleges. Hanna, a sixteen-year-old student from the tenth grade class told me that she went to Chinese School to learn Chinese in order to pass her Chinese Advanced Placement Test. In the meantime, she can add Chinese School to her extracurricular activities on her Curriculum Vitae since she hates sports, which will enhance her chances to go to good universities.

Activities such as Jeopardy and Chinese speech contests can be competitive in the Chinese school for these teenagers. They participate in discussions about traditional Chinese culture to learn and memorize the dates of Chinese festivals for the Jeopardy contests. The winning student will be the representative for Mingde Chinese School to compete with other Chinese schools on the East Coast. Kasey, the seventeen-year-old student who represents Mingde Chinese School for the East Coast Chinese School

Speech Contest, told me, “it is not just about learning more about ourselves and the culture where I am from, but also for our future!”

Parents’ waiting room:

While children are taking classes in Mingde Chinese School, most Chinese parents are waiting in the parents’ waiting room. The parents’ waiting room is located in a classroom near the stairway. Tea and snacks are provided for parents to hang out there. Most Chinese parents stayed there when their children were in language classes. However, not all people there in the parents’ waiting room are parents. Some Chinese graduate students from nearby universities go there to distribute their questionnaires and gather Chinese ethnicity-related data. Some Chinese immigrants go there for gathering useful information and to get to know Chinese people in this area. The parents’ waiting room becomes a place for information exchange and a place to socialize with other Chinese immigrants in this area.

While the second generation Chinese children in the Chinese classrooms mainly speak English, conversations in the parents’ waiting room are mainly in Mandarin. The parents’ waiting room is always filled with sounds of laughter and chatting in Mandarin. However, the parents from Dinghao Chinese School, most of whom are Americans, seldom stay in the parents’ waiting room or chat with each other. In contrast to the Chinese parents, these American parents choose to read alone on the waiting benches in the hallways or leave while their children are in class.

Chatting topics in the parents' waiting room

Topics these parents talk about in the parents' waiting room reflect the values and the thoughts of these first generation Chinese immigrants. When I first walked in the room for a cup of tea in 2004, I was shocked by a series of bizarre discussions. I overheard a lady said loudly, "My daughter is worried about which school she has to go to since she received offers from Harvard University, Stanford, and Yale. I told her that she could go to any of these, which made her really upset since she cannot make a decision and wants me to do it." Another lady said, "My daughter had the same situation too! She chose to go to Stanford University since it provides more sports teams than other schools." Another lady said, "I forced my son to choose Harvard since it is not too far from Philadelphia. He refused to choose University of Pennsylvania because it was too close to home." The bizarre conversations continued with parents' "suggestions" of which of these reputational universities their children had chosen since all these famous Universities offered admission to their children. I could not believe what I heard and I was not sure if this was a real discussion or just a vanity one. However, after staying there and talked to them for a semester, I became used to their conversation topics and this conversation style. Moreover, I gained the understanding that parents who discuss this topic in public have reached the goal of having their children attend reputable colleges. Above all, through participating in their conversations, I gathered much "inside" information directly from their discussion.

Parents' chatting topics included broadly almost every aspect and experience of their life here on the Philadelphia Mainline. Their topics reflected life aspects they emphasized most: job/career, education, parenting, housing, health, and the economy. Among all these topics, education and parenting are the most discussed topics among Chinese parents in the waiting room. For these first generation Chinese immigrants, they seem to always have discussions concerning their problems about parenting their children in the United States. Different challenges come up at each stage of bringing up their children.

Parenting for transnational parents:

Parenting as transnational parents is the most discussed topic in the parents' waiting room. As first generation Chinese immigrants who moved to the United States, parents here have encountered different problems parenting their children who are growing up as Americans. These first generation Chinese immigrants who were brought up with Chinese values found that it is challenging to use the Chinese values they have learned from their parents in bringing up their children since their children learned a lot from the American society.

Since most parents in the parents' waiting room are Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong, or diasporic Chinese from other parts of the world with the exception of Mainland China, they have a strong sense of Confucianism, with which they have been brought up. One of their main concerns is the conflict between Chinese traditional parenting methods and American style parenting methods. In "traditional"

Chinese culture, which is heavily affected by Confucianism, filial piety is extremely important. In other words, under the ethic of traditional Chinese filial piety, children always have to listen to their parents even if their parents are wrong (Hsu 1971). However, this is contradictory to the ethic of bringing up children in the United States. These Chinese parents are aware of the different styles for bringing up children in Chinese versus American culture. "It is a major and serious problem for many of us since our children grow up in this very different environment from ours," Mrs. Chen mentioned when I asked them why they always talk about this topic. "You know about filial piety in Chinese culture where we are so used to it since we grew up within it. So we cannot help ourselves to apply this value to our children—ask them to listen to us just as we did to our parents." Mr. Ling added, "But in the United States, parents are expected to treat children as friends, and should not expect children always to listen to them. This poses a contradiction to Chinese values that we have when dealing with our children who grow up here with American cultural values." Many parents sighed and expressed that they realize that they have to learn to parent instead of doing what they learned from their parents. "We should not use the traditional Chinese methods when parenting our children, which makes them hate themselves for being born as Chinese."

For parents with children who have not reached teenage-hood, these parents talked about how to restrain their children's behavior without physical punishment since in Chinese traditional filial piety, parents have the right to give their children physical punishment. There are sayings and stories about how much love parents can show when they punish their children. However, parents are aware of that physical punishment is not allowed in the United States. Instead of punishing their children physically by using

sticks, they have to learn what they called “American” methods to punish their children. However, it is very challenging for Chinese parents to give up physical punishment and adopt “American methods”. These so-called “American methods” are acquired from their neighbors or on the television. Generally speaking, the “American parenting methods” refer to middle or upper class American families’ parenting methods. Many inexperienced Chinese parents complained that it is much harder to manage their children by punishing them through having “time outs”, and discussed this with parents in the waiting room. Some experienced parents still insist on using physical punishment since for them, “it works efficiently.” I often found in the parents’ waiting room that Chinese parents there discuss the tricks of doing physical punishment “without being discovered by others”. Mr. Chao mentioned a good method that works, “Punish them by using your hand instead of using a stick or any other things to avoid bruises. However, you should also tell your children that you also feel hurt when punishing them.” “We should always tell why we punish our children instead of just punishing them to make them understand that we are not punishing them for our anger, but for their faults.” Parents with teenage children usually discuss how to manage their children’s life into the right way where they want them to be since they assume in Chinese culture it is the right thing to do as parents.

One of the most discussed problems of this kind is how to persuade their children to choose the university to which the parents want their children to go. “They always think we “manage” (or control, guan 管) too much of their lives when compared with their American classmates.” Mrs. Chen continued in a sarcastic way, “Since we provide tuition for our children, we should have the right to tell them where to go!” Mrs. Chen sighs and

continues, “However, my son and daughter want to be very far away from home, and they all have chosen universities in California!”

Teaching their children Chinese values is one of the most difficult challenges faced by these parents. They do not necessarily ask their children to identify themselves as Chinese. However, these parents insist that their children learn Chinese values and culture by going to Saturday Chinese school. How to encourage their children to go Chinese school is also a common topic in parents’ discussions in the parents’ waiting room. Many parents complained that their children hate going to Chinese school because they have to sacrifice their precious weekends learning another language while their classmates can participate in sports activities held by their schools. “My son complains that he has to miss his football activities on Saturday mornings since he has to come here. However, I told him the Chinese AP exam is as important as your sports activities,” Judy said in a discussion about how to persuade children to go to Chinese school. “It is very important to know where we are from since we are always treated as “Chinese” in the mainstream society. So I insist on my daughter coming to Chinese school because this environment makes my daughter feel that she has to learn something about her culture. Moreover, Chinese teachers here help with teaching Chinese values and behavior for us, which may relieve stress caused by our generation gap a little bit more,” Mrs. Huang said when a newcomer asked the parents in the waiting room for an opinion about whether they should insist on sending their children to Chinese school.

These parents always view their children who were born in the United States as having had too much “bad” influence by the mass media from the mainstream culture. In discussions in the parents’ waiting room, they consider that American teenagers appear to

be inappropriately “sexy” in high schools. “I could not believe that teenagers here in the United States start wearing makeup in high school!” Wang, a newcomer mom, once asked other parents in the waiting room, “So my daughter asked me to buy makeup for her since her classmates in the school all wear makeup.” Most parents insist on not buying their teenagers makeup, but several parents think they should realize how it is for their teenagers since they live in the United States. “Buying makeup is not too bad compared with the aspect of having boyfriends!” “No! No! Having sex is the worst! I cannot believe some students in the high school think that they are old enough to have sex!” Mrs. Liang said in fear, “I cannot understand why it is so open to public media that may contaminate my teenagers.”

These Chinese parents realized that they face many more difficulties in bringing up their children owing to their transnational life style here on the Mainline. They tend to insist on not giving up their Chinese parenting style while adopting an American parenting style. Many of them try to cut off the influence from American teenagers’ mass media by not allowing their children to watch television. However, most parents who are involved in discussing topics of education and bringing up their children are female.

Housing related topics:

When talking about housing related topics, such as where to reside or to buy a house, these Chinese parents would emphasize school districts. These parents emphasize that the school district is the most important element for choosing where to buy a house and to reside. “The Mainline has three of the best school districts in the United States:

Lower Merion, Radnor, and TE **(**Tredyffrin / Easttown School District**).** It is worthwhile to buy a house in this district since private school will cost much more if you choose not to send your children to public school." Mrs. Chen keeps mentioning this when I was hunting for an apartment around the Philadelphia Mainline area in fall 2006. Almost all the parents I know mentioned this point to me since they could tell that I was pregnant. All of them told me that I should choose to live in the Mainline area since it has a highly reputable school district.

However, living in Philadelphia Mainline can be costly. Parents in the waiting room usually warn the newcomers about the cost of living here on the Philadelphia Mainline. "But it will be worthwhile when you think about the good school district and how much it is going to cost if you send your children to private schools". The medium housing price of the Philadelphia Mainline is higher than the famous wealthy area of Beverly Hills in California[14]. Chinese immigrants who just moved to the Philadelphia suburban area usually complain about the high cost of living, real estate and expenses when compared with most cities they have lived in before. "A trick for keeping living expenses low is to buy groceries in Chinatown, at Costco, at farmer's markets, and at Korean supermarkets." These are these Chinese parents' highly recommended tricks for residing in this good area while sacrificing other aspects of living. "Having our children well-educated is the most important thing in our life."

"If you cannot afford living on the Philadelphia Mainline, Exton and West Chester are good choices for you." Jane recommended newcomers to alternative cities to live, "In

[14] According to US Census Bureau, the data was collected in the year of 2000. http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en

West Chester, there are a lot of Chinese families where you can find great companies. We help each other a lot!" Some parents whose families reside in Exton said that they have several Chinese families residing in one community, so they have helped each other.

Other topics they talked about in addition to housing are related to gardening and home management. Most of them rely on Chinese small businesses for their need to restore their houses or gardens. However, some parents argue that in their experience, Chinese businessmen are not cheaper or more inexpensive for home repair when compared with local workers. "We are not limited in language ability like those Chinese immigrants in Chinatown who have no choice but to hire Chinese workers." Chin, who had bad experiences with Chinese workers who did a poor job repairing her back door, made the suggestion that "We should not assume that Chinese people would do a better job for us because we are Chinese".

Other topics:

While moms in the parents' waiting room usually discuss education and aspects related to bringing up their children, dads talk more about investment, the economy, and the politics of the society.

Investment, mostly the stock market or mutual funds, were repeatedly discussed among parents in the waiting room, mostly by these Chinese dads. These parents are eager to discuss how to invest their capital so they can support their family. More than half of these parents have investments back in their home countries, such as China (the PRC), Taiwan and Hong Kong. Moreover, many of them are doing investment around the

world, especially in the so-called developing countries, such as India and Brazil. Their discussion includes investment around the world, mostly in the stock market, mutual funds, and sovereign bonds. They invest mainly in China and in the United States. Some of them invest in stock and mutual funds in other developing countries such as India. In their discussion, they think investment is very important since "you have to spend money on everything here in the United States, so we have to know how to maximize our accumulation." Mr. Chen mentioned this to me when I told him that I wonder why most dads talk about investment other than education. Mr. Liu added, "As first generation immigrants, we do not feel secure. Accumulation is a way to make us feel secure." These parents know that it is very difficult to reach this goal by only working as middle class professionals in pharmaceutical companies. They seek investment instead. "Since we came from another country, we are aware of the fact that we can invest all over the world. We have a broader view than most local Americans." Some parents invest in real estate in their hometowns in China, and their parents or relatives helped them manage this real estate. According to these parents, investing in real estate in cities in China is the most successful investment ever since generally housing prices in urban areas of China have tripled since the late 1990s.

How to take care of their parents back in their hometown is another common topic for discussion. Though these Chinese immigrants already moved to the United States for ten to twenty years, almost all my informants' parents stay in their home countries. Only a small portion of their parents moved to the United States with them. According to traditional Chinese filial piety, children should take care of their parents when they age. Therefore, they often discuss how to take care of their parents remotely from the United

States in the parents' waiting room. Most of them hire maids (A-Yi) or workers to help taking care of their parents back in their home country. Mrs. Sha says that she hired A-yis for her parents in Beijing, "I feel very sorry all the time for not being able to be there with them (her parents). So I hired maids for my parents since it is affordable there in Beijing." Mr. Yang mentioned a similar method which works very well for his parents in Taiwan, "I hired a Philippine maid for my father who has been sick for a long while. She takes care of my father very well, and that is the only thing I can do for him from here." They found hiring maids is the best way to solve this problem of not being able to take care of their parents in their home countries. Moreover, the fee for hiring maids is much lower than in the United States which is affordable for them. Some informants mentioned that even though they did their best to move their parents to the United States, their parents are not happy because they are not used to the life here. "They (my parents) insist on going back to Nanjing since there are few Chinese living nearby. My parents are extremely lonely here since there is no one to talk to." Mr. Zheng mentioned his experience to those parents who wanted to move their parents to the United States, "We should find a method that can please both us and our parents."

Dinghao Chinese School:

When you walk down the hall way in Radnor High School around 9:30 in the morning, you will see about fifty adorable children, from age three to ten years old, singing Chinese songs, reading Chinese poems, or counting numbers in Chinese. About three-fourths of these children are Asian, and most of them are adopted from China. Their

parents, most of them non-Asian Americans, sit with their kids and sing with them. Betty Foo, the president of Dinghao, is leading them in the front of the circle to do Chinese style greetings in Mandarin to both teachers and parents. Every child is taught to bow to both parents and teachers in a traditional Chinese style—to bend their body in around a forty-five to ninety degree angle and say "Laoshi hao" (which means "Hi, teacher") at the same time. After that, teachers would bow back and say the same thing. After the greeting, Betty would lead children to review Chinese songs she had taught the previous week, and then teach a new song each week. Children love to learn new Chinese songs and dance at the same time. After singing and dancing, students always have big smiles on their faces since they all have fun with it. After singing, Betty always has something special in her hands, such as a small Chinese drum or Chinese traditional toy. She would introduce her curious students to Chinese culture related to whatever small gadget she has. Betty always knows the best methods to introduce Chinese culture to her students and to their parents as well. An announcement for special activities of the day would be given by the head of the parents association to end the circle time.

This circle time practice is constructed in traditional Chinese fashion which heavily includes Confucian thinking. Even though only two out of fifteen teachers in Dinghao School are Taiwanese, the curriculum is filled with traditional Confucianism which is Taiwanese agenda rather than a Mainland Chinese agenda, which involves Chinese nationalism rather than Confucianism.

"In the year of 1997, I realized that there were more and more adopted children from China." Betty Foo, the founder of Dinghao Chinese School, told me the reason why she founded Dinghao Chinese School, "among these families who adopted children from

China, many of these parents mentioned that they would like their children to learn about their hometown culture in China. These American parents do not want their children to lose their identity just because they are adopted". She realized that since there are more and more Chinese children who are adopted from China, there should be a Chinese School specially designed for them." Betty told me, "Unlike those children who grow up in Chinese families, these adopted Chinese children only speak English since they grow up in American families. Therefore, they found it is difficult to join regular Chinese schools, which are founded for children from Chinese-speaking families. So I thought, why don't I create a school for these Chinese kids from American families?" Betty told me proudly, "This is the only Chinese school specially designed for kids from American families on the East Coast!"

Betty Foo is a sophisticated lady who has been residing on the Philadelphia Mainline for twenty-five years. She was born in Taiwan. Her father was a People's Representative in Chiang Kai-shek's ruling period. She came to Philadelphia for her college degree, and stayed after graduation. Her family has a nice local Chinese restaurant on Lancaster Avenue, one of the most hustling and bustling roads of the Philadelphia Mainline. Her small but nice restaurant is always full with both American and Chinese guests. Betty is always there in the restaurant to make sure everyone has the best dining experience her restaurant can offer. In the meantime, she gradually met more and more local American families on the Mainline who expressed the need for their children to learn Chinese language. Therefore, Betty had an idea for founding another Chinese school for children from English-speaking families. Now Betty devotes most of her time to Dinghao Chinese School though sometimes she still works in the restaurant.

“It (Dinghao Chinese School) is like my baby. I will never be tired of taking care of it!” Betty told me proudly.

Every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday morning, Betty works with Mainline Chinese School teachers and student volunteers from nearby colleges to prepare teaching materials for their students in her house in Bryn Mawr. She insists on having teaching material updated every semester in order to increase students’ interest in learning. Starting from the year of 2007, she has published her work as Chinese teaching materials for non-Chinese speaking children through publishers of the Ministry of Education in Taiwan.

After ten years of working in Dinghao Chinese School, Betty has developed a Chinese teaching team with a group of teachers she recruited for Dinghao Chinese School. Judy Lin is one of the most experienced teacher in this team. She is the coordinator of Dinghao Chinese School. All teachers are first generation Chinese Americans who speak Chinese Mandarin as their mother tongue. There are fifteen teachers for fifteen classes. Interestingly, among all these fifteen teachers, only one teacher is male. Three teachers are from Taiwan, including me. All other teachers are from Mainland China. Like Mingde Chinese School, simplified Chinese characters and Hanyu pinyin are introduced to Dinghao Chinese School.

Mainline Chinese School offers Chinese language teaching according to the need of their students. There was a debate in Mainline Chinese School about choosing to teach simplified Chinese characters versus traditional ones about ten years ago according to Emily, the former president of Mingde Chinese School. Traditional Chinese characters

have been used since the Qin dynasty. Taiwan (the Republic of China), Hong Kong, as well as Chinese immigrants in Chinatown still use traditional Chinese characters in writing. Moreover, Taiwan developed a phonetic system—*zhuyinfuhao* (*bopomofo*)—for Chinese Mandarin by using thirty symbols and four tone marks. Simplified Chinese characters are the official writing form of China (the PRC) and Singapore. In the PRC, the *hanyu pinyin* system—the phonetic system to transcribe Chinese characters by using English letters— is used instead of *zhuyin*. Originally, Mainline Chinese School taught traditional Chinese characters because most members of the Mainline Chinese School came from Taiwan and Hong Kong. According to Emily, in recent years, teachers realized that the *zhuyin* system, which requires their students to learn new symbols, is a challenging task. The *pinyin* system is relatively easier for their students to learn since it uses English phonetic symbols. Moreover, teachers found that simplified Chinese characters are easier for students to memorize than complicated traditional Chinese characters with much more strokes for each character. Therefore, Mainline Chinese School switched to teach *pinyin* with simplified Chinese characters several years ago. According to Emily, there is no politics for this transition, but pure practical reasons.

Having local connections with other schools on the Mainline, Betty has expanded her Chinese school teaching resources to other aspects. She is now working with Haverford College for a summer program fieldtrip to China every summer. Betty proudly tells me that by going to China for a fieldtrip, these students have grabbed a chance to know China. Many of these students realized that China is very different from what they had imagined after going to the fieldtrip during the summer.

Knowing that I am studying Chinese Americans in Philadelphia Mainline areas, Betty always gives me insights and suggestions for my research. She told me stories of how adopted children found their sisters from other parts of the United States.

I worked as a teacher for the second grade class of Dinghao School in 2008 and 2009. During this period of time, I had a chance to join meetings and discussions about activities and teaching materials. At nine o'clock on Saturdays, teachers of Dinghao Chinese School will arrive in the meeting room for a teachers' meeting. President Betty will announce important things and activities during this meeting to teachers. Sometimes there are visitors to the school. Betty would introduce them to teachers in the meeting. At nine thirty, it is circle time for most students to greet teachers and parents, and learn to sing in the hallway. After the circle time, Betty would give an announcement about notable matters. After the announcement, teachers walk with students back to their classroom. Classes start at 9:45, and end at 11:30.

I have twelve students in my class, eight of them kids adopted from China. They are from age three to six. Their parents stayed in the class with the students since they are too young to leave them alone in the class. Both parents and kids are eager to learn Chinese, though some kids do not fully understand why they go to Chinese school on Saturdays.

Among these twelve students, seven of my students are Chinese children adopted by American families. Parents of adopted Chinese children from my class tell me that the main reason to send their children to Dinghao Chinese School is that they want their children to learn about their Chinese heritage. Three students are Americans without Chinese heritage. Their parents tell me that they think Chinese will be the most popular

language in the future, and that is why they want their children to learn it when they are young. One girl is a third generation Chinese-American whose parents are of Chinese heritage, but they cannot speak Chinese. One student has mixed heritage of Chinese and American, but her mother cannot speak Chinese. The student's grandmother once came to my class and complained about the fact that her daughter has to send her granddaughter to Chinese school since she cannot teach her own daughter to speak Chinese.

According to Judy, in the year of 2007 there are more and more students on the waiting list to go to Dinghao Chinese School. The waiting list reached twenty students and was at a record high since Dinghao was founded. Dinghao Chinese School can only take 150 students, and other people have to be on the waiting list. "The emerging of Chinese economy has brought a wave for learning Chinese Mandarin in the United States," Judy says.

Chinese festivals and cultural classes

In order to introduce not only Chinese language and culture, Mainline Chinese School emphasizes Chinese cultural activities, especially about traditional Chinese festivals. Betty told me before the Chinese New Year celebration that "Since students learned these festivals in the class, we would like to make them feel them! Children love activities like Chinese festivals while they can play and learn at the same time!" Therefore, during the Chinese Mid-Autumn Moon festival, Mainline Chinese School

would provide moon cakes for both students and parents to enjoy while teachers tell the story about the origin of the festival.

Among all Chinese festivals, the Chinese New Year celebration is the most important one. On the morning of the Chinese New Year celebration date, February 22nd, 2009, when I walk into Radnor High School, the New Year decorations and Chinese New Year posters are already set up in the hallway and on the walls. Chinese classes are replaced by rehearsal of the performance in the grand performance hall. A big canvas with the Chinese words in calligraphy for "Happy Ox Year!" is hanging up in front of the hallway entrance. Children and parents with their different performance costumes are running around to prepare and rehearse for their performance in the afternoon.

As the teacher of the grade two class, I was told to bring my students to the rehearsal for the performance in the afternoon instead of having regular class. My students are very excited to go there since they know Chinese New Year means delicious food and great performances. I was surprised to find these children all aware that they will receive red envelopes with pocket money in it during Chinese New Year since this is only their second year in the Chinese school.

A Chinese New Year luncheon is held in the cafeteria after the rehearsal. Food with symbolic meanings is served for the luncheon. Betty introduces the meanings of every dish when everyone is enjoying the food. "Dumplings are for good wealth because they look like the traditional Chinese money—*yuanbao*. Oranges are for good omens for the New Year. Noodles mean longevity, so be sure do not cut it when eating it!" When Betty was introducing the meaning of these delicious foods, one of my students, Vincent, said

before Betty mentioned another food, “I know it! Every food here means something in Chinese culture in Chinese tradition!” I am impressed by his reaction since he is an Italian American boy.

After the luncheon, I lead my students back into the hall where we had rehearsal in the morning. We make sure everyone is dressed up in “*qipao*” and “*magua*”, the traditional Chinese dress from the Qing dynasty for the performance. Every student receives an ox-shaped lantern for the ox year performance. We move into the great hall, and have ourselves ready for the two hour formal Chinese New Year performance.

The performance always starts with a traditional Chinese lion dance, which is performed by parents from both Mingde and Dinghao Chinese School. Six dads disguise themselves in three Chinese lion costumes and dance on the stage. It is a traditional symbolic Chinese dancing for the good opening of the New Year. Another four dads play Chinese traditional drums and gongs for the lion dance. I explained this to my students, and was surprised that many of them have already known it.

The performance continues with traditional Chinese *taichi* sword dances by both parents and students who took *taichi* sword dance class. It is followed by traditional Chinese poem reading by students from second grade. My students are well prepared with Chinese poems and rhymes since we practiced many times in class. However, many of them were frozen on the stage, and some kids started crying. The audience is always moved by those cute three to six year olds lining up in Chinese traditional dress on stage. Flashes from cameras, laughter and loud claps welcomed them when they came onto the stage and lasted throughout their performance. Many audience members could not help

themselves and kept saying, “Look at how cute they are!” The performance of children under seven is a display of their ability to be able to sing Chinese songs in this young age. These parents seem to enjoy the moment much more than children on the stage.

Other than performances prepared in Chinese language classes, performance by cultural classes are very impressive to the audience. Performances by cultural classes included Chinese traditional music, Cheling—the Chinese yoyo, and Chinese group dances. The audience was impressed by the Chinese yoyo. Loud claps sound while the yoyo teacher throws the yoyo up high in the air and catches it on his short stick along with his students. One of my students, Winston, my other American heritage student, screams, “that is so cool! I want to do that!” He tells me that he will keep taking Chinese classes so he can learn to play the Chinese yoyo in the future. His mother, who is sitting behind us, is happy to hear his statement and grins with a big smile on her face.

Chinese dances were performed by a group of female students wearing traditional Han dresses who danced with their long sleeves and fans. My student, Julia, an adopted Chinese girl, commented that she wants to do it when she is old enough. “I have never seen this kind of dance and I want to do it in the future!” My students all become excited when they see those Chinese performances, and they want to take part in it when they grow up. Chinese New Year performance is a great time for both audience and performer to share their experience about Chinese school, and check out all the cultural programs. Moreover, it is an efficient promotion of Chinese culture programs at the Mainline Chinese School. Students are motivated to stay in Chinese school and join these fancy or exotic culture classes.

The last performance was a drama called “The White Snake Legend” performed by the eleventh grade students from Dinghao Chinese School. This drama is adapted from a famous old Chinese legend. It is about a snake fairy who falls in love with a man in the Ming Dynasty seven hundred years ago. This story is embedded a myriad of Chinese traditional values such as filial piety and strict ethics. These eleventh graders perform well and recite Chinese poems well. However, as a Mandarin native speaker, I can sense they pick up certain words and try to perform them from memorization. Since it is a long story in Mandarin Chinese with traditional Chinese poems and usages, I started to wonder how much the audience can understand since more than half of them are not Chinese speakers. After a while, my students start to become bored and start to crawl up and down from their seats. Their parents asked me to explain the story to their kids and them. It was a difficult job for me since I have to explain the background context of traditional Chinese ethics to them. I started to wonder if people, especially audience from Dinghao, can understand what this story is about and why it is a famous legend in Chinese culture. Moreover, are they aware the fact that even though the PRC is trying to pick up traditional Chinese cultural in recent years, these traditional Chinese values are not practiced or values in the PRC as much as in Taiwan?

In a leisure talk with Betty, she told me these teenagers always have their own idea about what to do for Chinese New Year performance. According to Betty, in the year of 2008, these teenagers have written their own drama. They performed a story to talk about differences between their parents—first generation Chinese immigrants, and themselves as second generation. The story is about a student’s parents who want him to go to good colleges. “The funniest thing was that they learned the “Chinese” way of talking of their

parents by saying “ah yo wei ya (Ouch)” and “Ah ya (well)” all the time in an extremely sarcastic way! This performance made their parents feel funny and embarrassed. What a big generation difference!”

Other aspects of Mainline Chinese School

Competition among parents:

There is always a competitive nature between schools, teachers, students, and even parents in Chinese school though Mainline Chinese School is not a formal or regular high school. As a Chinese teacher for the second grade class, I was asked to teach Chinese characters by all parents in my class including American parents. However, Betty always reminded me not to do it since these kids are under six year old. “They are too young to learn Chinese writing” Betty always reminds me. However, parents want their children to be more advanced than the other second grade class and they hope their children can start learning writing when they are young. I discussed this question with Betty, and she told me that many parents from Dinghao Chinese School hope to combine classes with Mingde Chinese School. These parents from Dinghao Chinese School know that students in Mingde Chinese School are better in Chinese language ability owing to the Chinese-speaking environment they grew up into. Therefore, parents of Dinghao Chinese School hope they can help their children to improve their Chinese language ability to the level that they can transfer to Mingde Chinese School. “You know it is almost impossible since there is a big gap between their Chinese speaking abilities. Later on, we agree to transfer

excellent students from Dinghao to Mingde if they are good enough to go to classes in Mingde. However, some parents really wish their kids can move to Mingde, and ask their teacher to put a heavy school load on their students. I can understand how those parents feel, but personally do not agree with them."

Mrs. Tsai, who has been teaching in Mingde Chinese School more than five years, tells me that the competition enforced by parents is much more strong in Mingde Chinese School than Dinghao. "You know, the Chinese saying is that 'parents wish their sons to become dragons, and their daughters to become phoenixes.' We, as teachers in Mingde Chinese School have more pressure from parents since parents are Chinese! They asked a lot and have comments on your teaching skills! You are so lucky to teach in Dinghao Chinese School where most students come from American families!" She tells me that she resigned from Mingde Chinese School, and was very glad that Betty will take her at Dinghao Chinese School.

Nancy, a young teacher from Mingde Chinese School, tells me that she feels stressed in teaching her students since parents request much work from her. She feels pressured by parents to do a lot of extra work in order to satisfy parents. However, she does not dare to quit her teaching job because she is afraid to destroy her relationship with students' parents. "They are all big people in Chinese social circles…it is better for me to maintain good relationships with them!" She tells me that she will find a reasonable excuse resign after this semester ends.

Competition among teachers and schools:

Teaching Chinese as a possible second career became a popular topic especially for teachers at Mainline Chinese School since there is a rising demand for Chinese teachers. Starting from 2005, the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania started to hold annual two-day conferences to explain how to receive licenses to teach Chinese in high schools. Moreover, it provides discussions on the most efficient methods to teach Chinese language. Mainline Chinese School presidents usually ask their teachers to participate in the conference since it is a good chance to improve teaching methods and to meet teachers from other Chinese schools.

I have been to this conference twice—in 2005 and 2009—as a volunteer for Mingde Chinese School and as a teacher for Dinghao Chinese School. For both conferences, I always felt that there was something strange at the conference—an atmosphere of competition. Everyone seemed to compete with each other, even between Chinese schools. At the conference held in 2009, there were about a hundred fifty people in the conference, and most of them were female in the age range of thirty-five to sixty. We had twenty-one teachers from Mainline Chinese School participating in the conference. About fifteen teachers from New Jersey Chinese School came and sat in the other corner. It happens that one of my classmates from college was in that group of New Jersey Chinese School teachers. I was so happy to see her and moved my seat to talk to her in the other corner. However, when the speaker asked us to form groups and discuss Chinese language teaching problems, I was requested to sit back with the "Mainline Chinese School" group by teachers from Mainline Chinese School. They said I should move back to sit with them since I am part of them from the "Philadelphia Mainline".

The competitive atmosphere extended even between individuals. There was an uncomfortable and aggressive nit-picking behavior between everyone throughout the whole conference. Everyone paid much attention to others' language ability both in English and Chinese. When the speaker mentioned that "permanent resident" status is required to take the exam for a certificate to teach in high schools in Pennsylvania State, all the ladies sitting around me turned to me at the same time, and commented, "So you cannot teach in high school since you do not have green card. What a waste."

Even my friend, Chin, who went to the conference just for fun and to accompany Betty, felt this awkward atmosphere when I asked her about her feelings. Chin also felt the strange competitive atmosphere, but she says it happens all the time when people want to compete and show they are the best. She said in a sarcastic voice, "only those housewives would compete for these boring Chinese teaching jobs! I am a professional, so I do not care!"

Competition among Chinese schools

As non-profit organization, Mainline Chinese school depends on funding from the United Way and the tuition paid by students. They compete with other Chinese schools on the East coast based on their performance and for resources, especially funding for running the Chinese school. Contests, such as writing contests, speech contests, and Chinese cultural contests are held among East Coast Chinese schools, ranging from the Philadelphia metropolitan area, to New Jersey and New York. According to the financial secretary for the Mainline Chinese School, the measure of performance will affect their

resources of funding. “Of course more winning records means this Chinese school runs well, and it makes application for public funding easier.” She tells me that most of the funding that the Mainline Chinese School receives is from the United Way and nearby pharmaceutical companies. The performance of a Chinese school is essential to win funding over other competitors.

Chinese Culture and identity re-invented:

Mainline Chinese School downplays the political differences between Taiwan and Mainland China, but focus on traditional Chinese culture to create a pan-Chinese identity which can be broadly applied to anyone with Chinese heritage. Instead of talking about politics or modern Chinese history, they focus more on “traditional Chinese culture” and ethnic values. This school curriculum was created by the Taiwanese founders of Mainline Chinese School, and it has become a Mainline Chinese School tradition to teach “traditional Chinese culture.” It is noticeable that the Chinese culture introduced in Mainline Chinese School is based on so-called traditional Chinese culture—a tradition based on Han culture and Confucianism shared both by Chinese Mainlanders and Taiwanese long before the political divergence in 1949. After 1949 when Mao took over Mainland China, the practice of traditional Chinese culture values is carried out in Hong Kong and Taiwanese which is not affected by Mao’s “Cultural Revolution”—whereby abandoning Chinese “feudal culture” and traditional ethics is part of the main agenda. Even though “traditional Chinese culture” was gradually recovered after de-

collectivization, traditional culture practice and concepts do not have a strong root in Chinese Mainlanders' thoughts.

In Mainline Chinese School, through the process of learning "traditional Chinese culture," a pan-Chinese identity is created through the process of teaching "traditional Chinese culture" to teachers, students, and parents. Even though most teachers in Dinghao Chinese School are Chinese Mainlanders, they do not object to teaching the so-called "Chinese traditional values." By recognizing this common historical background, the Mainline Chinese School creates an open environment to welcome everyone to learn Chinese culture, including American families. This open definition creates a broad Chinese identity which can be easily applied to almost everyone.

By emphasizing "traditional Chinese culture," Mainline Chinese School has created an extremely broad definition of Chinese-ness. This openness enables Mainline Chinese School to open its door to everyone who is interested in Chinese culture, and has brought different kinds of Chinese to the school—both first and second generation Chinese immigrants and adopted children from China. At the same time, there is a voluntary Chinese identity emerging that could include everyone who has Chinese heritage. Indeed, this Chinese identity is similar to the overseas Chinese identity mentioned in Aihwa Ong's work (1999). Ong points out that wealthy overseas Chinese utilize their transnational identity, especially their Chinese identity as "huaqiao" (overseas Chinese), to be the bridge between Chinese and Western culture in the global economy. Similar to Chinese professionals in the Mainline Chinese School, these "overseas Chinese" immigrants' Chinese-ness does not include the Chinese nationalism which is promoted in Mainland China.

While adapting teaching "traditional Chinese culture" as a method to bring all Chinese together, the presidents of Mainline Chinese School also understand that they have to avoid spreading certain stereotypes of China in American society. They avoid mention certain aspects of "traditional Chinese" customs, especially those related to exotic past practices and gender inequality, such as foot-binding and polygamy. The Mainline Chinese School presidents and board members are aware that these aspects may bring unnecessary misunderstandings of Chinese culture. They want to avoid having Americans picture China as backward and undeveloped, but at the same time, they want to present the many facets of Chinese culture.

In 2008, Cathy Lyn Silber's secretary was invited by one of the parents to the Mainline Chinese School to give a speech. Cathy Lyn Silber did her research on a famous Chinese female secret writing system—*nushu* (women's script). Silber did her fieldwork collecting and transcribing this writing system in 1988, and published a book: ***Nushu*** *(Chinese Women's Script) Literacy and Literature*. *Nushu* is a secret writing language created by women in rural Hunan in southern China. Under Confucianism, Chinese women were not allowed to go to school to learn writing characters. Therefore, women in Hunan created their own writing language from embroidery patterns. This writing form was taught only between women. According to Betty, in this book, Silber unavoidably mentioned old customs such as food binding and unequal treatment of women. Though Betty welcomed Cathy to give a speech about her interesting book about Women's Script in Hunan, she was worried about the impact of this speech. Betty said she does not wish Americans to see China as still in an ancient stage where women still bind their feet. Betty mentioned after the teachers' meeting that she has worked very hard to introduce

different images of Chinese culture to Americans here, and hopes Americans do not think China is backward.

Since the Chinese culture introduced here in Mainline Chinese School is created based on constructions of "traditional Chinese culture," I always wonder how these students feel when they go to China, since what they have learned here in Chinese school is very different from how China is now.

Conclusion:

Mainline Chinese School now serves as a culture center for the northwestern suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area. It provides not only Chinese language classes, but also Chinese culture classes to teach cultural activities, such as Taichi, Chinese yoyo, and Chinese instruments. It holds Chinese festival celebrations to promote a Chinese atmosphere for students and exhibit its multidimensional course agenda.

Mainline Chinese School promotes so-called "traditional Chinese culture"—Confucianism based culture—in its teaching of Chinese language, culture, and activities. This "traditional Chinese culture" is based on mostly a Taiwanese agenda since Mainland China has not valued Confucianism based culture since Mao's Cultural Revolution. However, traditional Chinese culture taught by Mainline Chinese School is not objected to by its Mainland Chinese teachers and parents. Even though these Chinese Mainlanders are not raised with traditional Chinese culture, they relate themselves with it as part of their Chinese identity.

Mainline Chinese Schools has two parts: Mingde Chinese School for children from Chinese speaking families and Dinghao Chinese School for children from non-Chinese speaking families. Politics and competitions are common in different levels of Chinese school to the extent that students, parents, teachers, and school officials are aware of getting advanced in the competition. Parents in Dinghao wish their children can learn Chinese as well as students from Chinese speaking families so that their children can transfer to Mingde Chinese School. Mingde Chinese School students study Chinese language and try to memorize Chinese culture well enough to pass the Chinese advanced placement exam. Mingde teachers face pressure from parents who expect them to teach very well and wish their students to advance their Chinese to the greatest extent possible. School officials train honored students to win the Chinese culture and speech competitions among East Coast Chinese schools that enable them to maximize opportunities to receive funding next year.

The parents' waiting room serves as an important platform for information exchange and social networking for local Chinese professionals. It is a place for information exchange among Chinese parents, mostly about their transnational life on the Philadelphia Mainline and parenting as Chinese parents in the United States. Generally speaking, parents are adapting themselves from "traditional" ways to an American style while dealing with and parenting their children. Moreover, they talk about methods to have a better life and education for their children through investment in housing and the financial market. From their topics of discussion, I found Chinese parents put more emphasis on child education and investment, as professionals who work for pharmaceutical companies in Philadelphia Mainline.

Chinese-ness is re-invented in the Mainline Chinese School. While it mainly applies the Confucianism-based definition of Chinese culture for its teaching of Chinese culture, this application of "traditional Chinese culture" to define Chinese-ness opens up its door to everyone who is interested in learning about Chinese culture and language. At the same time, board members and presidents in the Chinese school avoid spreading stereotypes of "backward" images many Americans have about China while introducing "traditional Chinese culture." Even though their introduction to Chinese culture relates little to modern Chinese culture developed mainly with socialism in the PRC, their introduction of "traditional culture" brings everyone, whether Chinese or not, together with cultural perspectives that interest people. A broad Chinese identity emerges within this broadly defined concept that could include both Chinese Mainlanders and Chinese from other parts of the world. The broadly defined concept of Chinese-ness creates a Chinese identity that broadly includes everyone.

Chinese Churches

Like Chinese schools, Chinese churches in the suburban Philadelphia area provide a platform for social networks of Chinese professionals. Most Christian Chinese medical professionals in western suburban Philadelphia were non-Christians when they came to the United States. Not being able to participate in American society and feeling isolated, they were attracted by the social networks and safety nets provided by Chinese churches' communities. Becoming Christians has changed their identities and gives them a very different angle when looking at Chinese politics. There are several Chinese churches of different types in the western suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area, and these Chinese churches compete with each other for members and try to convert non-Christians as new members. However, the neoliberal characteristics of modern Chinese culture impede Chinese newcomers from becoming "true" Christians, since they emphasize private accumulation of capital. Chinese ways of social networking are carried out in the enclosed Chinese church society—through gossiping, rumors, and guanxi *networking. This chapter illustrates these Chinese medical research professionals' lives in the churches, and the struggle of Chinese churches to grow in suburban Philadelphia.*

Chinese Churches are Part of Chinese Immigrants' Lives

Every Sunday morning in the northwest suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area, about three hundred and fifty Chinese Americans go to Delaware County Christian School in Newtown Square for weekly worship. The Trinity Christian Church of Greater Philadelphia has Sunday worship in the Great Hall at Delaware High School since their church building in Conshohocken cannot fit in so many people. There are two Sunday worship services: Chinese and English. About one hundred people participate in each worship service. "This is one of the biggest gathering sites for Chinese people in the Philadelphia suburban area." Mr. Yei said to me during my first visit in November 2005. "This church can become huge because this place provides a lot of support for Chinese immigrants here in this area!"

When I was chatting with parents in the parents' waiting room at Mainline Chinese School in October 2005, I asked parents about important activities in their daily life other than Chinese Schools. Many of the parents whose children are in Chinese School told me that going to Chinese churches was another important activity for their families. After Thanksgiving in 2005, Mr. Yei invited me to pay a visit to Trinity Christian Church of Greater Philadelphia, the largest Chinese Church in Philadelphia metropolitan area. Later on, I was invited to visit other churches for Chinese immigrants in Mainline, such as God's Lamb Church in Haverford, Chinese Gospel Church in Chinatown, and a Congregational church between Lancaster and City Line Ave.

During my interviews with informants who attend churches and Bible studies, they all repeatedly mentioned how important church life is for them, and that they would not

be able to survive here in the Philadelphia suburban area without the support of Chinese churches. As Mrs. Huang said in parent's waiting room in Mainline Chinese School, "In Chinese schools, you chat with the people you meet. However, in the church, we are all sons and daughters of God. People in churches are your brothers and sisters, and they provide help when you need it."

In this chapter, I will introduce the Chinese churches in Mainline Philadelphia, activities performed by these churches, and the ways in which the Christian faith, according to my informants, plays an essential rule in their daily lives. Moreover, I will explore how these so-called sisters and brothers in the same church help each other in their daily life when in need. Pastors now find that managing and operating a church is becoming more and more difficult due to the changing features of new Chinese immigrants. Pastors now face challenges of recruiting more members, since new Chinese immigrants put more emphasis on private capital accumulation. More and more Chinese new-comers ask the pastor directly what material benefits they can receive in material.

Like Chinese Schools, Chinese churches in Philadelphia Mainline area also provide important opportunities to have Chinese immigrants get together every Sunday morning. Similar to other churches, Chinese churches have Sunday worship services on Sunday morning. Unlike American churches, Chinese churches in Philadelphia and its metropolitan areas have luncheons after Sunday morning services. The luncheon becomes a perfect time for church members to socialize with each other. Fellowship is held on weekdays by members according to the time that is most convenient to them. However, different churches have different denominations, rules, and atmospheres which

attract different groups of congregants. Whether liberal or not, Chinese churches provide their followers both the spiritual needs and sometimes material help when in need.

Trinity Christian Church of Greater Philadelphia

Trinity Christian Church of Greater Philadelphia has the largest Chinese membership in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. It is a merged church of three Chinese churches in Philadelphia Mainline area—Chinese Church of Philadelphia, Salvation Church, and Mainline Christian Church. The chief pastor is Pastor Chow. He was born in Shanghai, grew up in Hong Kong, and moved to Philadelphia in 1969. The other two pastors are Pastor Daniel Au, and Steven Lee.

There are two types of worship services on Sundays, owing to the needs of first and second generation of Chinese immigrants. Pastor Chow and Pastor Lee hold worship services in Mandarin at nine thirty on Sunday mornings while Pastor Au takes care of the English worship at eleven o'clock.

The two services are different not only in language but also in format for different generations of Chinese immigrants. The Chinese worship service that starts at 9:30 is mainly for first generation Chinese immigrants who speak Mandarin. When I attend that service, I can not help but notice that most people are older than those at the English service at eleven. The service atmosphere is more strict and solemn. Usually the service starts by singing Chinese gospel songs together. After singing gospel songs, the pastor, usually Pastor Chow, will preach the theme from the Bible for that day. The worship

service will end with the announcement of activities, the introduction of new-comers, and the ending gospel.

Most people who attend English service are second or third generation Chinese immigrants. Sometimes are some non-Chinese visitors. Most participants in the English service are teenagers. Pastor Au, the host of the English service, usually discusses weekly theology themes for worship in a new or contemporary style, including the use of interesting pictures in his PowerPoint presentation in order to attract the attention of teenagers. Music is played using modern instruments, such as electric guitar and drums, by teen members. Pastor Au usually plays the acoustic guitar himself to lead the gospel singing. He does all he can to attract all attention from these restless teenagers; however, I noticed that it is not hard to spot teenagers texting or playing with their cellphones or other gadgets during the service.

In addition to Sunday worship services, Trinity Chinese Church provides activities and other services for its members. During the service time, children's services and infant care are provided by volunteers. After Chinese worship at eleven, there are at least five different adult Bible study sessions provided by pastors and elder members. At the same time, children's Bible study classes are provided for kids under twelve years old. Around noon, an after-service luncheon is offered in the cafeteria downstairs. Church members have a chance to talk to each other during this time while enjoying lunch together. Members of different fellowship groups take turns serving the food and cleaning the kitchen. Children eat, play and run around in the cafeteria during the lunch as parents socialize with each other. Library service is provided during lunch time. Two big bookshelves loaded with Chinese books are pushed out from the storage space to the

cafeteria. Church members can borrow books from the service. Sometimes after luncheon, there are activities in the afternoon, such as prayer meetings, sports activities, or choir practice.

In 2006, I met Mr. Yei and Mrs. Huang at Mainline Chinese School. They invited me to Trinity Christian Church after they discovered that I was doing research on Chinese immigrants in suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area, and particularly about Philadelphia Mainline. They introduced me to Trinity Christian Church, as most Chinese immigrants who attend this church are professionals who work in pharmaceutical companies and predominantly reside in Philadelphia Mainline. They believed that I would meet many people to interview in the church. However, after visiting this church, I found the situation was very different. The atmosphere in Trinity Christian Church was very different from Mainline Chinese School. As a newcomer in 2006, I found it was more difficult to get to know people in the Chinese church than the Chinese School, especially people from Mainland China.

Generally speaking, church members, most of them from Mainland China, are secretive toward newcomers and tend to only be friends with those who they already know in fellowship- except for several elders who are eager to have new members to join the church. They tend to be very cautious of new members for a long period of time. During my first year in Trinity Christian Church, I thought I could meet more people through the after-worship luncheon, but later I found it was very difficult because most people tended to talk and eat with people they already knew from the same fellowship group. After one year, I joined several fellowship groups and become close to certain groups of people I met there. However, it was difficult to get to know someone only

through chatting during lunch time. People tended to shy away from me if they were not familiar with me through regular settings.

Stating my problem of "not knowing enough people for my research" to elder members, they suggested I do volunteer work, since they knew that I had been working as a volunteer in Mainline Chinese School for several years. In 2008, they arranged for me to work as a volunteer teacher for children age four to six since I have experience working with small kids. I was hoping to meet more potential informants in the church by working as volunteer. However, things did not work out as I expected.

In Trinity Christian Church, most people are from Mainland China, and only a few are from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. Therefore, the atmosphere in the church is more Mainland Chinese cultural oriented—people are very careful and do not like to reveal their personal information to strangers they have just met. Unlike Chinese schools, where parents love to talk to strangers and discuss their experiences of living in a suburban area, people in Trinity Christian Church do not talk eagerly to people with whom they are not familiar.

Church Activities:

As a Christian church, Trinity Christian Church offers worship services, celebrations, and activities (such as summer retreats) like other Christian churches. Like most Chinese churches in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, Trinity Christian Church offers Sunday luncheon after worship every week. During worship time, the Trinity Christian Church offers a child care service that is run by volunteers.

I served as a volunteer for the four to six year-olds' Bible study from September 2008 until May 2009. It was a very interesting experience to work with kids- and sometimes with their parents in the room. Before the worship started at 9:30, parents would come in and drop their kids off in the classroom. I recorded their information, including their names, their number, and their kids' names before they left. After parents left, I distributed papers and pens to kids. Later on, I played games and told Bible stories to these kids in English, since not all of them could understand Mandarin. After the story telling, I distributed crafts that related to the story. Around eleven, I brought them to have snacks in the cafeteria after the prayer routine. Parents then came back to the classroom to pick up their children.

The kids I worked with here are very different from the kids I worked with in Mainline Chinese School. All of the kids I worked with in Trinity Christian Church are from Chinese families. Compared to the kids I worked with in Dinghao Chinese School, though at the same age range, they tended to be more shy than kids from American families. Some parents chose to stay with me in the classroom since their kids would start to cry when they lost sight of their parents. When I played games with them or told them stories, they tended to be non-responsive. Many of them looked at me with no facial expressions, which make me wonder if they were listening to my story. Like my students in Dinghao Chinese School, these kids communicated to each other in English. However, they did not talk to each other unless it was necessary.

Small fights were not rare seen in my class, since there were not enough toys for everyone. Usually I had about ten kids in my class, but the toys provided from the church were far from enough. Sometimes kids pushed each other away from the toy or the maze

that they were playing with when they didn't want to share. It was very interesting to see them fighting for the same toy since they always did it silently. As a teacher, I had to stop them right away, but the quiet fighting scenes always puzzled me.

Every kid was quiet, but only one boy was very noisy. Jason, who was the only six year-old, was the naughty boy in the class. Being the tallest and oldest boy, he always tried to lead other boys in my class to explore the classroom by running around, jumping from chairs and climbing windows. Though kids did not necessary follow him, he would find ways to agitate other kids in the classroom and make them cry. Sometimes he would say curse words both in Mandarin and English, which was a serious taboo for kids in the classroom. Though I always put him in timeout, he could not stop his improper behavior. However, he quieted down right away when his parents showed up to pick him up. Those parents who stayed in the classroom started to gossip about his bad behavior, and they laughed at his parents, saying, "Like father like son; their family must be a mess at home to have kid like this!"

As a teacher, I never had the courage to tell Jason's parents about his naughty behavior. Since people in Trinity Christian Church interact according to Chinese culture, I understood that reporting Jason's naughty behavior could damage my network in the church. I was not familiar with Jason's parents since I was not in the same fellowship group with them, even though they always checked on Jason in my class. Therefore, I did not mention anything to Jason's parents about Jason's rude behavior. However, I noticed that by the end of the year, almost all parents in the church gossiped about Jason's unacceptable behavior , even though Jason's parents knew nothing about it.

After working as a volunteer for about six months, I gradually became familiar with parents who usually dropped their kid off in my class. I started to chat with parents who finished their services early to accompany their kids for the snack. However, I slowly realized that most people in the church seemed to keep a safe distance from each other carefully, including from the teacher who took care of their kids. It was very strange that those parents who usually sent their kids to my class during worship time on Sundays would pretend that they did not know me during the after-worship luncheon. It always confused me that this awkward situation happened, since they always gave me warm greetings when they brought their children to my class. But this did not happen with those parents who are half or second generation Chinese immigrants and grew up in the United States, or with parents who came from Hong Kong and Taiwan. They always said hi to me during the luncheon and treated me as their friends. In the end of the volunteer work year, I realized that my volunteer work did not bring me more informants, since most people from China who I needed to interview still kept a distance from me. I had more friends who are second generation Chinese and Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan, yet I already had enough people in this category to interview

In March 2009, Trinity Christian Church held a regular spring picnic in Ridley State Park in western suburban Philadelphia. In the email I received from Pastor Chow, it stated that everyone should bring a dish for the spring picnic. The fellowship leader announced what type of dish one should bring. After checking with Mr. Zhu, I found out that members in my fellowship were to bring meat dishes to the picnic. The picnic date was on a Saturday, and I realized that I had to teach in Dinghao Chinese School in the

morning. Therefore, I planned to pick up a food tray from Costco after Chinese School, as I knew that I would be late to the picnic.

The picnic started at twelve o'clock, but when I arrived at twelve thirty, I was surprised to find out that all the food was already gone. Since it was raining, Trinity Chinese Church members were all sitting under the hut talking when I arrived. There were very few trays with leftovers left on the picnic table, but I could tell there were still many hungry people. They were very happy that I brought Costco-size buffalo chicken wings. I was assuming everyone would bring a jumbo dish, since it was a picnic for the whole church. However, after I put the food on the picnic table, people came to grab the chicken wings quickly. I was wondering why that there was no food left, and I asked my friend nearby. She told me this happens all the time—too many people and very little food. Later I heard from pastor Chow that he appreciated the fact that I brought a lot of food, since I was the only one in my family to go to the picnic. But I felt very strange that I, a graduate student without regular income, brought what they said was an "impressively" huge amount of food- and more than what most families, including parents who both work as professionals in pharmaceutical companies, brought to the picnic.

Unlike Mainline Chinese School, which provides gourmet food for its activities, Trinity Christian Church does not provide food for its members for festivals. Instead, for activities, the church asks its fellowship groups and members to contribute. For all activities held by Trinity Christian Church, non-Christians are always welcome to join for free. Since this church has hundreds of members but is not very well organized, church members do not have a strong bond to each other outside the fellowship groups. Though

they call each other brothers and sisters, they do not necessarily treat each other like brothers and sisters. Moreover, church members tend to stay with people they already know from fellowship, and they seldom introduce themselves to other church members. Therefore, church members were not motivated to bring huge amount of food for other unknown church members, but only for their fellowship groups. The idea of bringing enough food for the picnic obviously did not fulfill the church's original goals. According to my elder friends, situation like this had happened "for many years".

Fellowship seems to play an extremely important role in the socializing of members of the church. I had a similar experience to that which I had at the picnic at the summer retreat, a three day activity that Trinity Christian Church holds in Messiah College, near Harrisburg, every year. There, church members naturally divided themselves into small groups according to their fellowship groups, and they socialized with those people they already were familiar with. I realized that it would be hard to know every church member without joining fellowship.

Instead of having a strong bond between church members, fellowship plays an important role in the so-called "life in the church" of Christianity. However, in Trinity Christian Church, different fellowship groups have very different atmospheres owing to their members' backgrounds. The relationships built between church members in different fellowship groups are varied. Church members of Trinity Christian Church are very diverse in their backgrounds and ways of behavior, and this encourages them to go to fellowships where they will be with people of similar background.

Fellowships:

During my field work from 2006 to 2009, I participated in two different fellowship groups. One is called Si-En and the other is called Young Family Fellowship. Since Trinity Chinese Church is a combination of three churches, it has many fellowship groups for members of different age groups and cultural backgrounds. These two fellowship groups are very different owing to their members' immigration backgrounds as first and second generation Chinese immigrants. In the following, I will explain the differences and compare how different these groups are.

Si-En Fellowship:

"Si-En" means thinking about the grace God give us. As a new member in 2006, I was encouraged by Mr. Li, one of the first church members I met in Trinity Chinese Church, to go to Si-En fellowship. This fellowship group has members mostly from Lower Merion and the Radnor Township area where I do my fieldwork. Most of the time, fellowship is held in Mr. Zhu's house in Wayne on Saturday nights around 6:30. There are about twenty families in the Si-En fellowship group. All of them are first generation Chinese immigrants, mostly from mainland China. They all came for their graduate degrees, and they stayed in the Philadelphia metropolitan area to work for pharmaceutical companies. Mr. Wang is the only person who does not work for pharmaceutical companies. He imports medical equipment from China to the United States as his own business.

Originally, I thought that attending fellowship was a great chance to meet first generation Chinese immigrants who have a background like mine. I imagined that I could discuss general thoughts and experiences about living in Philadelphia Mainline with them, similar to the conversations I had at Chinese School. However, as a newcomer, it did not take a long time for me to realize that people in the fellowship were still secretive to new members. They kept a safe distance from me by not revealing much information about themselves or their thoughts about living in the Philadelphia suburban area. It took me over one year to be close enough with them to be able to discuss their living experiences and difficulties in their lives.

The fellowship starts at seven, when people bring in pot-luck food and start to eat dinner. Bible study starts after dinner. At the end, there is always a snack prepared by some members, and people chat before going home. People leave by nine-thirty since everyone will wake up early on Sunday for the Sunday morning worship service.

In addition to the weekly gathering, fellowship members arrange activities to participate in together. In the spring, fellowship members usually go together to Washington D. C. for the cherry blossom festival. In the summer, they go to the beach to enjoy the nice sunshine. According to Mr. Zhu, these activities provide opportunities for members to talk with each other, since a fellowship evening is too short to understand and chat with each other. In summer 2008, I had a chance to go to New Jersey Wildberry beach with Si-En fellowship members and families. Usually when I went to fellowship, I spent several hours to read the Bible and chat with fellowship members. However, going beach with my fellowship brothers and sisters for one day in New Jersey was another phenomenal experience.

On a hot summer day in July, 2008, Si-En fellowship decided to go to New Jersey beach for a day, and they planned to stop at a buffet restaurant for dinner on the way back to the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Seven families, which included six couples, three children and me, gathered together in front of King of Prussia shopping mall. We carpooled in five cars, vans and SUVs to Wildberry Beach in New Jersey.

The assumption of "moving as a group" (tuantixingdong 团体行动) was prevalent among members during the trip. Though every driver knew where the destination was and had a map in each car, there was a strong assumption shared by everyone that every car should stick together all the time, even on the highway. In order to keep every car lining together on the busy interstate highway, sometimes our cars had to stop on the shoulder of the highway to wait for missing cars in the back. It was extremely dangerous to stop on the highway, especially at the intersections. As the driver of the leading car, Mr. Zhu always made sure every car was going the right way and was able to follow his van. He requested that drivers park their cars at an intersection between two highways to wait for one missing car. It was very dangerous to park on the ramp highway intersection since the shoulder on the ramp was very narrow. Cars exiting the highway could have easily hit or scratched our vans since there was not much space left for them on the one-lane ramp. Some passing cars honked at us, and some car drivers even rolled down their windows to yell at us. One driver yelled at us using the discriminatory term, "Chink!" I felt annoyed, but found that I was the only person who was annoyed by the yelling. Mrs. Zhu turned to me and asked in Mandarin, "What did that guy yell?" People in my car looked at each other, and everyone shook their heads. I did not think it was proper to explain what the word meant since it might ruin our good mood at the beach. The young

couple sitting behind me said, “Who knows! People in Philly and Jersey are not friendly and tend to yell or honk at us when we walk on the street.”

Knowing it was dangerous, the drivers still insisted that we stay together and make sure everyone would arrive at the same time and at the same place. Sticking together was essential for our group for the rest of day.

After arriving at the beach, we found that there were more people on the beach than we expected. Since it was a great day with sizzling sunshine, people were out enjoying the weather. Instead of placing the huge sun umbrella far away from the water, brothers and sisters decided to squeeze into a small spot among the crowded sun shades since they did not mind squeezing into the crowds. One brother joked, “It will never be tighter than the beach in China!” Brothers rented two large-size sun umbrellas, and poked them into the sand where the space could only fit in *one* umbrella among the huge crowd. They made these two umbrellas overlap, It must have been very strange for the neighbors who came before us to camp their umbrellas next to us. Our umbrella had some overlaps with theirs, and the boundary line was not clear after twenty of us squeezing in this little space. I could tell some people were not pleased, and they moved their umbrella toward the other side to define a boundary of their own space. I was wondering if the brothers and sisters in my fellowship would notice this and understand that in American culture, people tend to outline the boundary with each other, especially in space management. Squeezing too many people into a tight space among a crowd of beach-goers could be rude to those nearby. However, my brothers and sisters from the fellowship obviously did not feel or think so. They sat down after the umbrellas were set up, and they started to enjoy the nice beach.

The weather was very nice, we enjoyed the great beach and food (mostly Chinese snacks). Unlike activities held by church, fellowship groups usually have better food, since fellowship members know each other very well and are willing to share nice food and drink with each other. I had a great chat with two new friends, Joyce and Johnny. They were pharmaceutical students at Shenyang University, and they came to the United States for a one-year internship in Merck. Now they were finishing their internships as part of their last year of college study. Both Joyce and Johnny were thinking about applying to graduate program here in Philadelphia, to see if they had a chance to stay after finishing their pharmaceutics degrees. They told me that last year, before the economic crisis, many intern students stayed to work for pharmaceutical companies in Philadelphia area. However, they were not fortunate enough to stay, owing to the economic crisis. After the economic crisis in 2008, pharmaceutical companies laid off their employees and send some employees back to China for new branches. Due to this situation, Joyce and Johnny could barely find any chance to stay and work in Merck after their internship.

There were many seagulls and seagulls around the beach begging for leftovers. After lunch, several fellowship brothers started to feed seagulls on the beach- even though there was a sign behind us that said, “Do not feed wild birds”. A flock of birds, mostly seagulls, rushed down for food and swirled on the low air. Our neighbors who camped around us were bothered by these birds. They started to slowly migrate away from our umbrellas. One family who camped in front of us packed their things and moved away to the back. Before they left, an old guy from that family gave us an ugly look. I thought he was bothered by us and had to move away from he was sitting—a good spot near the water.

It looked like I was not the only person who felt embarrassed in my group. Lena, Mr. Zhu's twelve-year-old daughter, told me that this embarrassment always happened. "I have become used to it, since this happens all the time when I go out with my parents and their friends. Oh, well, what can I do?" She smiled and said to me, "I think my parents do not know much about it (American culture) since they spend most of their effort to earn money for me and my sister."

Fellowship members chatted mostly about their lives in China while we were relaxing on the beach. While the second generation children chatted in English, adults spoke mainly Mandarin. Similar to the topics parents discussed in Chinese School, these parents started talking about investments, problems of taking care of children, and school districts.

Some parents talked about a strange situation in Philadelphia that they could not understand. They could not understand why there are so many panhandlers on streets in Philadelphia who are not disabled. Then everyone shared their awkward experiences in Philadelphia city—being "harassed" by beggars, always hearing that a friends' friend was mugged, and so on. Urban myths, like "always bring enough money to pay the robber for getting fewer stabs," were discussed. Their conclusion was that they should avoid going to the bad part of Philadelphia since it is dangerous. Though Chinatown is not in a good area, it is necessary to buy Chinese goods there. Their conclusion was that one still has to go there to buy groceries, even though it is not considered a safe area.

My fellowship friends still maintain their Chinese customs and lifestyle as much as they can. Though they have been residing here in the United States for more than twenty

years, they are not Americanized in behavior at all, since they always stay in the enclosed social circle of Chinese immigrants. However, talking about American customs and ways of life is a part of the important information that they share with each other. Even on the beach, they talked about the best way to deal with their teenagers, who they now consider "Americans".

Young Family Fellowship

On Saturday afternoons, I usually went to Young Family Fellowship, which is a fellowship group composed mostly of second generation Chinese immigrants who immigrated to the United States with their parents when they were in high school. There are about ten families in this fellowship. Most members of Young Family fellowship are younger couples with children age under ten. Most people in this fellowship can speak some Mandarin, but some of them cannot speak it fluently. Therefore, the fellowship is carried out mainly in English.

Though Si-En fellowship and Young Family fellowship belong to the same church, their respective atmospheres as fellowship groups are very different. Brothers and sisters in the Young Family Fellowship tend to be very open to discussion of their life in the Philadelphia suburbs and how they moved here from other places. As second generation Chinese Americans, they are more adapted to American culture and life. Being with them is a totally different experience from the Si-En fellowship group.

Topics that the members of Young Family Fellowship talk about are very different from those of Si-En fellowship. Recreational topics, such as where to vacation, to go

skiing, or to picnic, are always discussed after Bible study. Some common topics about house renovation and gardening are discussed. However, unlike Si-En fellowship, members of Young Family Fellowship seldom talk about American customs. Instead, they talk more about Chinese culture, such as how to celebrate autumn moon festivals. It is very interesting that people in Young Family Fellowship pay more attention to how to celebrate Chinese festivals than Si-En fellowship. They would like to maintain their Chinese identity and culture, even though they have spent most of their lives in the United States. They consider Chinese customs and festivals important events and as ways to pass on their Chinese heritage to their children. .

Church as an Enclosed Chinese Society:

In Trinity Christian Church, most people tend to socialize within their fellowship groups, and they tend to be secretive to members outside of fellowship. However, gossip can still spread fast- not only within its fellowship groups, but all over the church. As Harrell points out in his study of traditional Chinese culture, gossip can serve as an agent to regulate social order in peasant society and to provide social control (Harrell 1982). Gossip in church seems to be spread unintentionally from one to another. I always wondered if the individuals who other people gossiped about knew that people were talking about them, since they always disappeared when the rumors and gossip were flowing around. Their disappearance made people believe in those rumors more and spread it out.

Mrs. Chen is a member of Si-En fellowship. I met her in 2007 after a worship luncheon. She was very secretive when talking to me. She told me that she was a medical doctor who has been living in Philadelphia for eight years. Her son and daughter were sitting next to her, but I did not see her husband. I did not ask her where her husband was because she did not seem to be confortable. Several months later, I heard from another lady that her husband was in Shanghai, China. The person told me that her husband graduated with an MBA degree from Drexel University, and could not find a job for over three years. Therefore, he decided to start up a business in Shanghai and left about three years earlier. Then the lady added, "As a "haigui" man, who can resist young women there in Shanghai?" I was surprised to hear the last sentence, but I made sure that I had no facial expression to avoid looking surprised. I responded "Really? How do you know?" The lady said, "Someone saw it in Shanghai… Well, I shouldn't gossip about it." Interestingly, later on I overheard a group of ladies talking about this after worship luncheon. During the period that this rumor was spread, I never saw Mrs. Chen in Sunday worship or fellowship groups. I asked Mr. Zhu if Mrs. Chen was alright during a fellowship meeting. Mr. Zhu said, "Mrs. Chen said she is very busy recently. She has a lot of patients in her clinic." After that, I never saw her again.

I heard other rumors, such as someone's husband losing his job, and someone's husband having affair. However, the person people gossiped about always disappeared, and I could never find out if those rumors were true or false. After a while, the gossip quieted down, and no one talked about it. Then the main character came back to the church like nothing happened.

Because many Chinese church members only socialize with people in the Chinese church, the church becomes a closed small social circle where rumors can fly fast when people start gossiping. Probably it is the reason why church members are very secretive and careful when taking to each other, especially to someone they have just met.

Politics in the Church

As noted earlier, Trinity Christian Church is a huge church with diverse, mostly first and second generation Chinese immigrants as its members. Therefore, there are different thoughts and concerns among church members on the future development of the church.

An often-discussed problem is the different approaches to church development between old and young members. Generally speaking, elder members who have been in Trinity Christian Church for more than twenty years do not feel the need to expand the church congregation. However, younger members feel there is a need to recruit new members and increase ministry activities to spread Christianity all over the world. Moreover, since Trinity Christian Church is not the only church in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, younger members worry that they may lose members if the recruiting work is not well-organized. Younger members tend to proselytize more than elder members.

Some relatively younger and late coming members, like Mr. Zhu, who is a member for only ten years, has noticed that it is harder and harder to recruit new members, especially those new Chinese immigrants who move to Philadelphia Mainline area to work for pharmaceutical companies. He has observed that these newcomers usually leave

after attending worship and fellowships several times. Like other younger members, he always wonders why newcomers from China are not like he was when he came to the U.S. ten years ago. Newcomers seem to care more about material life than spiritual life.

In a fellowship meeting for senior members in May 2009, younger members discussed this issue and their wish to voice their opinions to the elders together. As a junior member there, I voiced my awkward experience- that people in the church tended to be secretive to strangers- to three senior members, including Mr. Zhu and Mr. Wang. They told me that they had noticed this issue. They found that visitors came and left after a while because the pastor and elder brothers did not pay much attention to recruiting members. Mr. Zhu said the hierarchy was so strict in Trinity Christian Church that he could not organize new ministry initiatives without elder members' permission. Though he had been in the church for ten years, he did not have enough power to lead. Mr. Lv agreed, but he did not think there was much he could do, as he was also a relatively junior member. However, he did say he would suggest this point in the coming leadership meeting.

On a Sunday in September 2008, Pastor Chow talked about the structure of church. After reading a passage from Bible, Pastor Chow mentioned, "Church is like a corporation, and it needs to be managed well by members, not only by the pastor." Later in his speech, Pastor Chow did not discuss much about how to manage a church in practical methods; he mentioned many spiritual methods instead. Pastor Chow gave a speech on how church members should improve their spiritual qualities, as this would show non-believers that becoming Christians could bring a real change in life. "As part of the church," said Pastor Chow, "we are members of it. Like the corporate world, churches

have competitions, and they need to be taken care of by every member." However, Pastor Chow did not discuss who the "competitors" are, but instead about how members should behave.

There are several Chinese churches in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, including God's Lamb Church, Chinese Gospel Church in Chinatown, Faith Hope Love Chinese Church, and Taifu Church in West Conshohocken. All of these churches have their own different denominations and characteristics. For instance, Trinity Christian Church is a non-denomination church that is relatively liberal compared with the other Chinese churches mentioned. Instead of choosing a nearby church, many Chinese Christians drive up to one hour to Sunday worship. Therefore, these Chinese churches include the Chinese Christian population from both Philadelphia and its metropolitan area.

When Mr. Yei introduced me to Chinese Trinity Church, he mentioned, "You should come visit our church because people who go to our church have similar backgrounds as us—people who came to the United States for Master's degrees and stayed for work. Our church is not like Chinese churches in Chinatown, where they have more local people from Chinatown who are very different from us in education and culture." Many people mentioned this to me during my first year at Chinese Trinity Church as a new member. However, during my visits to Chinese churches in Chinatown in 2008, I realized that most members of Chinese Gospel Church in Chinatown came from the suburban Philadelphia area – directly contradicting what members of Trinity Christian Church told me. During my interviews with members who drove from suburban areas to Chinese Gospel Church in Chinatown for Sunday worship, they mentioned, "It is very convenient to come to Chinatown on the highway, since it leads us directly to Chinatown. We do not

have to take local streets that would damage our car." Some other member mentioned, "We can do grocery shopping in Chinatown after worship and luncheon. We will leave before dusk, since it is not very safe here in Chinatown." After interviewing a few people, I realized that going to churches in Chinatown on Sundays provides grocery shopping convenience for suburban Chinese immigrants. Chinese churches in Chinatown are not limited to local Chinese people in Chinatown, but they also provide services for Chinese immigrants in suburban areas.

However, there are other Chinese churches in Chinatown that serve Chinese Christians who reside in Chinatown. These Chinese churches have services in Cantonese and Fuzhou dialect, in addition to Mandarin.

In January, 2009, Pastor Lee came to me after the worship luncheon. He wanted to discuss a question with me, since he knew that I was studying anthropology about China. According to Pastor Lee, in recent years, there were many church visitors. However, many of them visited Trinity Chinese Church once or twice and then disappeared later. He wondered what he could do to convert the new Chinese immigrants who recently moved to the Philadelphia suburban area. He told me, "More and more Chinese immigrants move to Philadelphia metropolitan areas. However, I find it is very hard to convert them. The strange thing is that they seem to pursue only material wealth, not spiritual wealth." Pastor Lee said this point puzzled him a lot, and he wondered what I thought about this. I told him that I could understand the situation. Pastor Lee said he would discuss this with me in the future, as someone called him for the afternoon Bible study service.

This question can be easily observed on Trinity Christian Chinese's weekly report. Trinity Christian Church receives about 5,000 dollars in donations made by members each week. However, having 350 members, it does not seem to be much for the church- especially given that the Bible requires one-tenth donation from each member's income. The financial shortage does not seem to concern pastors and elder members, since they can still manage the budget and financial expenses. According to Pastor Lee, the problem is how to add new members to the church.

"We provide help to Chinese immigrants, and let them experience the love from God. New Chinese immigrants who do not need help now and only think about paying bills do not need us. It is really hard for us to expand the church if we do not have enough new comers." said Pastor Lee.

Both Mr. Zhu and Pastor Lee mentioned the problem of recruiting new members. Both of them, as well as other senior members who discussed this problem, pointed out that newcomers put more emphasis on their material life than spiritual life. The generational difference is shown in this particular problem, for it implies that Chinese newcomers are more practical than Chinese immigrants who came ten or twenty years ago, and they put more emphasis on what they can obtain materially. This generational difference reflects changes within Mainland China during this past twenty years- namely, that people in Mainland China focus more on the accumulation of material goods than before. In modern Chinese history, Maoist socialism, which emphasized people's spiritual needs, ended with the Cultural Revolution in 1976. Starting in 1979, Deng Xiaoping promoted economic reform, and he introduced privatization and the market economy. This economic reform brought problems of economic inequality, corruption,

rural-urban inequality, and inequality in resources distributions. These problems led to the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 a critique of the old Mao state and the new economic state of China. The Chinese state violently suppressed protestors in Tiananmen Square to gain legitimacy and support market radicalism. After 1989, privatization and private profit-seeking acts became prominent in profit-oriented business and partial local government owned enterprises (Dirlik and Zhang 2000). In the 1990s, mass media started to promote consumer culture in rural areas. Through mass media promotion of natural human desire, the pursuit of human desire in material consumption trumped the pursuit of socioeconomic equality and democracy. Most of the elder Chinese church members came to the United States during the 1980s and early 1990s. As such, they missed China's increasing materialization, and they never experienced the aggravated development of drastic social inequality that has taken place during the recent two decades. These elder Chinese church members do not have the same shared memory of their homeland that explains the material-oriented thoughts of these newcomers. This point reflects what one Chinese returnee informant in Shanghai mentioned to me: "People ten years ago were not as utilitarian as people nowadays."

Women's Bible Study Group:

During my fieldwork years from 2007-2010, I went to a women's Bible study group in Wynnewood at Philadelphia Mainline. Though it is called a women's Bible study, all the ladies who attend it are mothers from different Chinese churches. According to Li, the host of the Bible study, this women's Bible study has been held in someone's residence

in Philadelphia Mainline for more than thirty-five years. It starts at ten o'clock on Wednesday mornings, and lunch is served every first week of the month.

There are about twenty members in this women's Bible study group. However, not all of them come to the Bible study each time, since some of them have part-time jobs. As mothers, these ladies bring in life topics for discussion after the Bible study.

The women's bible study only allows women to participate. Participants are Chinese women ranging in age from thirty to eighty. This Bible study has become a platform for wives of first-generation Chinese immigrants to exchange information. I found it very interesting that topics in this women's Bible study were extremely different from any topics I heard in Chinese School or fellowship groups. Topics discussed in women's Bible study were very specifically women-oriented topics ranging from small chores to important decisions, such as how to take care of the family, how to be a strong but good wife, and how to deal with a husband.

Since it is a women's bible study, Christian values are always added to the discussion. However, these ladies' explanation of the values taught in the Bible varied from that of fellowship. A feminist approach was exhibited in the discussion, even though many passages in the Bible seemed chauvinistic.

The common topic discussed in women's Bible study was how to be a good wife and deal with your husband well. As a wife, every lady in the Bible study knew it was difficult to be a good mother and, at the same time, a good wife. This topic was discussed a myriad of times, since different related situations continuously emerged. Retired ladies usually complained that their husbands did nothing at home. After a serious discussion,

these ladies would reference the Biblical teaching that a wife should always help and listen to her husband, since Eve came from a rib of Adam when God made women. However, women, as wives, have the responsibility to lead their husbands toward the way put forth in the Bible.

According to the ladies in the Bible study, there were many tricks that could be used to be considered a "good wife." They secretly believed that women were smarter than men, since it required wisdom to be an obedient wife who could teach her children well while being the wife of a first generation Chinese immigrant. "As wives of first generation Chinese immigrants, we have more difficulties to face, like the cultural difficulties of educating our children and the difficulties we face while living in the United States. There are many difficulties men do not want to deal with, so we have to." Mrs. Pan, seventy years old, told her story about immigrating to the United States. She said she went to work after she received her Green Card. She supported her family while her husband was laid off and could not find a job for three years in the 1980s. She said that she knew many Chinese women worked as hard as men, even in the family. However, she did not think that men really appreciated women's hard work. She usually complained that her husband did nothing and became grumpy at home after retirement. "As first generation Chinese immigrants, women have much more responsibilities to take care of the family since we do not have relatives to help us here. And men are not reliable for house chores, and they cannot take care of children well." Ladies in the Bible study agreed with her and added their examples and thoughts of living in Philadelphia suburbs. "Sisters are stronger than brothers in many ways. I can see that many of us can bear much more bitterness than brothers. However, as sisters, we should not mention or show that

we are better off in many aspects than our brothers since they cannot bear the truth." Everyone laughed, but they agreed with her by nodding their heads.

These ladies in women's Bible study were very close to each other, as they tended to share their problems, thoughts, and questions together. Though these ladies were from different churches, connections were made through the Bible study, discussion, and luncheons afterward. New women who moved to Philadelphia suburb often asked questions about buying houses and school districts. Since I was the youngest member in the group, these ladies gave me suggestions about what to expect and how to plan for my next step, and things I should know for staying in the Philadelphia suburbs. Moreover, they provided me contact information for informants in Shanghai when they heard that I was going to Shanghai for my research but could not find informants, since my friends in church shied away when I asked them if I could interview them in Shanghai.

Christianity for the Life of First Generation Chinese Immigrants

From my interviews with Chinese Christians, I found almost all these Chinese Christians were not Christians before they came to the United States. Only a couple of the twenty couples said they were Christian before coming to the United States. Many of my Christian informants from Chinese churches in Philadelphia told me that as first generation Chinese immigrants, they found they needed a lot of support, both spiritually (jingshen 精神) and materially (wuzhi 物质)."

Ten Chinese couples who came to Philadelphia to study directly said they found that it was difficult to blend into the mainstream society. Some of them mentioned that,

especially in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, where there is a very small Chinese population compared to California, adjustment was much more difficult. Therefore, they turned to church to seek help. Moreover, they found it was hard to go to regular American churches in the Philadelphia suburban area. “American churches do not have luncheons that offer a chance for us to talk to each other, and they do not seem to have the problems we have when moving here,” Rui told me during the interview. Other informants had similar experiences. For some reason, they did not feel they fit into American churches. Weber told me in an interview, “They (American church members) seem to know each other already, and we do not know how to socialize with them. In Chinese church, we feel much more comfortable! …Probably suburban Philadelphia is comparatively more conservative than San Francisco Bay area so it is harder to get into American churches.” All my Christian informants thanked God for bringing them good life here in the United States. They always mentioned that they do not have their relatives in the United States to help them, and they miss their relatives who always offered them help. However, through church, they have “brothers and sisters” instead. These brothers and sisters are like their relatives who can provide help when it’s needed. In Chinese churches, people call each other brothers and sisters. “Brothers” and “sisters” are familial metaphor keys to imply church as a big family for its members. The implication of brotherhood compensates the lack of kinship network of first generation of Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia metropolitan area. The brotherhood implication also grants access to *guanxi* networks with other members. Building up *guanxi* network requires the social milieu of metarealm understanding under modern Chinese culture, which is the transformation of a certain world-historical context. That is, metainterpretation and self-

positioning are always exercised in this process of building up *guanxi* network under modern Chinese culture (Yang 1994). Since the Chinese church is an enclosed environment for Chinese immigrants who come from Chinese culture, the *guanxi* network functions in metainterpretation and self-positioning and can be built efficiently among Chinese church members.

Moreover, this church *guanxi* network can be extended all over the United States. Through the Chinese church network, members can conveniently find brothers and sisters in other cities through church connections. Help is always available almost everywhere in the United States through Chinese churches' networks. In 2008 and 2009, when many brothers and sisters were looking for jobs outside Philadelphia, they received help through church connections, such as opportunities to stay in brothers and sisters' places when going to on site interviews. Through Chinese church network connections, this *guanxi* network can extend infinitely. Chinese churches provide a safety net and *guanxi* network for members that can be extended when in need.

Conclusion

Chinese churches provide first generation Chinese immigrants a social platform within Chinese culture for Chinese immigrants to socialize with each other. First generation highly skilled Chinese immigrants, who usually come alone without extended families, usually lack social networks and kinship support in the United States. In these circumstances, Chinese churches offer them *guanxi* networks and immediate assistance when needed. Moreover, Chinese churches provide a safety net for these first generation

Chinese immigrants to substitute the function of the kinship network in society. Church members in the same fellowship group provide help to each other when in need. Even pastors mentioned that they provided help to several members through the economic crisis in 2007.

Chinese churches are enclosed small Chinese societies within United States society, since the Chinese population is very small compared to the total population. The social platform is constructed under Chinese culture value within Chinese churches. Therefore, social behaviors of these Chinese church members maintain Chinese style of socializing with others in Chinese churches. Gossip is one example of these Chinese characteristics in socializing with others that is retained in the enclosed Chinese society of Chinese churches. Gossip forces members in the church to be secretive and to not reveal much personal information to strangers, sometimes even brothers and sisters in the church. However, it is difficult to stop rumors from spreading within the Chinese church because the enclosed Chinese church environment promotes gossip as part of Chinese culture.

Small groups are formed within the unit of fellowship. Church members do not necessarily see themselves as a part of the church, and they do not see the church as the whole organization. Therefore, members value their personal relationship with other members of fellowship groups rather than with the group membership of the church. It is similar to work unit (danwei 单位) identity in Mainland China.

Chinese customs and behavior are preserved in the Chinese church as an enclosed society where Chinese members feel safe and comfortable to stay in an environment dominated by Chinese culture. At the same time, when this Chinese social environment

becomes the main social platform in their life, the need to learn American culture drops to minimum. Chinese church members retain their Chinese-ness in their behavior and daily lives, even though they have been living in the Philadelphia suburban area for more than a decade. Without much contact with Americans and American culture, these first generation Chinese immigrants still find it difficult to be part of the so-called mainstream American society, and they choose to remain in their own Chinese social circle.

Churches constantly need new members to survive and grow. Owing to changes within modern Chinese culture, new Chinese immigrants tend to spend time pursuing wealth to secure their social status, and attracting new Chinese members becomes more difficult and challenging than before. There is a split between earlier first generation Chinese immigrants who immigrated to the United States in the 1980s and 1990s and immigrants who immigrated after 2000. Newcomers from China tend to pursue economic wealth rather than spiritual wealth. This change brings new challenges for pastors, especially in their recruitment of new members for Chinese churches.

Women's Bible study creates a narrative among female Christians. Though these members usually use the Bible as a reference when discussing problems- especially those concerning their relationships with their husbands, these ladies still believe that women are stronger than men, especially first generation Chinese immigrants. Moreover, they interpret women's role in the Bible from a woman's perspective, and they are proud of being women and mothers.

Transnational Identities in Different Levels

The Chinese professionals in northwestern suburban Philadelphia area distinguish themselves from other Chinese diasporaic communities on different levels. First, Chinese professionals distinguish themselves from Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia Chinatown through social and economic status. Chinese professionals distinguish themselves from American-born Chinese, because they do not share the same language and culture. Chinese professionals also do not share discriminational immigration history with American-born Chinese groups. Moreover, Chinese professionals consider American-born Chinese Americans since they do not speak Mandarin or understand Chinese culture well. At the same time, however, these Chinese professionals do not voluntarily distinguish themselves as Chinese Mainlanders, Hong Kong and Taiwanese, and they avoid political topics when talking to each other. Though they distinguish themselves from other groups when it is necessary, a pan-Chinese identity emerges that enable these Chinese groups to assist each other.

“Chinese” is a general tern for people who come from China or whose heritage is Chinese. The word “Chinese” is used so generally that it can be an umbrella term for people who associate with China and Chinese culture. In the United States, the identity of being “Chinese” often functions as a pan-ethnicity under Espiritu’s definition. Espiritu points out that the pan-ethnic identity, which is the generalized solidarity of ethnic groups, is usually formed by symbolic reinterpretation of a group’s common history. However, under pan-ethnicity, there are still many social economic and class divisions (Espiritu 1990). Similar to Pan-ethnicity and its subdivisions, under the umbrella of Chinese identity, this so-called “Chinese” group includes subgroups that are divided according social and cultural factors.

None of my informants directly answered “yes” when I asked them the question of whether or not they are American. All of them told me that they are “Chinese”. Some of them added that they are “American by law,” since they have US passports. All of them refused to consider themselves “Chinese American”, but admitted that they are “Meiguo de huaren” (Chinese in America). All my informants told me that they are Chinese who live in America, and this does not mean they are “Chinese American”. Some of my informants told me that “Chinese American” usually refers to another group of Chinese who cannot speak Mandarin and do not know much about Chinese culture. Mrs. Zhu, who came to the US for a graduate degree and now works as an accountant, pointed to her daughter, who was born in Philadelphia and speaks only English, and said with a smile, “She is Chinese American!” Some informants who do not have US passports made comments like Mr. Zhu’s: “I am only a green card holder! I still have Chinese passport. I am not an American citizen though I have lived here for more than twenty years!”

During my fieldwork in Philadelphia Mainline, one interesting aspect I noticed is that these Chinese professionals do not associate themselves with the Chinese population in Chinatown or with Chinese Americans who cannot speak Mandarin. They want to distinguish themselves from those groups because they consider themselves very different from these two groups socially and economically.

In this chapter, I will introduce what I discovered during fieldwork about the ways in which my informants, Chinese professionals in the western suburban Philadelphia area and in Philadelphia Mainline, distinguish themselves from Chinese populations in northeast Philadelphia and in Chinatown. Moreover, I will discuss how they divide themselves according to their regional origins in China.

Different Identities within "Chinese" identities

As an ethnically diverse city, Philadelphia is notorious for racial problems (Goode and Maskovsky 2002; Goldstein 1986). Asians are commonly considered a well-known target for racial violence[15]. Among the Asian population of Philadelphia, Chinese seem to be the most vulnerable to violence, especially Chinese corner-store owners who cannot speak fluent English[16]. Chinese are stereotyped as being submissive to robbers, for they tend to not report crimes for fear of problems they may experience owing to insufficient

[15]Resource: Ifeng News http://news.ifeng.com/world/detail_2010_08/23/2139514_0.shtml

[16] News reports repeatedly point out that first generation Chinese immigrants are targeted owing to their language ability. Post and Courier News: http://www.postandcourier.com/news/2010/oct/29/chinese-restaurants-becoming-popular-targetby/ ; World News: http://wocview.wordpress.com/2010/11/10/in-america-immigrant-owners-of-chinese-shops-often-vulnerable-to-crime-as-they-struggle-to-get-by-fit-in/

language ability and their own illegal immigration status[17]. In Philadelphia, many immigrant communities work together to survive the tough environment, but Chinese don't seem to form these alliances. Korean immigrants work with Puerto Rican immigrants to protect their retail stores and families from bullying and potential violent threats, thereby resisting social constructions of themselves as racialized victims, in Olney and Kensington, two of the highest crime rate areas in Philadelphia (Goode 1998). Vietnamese and Thai have their own organizations and gangs to secure themselves in south Philadelphia. Without the protection of powerful inter-ethnic networks, Chinese corner stores, Chinese take-out restaurants, and the general Chinese population in Philadelphia is a vulnerable target for crime and robberies[18].

Since 2004 when I moved to Philadelphia, homicides in Philadelphia dominated the news media[19]. In 2007, Philadelphia had the highest homicide rate per capita of any city in the United States[20]. News of Asian immigrants as targets of crime was overwhelming in Philadelphia, especially Chinese victims. Since 2004, there have been numerous stories reports of robberies and murders of Chinese corner-store owners and pedestrians in Chinatown and northeast Philadelphia. In 2009, Asian students in South Philadelphia

[17] On July 13th, 2010, a Chinese store owner was arrested by US Immigration and Custom Enforcement because he reported a third time robbery conducted by the same group of people in northeast Philadelphia. ABC News, July w3rd 2010: http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local-beat/Victim-in-Violent-Robbery-String-Arrested-99070449.html

[18] Immigrants Owners of Chinese Shops often Vulnerable to Crimes as They Struggle to Get by, Fit in. Philadelphia Inquirers, http://articles.philly.com/2010-11-10/news/24952548_1_chinese-takeout-chinese-restaurant-owners

[19] News of Chinese takeout owners being killed has happened every year since 2004, according to YingZhang Lin, the head of Fujian Association of Greater Philadelphia. Philly News, March 13, 2004. http://articles.philly.com/2004-03-13/news/25383340_1_gunmen-robbery-attempt-sons. According

[20] Resource: The New York Times, November 23, 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/23/us/23philadelphia.html

High School were bullied and beaten[21]. In this bullying incident, the majority of victims reported were first generation Chinese immigrants from China.

During my fieldwork in Trinity Church and Mainline Chinese School, I usually overheard parents discussing the sad events that took place in northeast Philadelphia and Chinatown as stories "from Philadelphia". The conversation always started with, "It is very horrible that…" They would then insert the story from the newspaper. After a discussion, this conversation usually ended with, "I feel sorry for them! I feel lucky that we do not live in Chinatown/northeast Philadelphia. We have to be very careful when we go to Chinatown/northeast Philadelphia for grocery shopping." Usually when I asked this question to a group of Chinese professionals discussing Chinatown or northeast Philadelphia, they would give an answer like: "Chinatown/northeast Philadelphia is dirty, and people there are rude. We are not like that."

One time, I asked mothers in women's Bible study how they felt about people in Chinatown after they had just discussed a Chinatown murder in 2008. They answered together, "People in Chinatown are different from us." However, Mrs. Wang elaborated more: "They are very different from us economically and socially. There are many illegal immigrants in Chinatown, and they have their own network, one that is very different from ours." Mr. Wang, whose business office is located in Chinatown, pointed out that people in Chinatown tend to divide themselves according to where they come from. "So there are basically two groups, Cantonese-speaking group and a Fuzhou group who speak Fuzhou dialect. We belong to none of them. Basically we are outsiders. We are totally

[21] Resource: ABC News http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local-beat/26-Asian-Students-Attacked-at-Philly-High-School-78528982.html. The Philadelphia Inquirer February 24th, 2010: http://aaldef.org/news/news-story/report-released-on-racial-violence-at-s-phila-high---philadelphia-inquirer.html

different kinds of people from them since we are in a different social hierarchy from them."

July, a restaurant owner in Philadelphia Mainline area, said that she does not like the way that Chinatown restaurant owners operate their restaurants. Then she told me about the surprising tricks that some Chinese restaurants in Chinatown employ to operate there. According to July, Chinese restaurant owners hire illegal Chinese immigrants for kitchen work so they can pay very little salary to these workers. She said, "It is like exploitation because it is below legal minimum wage and these workers are always overworked… However, those illegal immigrants are very satisfied and grateful to get a job since they have to pay off the loan they borrowed (in China) to come to the United States. It is the fee they paid for coming from China to the United States illegally. Compared with their work in China, they still earn much more than what they used to earn." These illegal immigrants usually get together and seek help through *tongxianghui* (hometown associations), since there they can locate people who came from the same villages. Like the stereotypical stories many people have about illegal Chinese immigrants, these illegal immigrants send money home by asking people in *tongxianghui* to take it back to their hometowns in China or wire it for them. "However, some people in *tongxianghui* made money by providing them these services." July said.

July continued to tell me more about it, saying, "Have you noticed that many restaurants in Chinatown only take cash? Because they know it is the best way to pay less tax than they should. By not accepting credit cards, they can hide the amount they earned, and claim less than they should." July said that she knows certain restaurants earn much more money than hers, but they pay much less tax because they can claim less to the IRS.

July said that she cannot do it because her restaurant is located in Philadelphia Mainline, and she has more *ge* (格 integrity) than these people. That is why she does not like to go to Chinatown.

"The worst thing is that many rich restaurant owners- even though they earn more than enough to support their family- still claim their income as very little to IRS so that they even get social welfare!" July continued with an unpleasant tone, "Some restaurants are so small that it is very hard to tell how much they earn, especially when they take cash only. I know one restaurant owner who drives a Mercedes but still takes social welfare subsidies by claiming his family is poor." I was very surprised, but when I looked around, no one else was surprised. Mrs. Huang said, "It is not very difficult, since they always have family members or friends to help them. They can buy the car under a relative's name so they can still claim social welfare." These ladies looked very unsurprised, while my jaw dropped with shock. "This is a very well-known secret among Chinese immigrants!" Mrs. Qian said, surprised to find out that I did not know it.

In order to explore whether or not this is a "well-known" secret, I asked my friends at church and in Chinese school to talk about it. They all told me they know these stories. Mr. Li told me that he hates to think about it: "When I think they spend the tax money I paid, I feel so unhappy." Many informants both in the church and Chinese School told me that these restaurant owners are very shameful, and they give all Chinese people a bad reputation. No one wants to make this secret public, since Chinese do not want to cause trouble for their own kind. They don't want Chinese to become notorious in the United States.

More stories about the *tongxianghui (*hometown association*)* were contributed by a friend from the Mainline Chinese School. Mr. Lin, a reporter for a Chinese newspaper, said that he already knew the story. He told me that usually these *tongxianghui* help illegal immigrants to survive in Chinatown and to get US citizenship. At the same time, the workers in *tongxianghui* do business with illegal immigrants by providing them their services. One example is that the head of the one *Tongxianghui in Chinatown* was originally a professor at nearby university. However, he had resigned his job as a professor and now works for an insurance company. He specializes in selling insurance to new immigrants. I received a contact number from Mr. Lin, for I wanted to have an interview with the chair, Dr. Chen.

The phone call with Dr. Chen was strange. After a brief greeting, I told Dr. Chen that I was a friend of Mr. Lin, and that I wondered if I could interview him. Dr. Chen asked me the reason for wanting to interview him. When I answered that I was an anthropology student, he started to "play *taichi*" with me, using ambiguous language when I asked if I could drop by and visit the association. He said I could go, but most of the time the office was closed. Also he said that if I cannot speak Fuzhou dialect, it is going to be hard for me to talk to people who hang out there. I told him that I could speak Taiwanese, which is close enough when speaking to my friends from Fuzhou. Then Dr. Chen said, "Our office is not open every day. We open only when we have things to manage." I felt that he was nervous after finding out that I was an anthropology student and did not want me to visit his office. He ended our phone conversation with a very general conclusion: "I will let you know when our office is open."

It is obvious that Dr. Chen did not want to be interviewed by me, even though I was friends with his close friend. He employed the very traditional Chinese way to push me away from him by beating around the bush, or giving me unclear answers. I think he was hoping that I would understand his resistance to being interviewed. That was the only conversation I had with him. I called him many times after that, wanting to ask when his office hours were, but no one picked up the phone. I left messages, but never heard back from him. I even decided to drop by his office in Chinatown. In the following three months, I dropped by the Fuzhou *Tongxianghui* building in Chinatown many times, but found it was always locked. It was just like what Dr. Chen said- they only opened their office when needed.

I told my story to Mr. Lin, who had referred Dr. Chen to me. He smiled and said that it is very difficult for outsiders to understand what they are doing. They want to prevent legal problems. Then he suggested that I don't bother researching it. "They are a different group from us," Mr. Lin said to me. I asked for more explanation, and he said, "You know, socially, we are well-educated people who work for big companies, while Chinese in Chinatown are mostly small business owners. Some of these Chinese immigrants in Chinatown are even illegal immigrants. There is a huge gap between us and them. It is very difficult for you, an outsider like us, to get to know them! Even if Dr. Chen gives you some information, you are still getting information from an outsider. How can you be sure the information you get is correct?"

Janice is a social worker at a Chinese clinic in south Philadelphia. She is a devour Christian and had been my friend since I moved to Philadelphia in 2002. Though Janice was not allowed to tell me details about her clients, her general information provided

helpful insights into Chinese immigrants' lives in Chinatown. Janice mentioned that many Chinese immigrants in Chinatown and south Philadelphia, legal or illegal, have a hard time adapting to life in the United States. "These immigrants have stressful lives since they have a huge work load. Moreover, it is very difficult for their children to adapt to life here in Philadelphia since they cannot speak English well. As you know, these children are often bullied and attacked in school. Therefore, we have adult and young patients with serious depression because of their difficult lives here in Philadelphia." Janice told me that some child patients would exhibit their depression or stress in strange behaviors. She had several child patients who refused to say a single word for several months. As a first generation Chinese immigrant herself, she said that she feels lucky she came to the United States with a better situation, and she does her best to help those Chinese patients to apply for services provided by the city.

After hearing Janice's story, I was encouraged by her to help Chinese immigrants. Therefore, I joined a program called "Project SHINE" through Temple University's Intergenerational Center and volunteered to help teach Chinese immigrants English. They assigned me to be a volunteer teaching assistant for an English teacher in South Philly. I hoped that my assistance with this project would help me understand more about Chinese immigrants in Chinatown and south Philadelphia.

On the very first day of my volunteer work, I had to drive to the designated church where they had classes in south Philadelphia, since it was hard to reach it by subway. It was a cool night in September, and the area close to the church was very dark because several street lights on that street were broken. I parked my car under a street light and walked into the church. There, I received a warm welcome by a volunteer from SHINE.

His name was Dave. Dave took me downstairs to the classroom, where there were twenty-five Asian elders waiting for the English teacher. Dave told me that they have classes every Tuesday and Thursday nights here. This day was the second class, as it was Thursday.

All the elders were at least fifty years old. Some of them looked like they were over sixty. I said hi in Mandarin. They looked at me and wondered what I was saying. I realized suddenly that I could not communicate with them since they spoke Cantonese and some dialects I cannot speak. One old lady could speak a little bit Mandarin; she told me, "We are from Canton province, and we cannot speak Mandarin." I could barely have a conversation with them, since I cannot speak any Cantonese and that old lady could barely speak Mandarin. It was not a long time before they lost interest in me, and turned to talk amongst themselves.

The teacher came in ten minutes late for this one-hour class. Her name was Sarah. She was an American who could not speak any Chinese, Cantonese, or Fujianese. She started her lesson as soon as she came in, and asked me to pass down textbooks. She said everything in English, and started to review what she had taught two days earlier. It was chaotic, since most students had no idea what she was talking about. Only a few students could follow her. Sarah asked me to explain what she was doing. I could only tell them in Mandarin, and the old lady tried to translate what I said into Cantonese. However, it was very difficult since that woman had problem understanding what I said. It was very interesting that the teacher did not seem to care that her students didn't understand what she was teaching. She moved from counting one to ten to dates in English. After fifteen minutes, some students on the second table in the back started to chat amongst

themselves, even though the class was still going on in the front part of the classroom. The chaos continued for the rest of the hour, but Sarah did not seem to mind.

Sarah passed out papers for everyone to do exercises, and she asked me to help students to make sure they filled out each blank correctly. I walked around the classroom and checked if the students were filling in the blanks with the right English spelling of whatever subject was shown on the picture. However, there were too many students and too little time to go through everyone's answer. Sarah could not wait for me since she had to finish the lesson. She went to the next topic while I was still checking another other student's writing.

It was totally chaotic for me, and I wondered how much these elders could learn from Sarah. At about nine o'clock, some students started to pack their things, and some left. Sarah asked me to collect books from the people who were leaving, and to make sure all of the books were put back. Sarah finished the whole lesion at nine o'clock, and she started packing up her things right away. I chatted with her while she was packing. She told me that she had taught English in Thailand the year before, and had been employed in this job for six months. She had a bachelor's degree in education, and this was one of her part time job after coming back from Thailand. After she finished packing her backpack, she said goodbye and left right away. Since I was not in hurry, I stayed to say goodbye to the rest of students who were walking out slowly, due to their old age. Though I could not communicate with them well, I waved my hands to say goodbye. I heard one old lady say in Cantonese, "Why don't they find someone who can speak Cantonese to help the teacher? I learned nothing, and will not come next time." Other ladies agreed with her, saying "yes" in Cantonese. I love Cantonese pop music and can

understand simple slow Cantonese conversation, but they did not know. At that moment, I was very embarrassed, and felt like their words were slaps on my face. But I could only smile like I did not understand what they were saying and wave to say goodbye to them. Most students treated me like I was not there. They walked by without waving to me.

After the students were gone, Dave came downstairs to move tables and desks back to the wall. I helped him and chatted with him. Students left handouts everywhere on the desks, and also on the floor. I wondered how they could learn well if they left their handouts there. Why didn't they put the handouts in trash can, instead of leaving them on the table and floor? Dave told me it was always like this, and he thanked me for staying there to help him clean the room up. When I was leaving, Dave told me to be careful when walking on the street. He said someone from the church was robbed on this street last month.

I told my friends in Mainline Chinese School and Trinity Chinese Church about my bizarre volunteer experience in south Philadelphia. Laughter was their reaction after hearing my story. Mr. Yei laughed and told me, "I told you we are very different!" Mr. Wang told me, "Don't waste your time there! Let them help themselves!"

Second and 1.5 generation Chinese Immigrants—Experiences in OCA

In the cultural event at Mainline in 2005, I volunteered to write Chinese calligraphy on cards for guests. One Asian lady came to me and asked me in English to write the Chinese characters of her son and daughter's names on the card. She told me that she did not know her son and daughter's Chinese names, so she had to call her mother and find

out. She hoped that I could talk to her mother and figure out those Chinese characters through her cell phone, since she knew that many Chinese characters had the same pronunciation. She introduced herself to me while I wrote down those characters in calligraphy. Her name was ElisaElisa. She told me that her parents came from China, but she was born here in Philadelphia. After I told her that I was an anthropology student and liked to do volunteer work in Chinese related non-profit organization, she told me that she works for Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA), a non-profit organization for the legal rights of Chinese immigrants here in the United States. She suggested I join this organization and make connections with other Chinese people in OCA. I decided to volunteer with OCA at a convention in Philadelphia, and I have been a member since.

OCA was founded in 1973 with the vision of uniting Chinese Americans across the United States. OCA has a base in Washington D.C., and it has over 80 chapters across the country. Its membership is comprised mostly of Chinese Americans and other Asian Pacific Americans. As a civil rights organization, OCA focuses on promoting the benefits and rights of Chinese Americans in the United States. Being one of the largest Asian American associations in the United States, OCA deals with many legal problems regarding immigration rights, lobbies for immigration legislation, fights for discrimination crimes, and raises awareness of immigration rights all over in the United States. Additionally, OCA representatives distribute news and issues to major mass media and newspapers when hate crimes or discriminatory legislation takes place. In 2007, they changed their focus from Chinese Americans to Asian Pacific Americans in order to expand the group of people they serve.

Elisa is a coordinator of OCA's Greater Philadelphia Chapter (OCAGP). She takes care of all OCA activities in Philadelphia Chapters. OCAGP usually has activities with other Asian groups, such as joint conventions and exhibitions. Elisa often called me if OCAGP needed people for events. Before long, I realized that most of the people I met in OCA could not speak Mandarin, as they are second generation Chinese Americans who were born here in the US, or came to the United States when they were children. Moreover, most of their parents speak Chinese dialects such as Cantonese and Fujianese instead of Mandarin. Like Elisa, many of the 1.5 or second generation Chinese immigrants can speak their hometown dialects, but not Mandarin. These 1.5 and second generation Chinese immigrants, now are in their thirties or older, are not related to Chinese professionals who stayed in the US after getting graduate degrees. Instead, many of them relate with the Chinese population in Chinatown, since many of their parents came to the US to work as business owners and workers in Chinatown.

During one event for adopting Chinese children in the winter of 2007, Elisa and I represented OCA together. We chatted in English, since Elisa can speak Cantonese but not Mandarin. Elisa told me that she is always aware of her Chinese heritage, and she described the kinds of discrimination she has experienced. OCA is a society for Chinese immigrants to work together to fight against discrimination, and she devotes herself to it. Recently, board members of OCA realized that more and more first generation Chinese immigrants don't speak Cantonese and English, but instead, they mainly speak Mandarin. OCA needs people who can speak Mandarin to work with the first generation Chinese immigrants. However, the OCAGP boards find that there seem to be some difficulties in

convincing these Mandarin-speaking first generation Chinese immigrants to join OCA in Philadelphia.

While we were there chatting with people and handing out OCA handouts, a group called Shenyun Arts and Performance came to us. They most likely saw the Chinese characters on our poster and assumed we all could speak Mandarin. They started talking to us in Mandarin. Elisa had to tell them in English that she could not speak Mandarin. One lady in their group commented in Mandarin, "How come they claim they are Chinese and do not even speak Chinese (Mandarin)?" After hearing this, I had to step up and introduce myself in Mandarin, since I felt awkward and didn't want to pretend to not be able to understand Mandarin. Additionally, as their English was not very good, they had a difficult time communicating with Elisa. During my conversation with this group of people, they told me that they were surprised Elisa could not speak Mandarin, since they assumed people from OCA should be able to speak Mandarin. I did not tell Elisa what they said, since I felt uneasy translating their comments to her. Before long, I found myself often hearing this excruciating comment while during my volunteer work with OCA. I realized that many first generation Chinese immigrants use this reason to distinguish themselves from later generations of Chinese immigrants, who they always call "ABC's," or "American born Chinese".

The network of OCA is very different from Mainline Chinese School and Chinese churches. Generally speaking, members of OCA speak mainly English, and some of them can speak a Chinese dialect, such as Cantonese, the Fuzhou dialect, or Taiwanese. Very few of them can speak Mandarin. During events and activities, OCA members use English to communicate with each other. In the beginning of my time with OCA, I was

confused, as I did not really know whether to use Chinese style greetings or how to interact when speaking English, since there are many terns and words in Chinese that do not exist in English. I did not even know if I should use Chinese customs or American customs to interact with them, because I assumed the only difference between them and my informants in the Chinese School and churches was language.

In the April 2006, OCAGP had a Chinese Autumn Moon Festival barbecue in Ridley State Park. I assumed it would be the same style of barbecue held in Mainline Chinese School—Chinese style barbecue, which includes many kinds of soy bean products like bean curbs and tofu. All of these raw materials are marinated in Chinese herbs and sauces like soy sauce, sesame oil and star seeds before being put on the grill. My American classmate who loves Asian food wanted to go with me, since it is a Chinese event with Chinese food. On that nice sunny day, I brought moon cakes and my American classmate to the barbecue and expected to find a Chinese style celebration for the Autumn Moon Festival. However, after arriving there, I realized that the barbecue was American style—hotdogs, hamburgers, pickles, salads, and buffalo chicken wings. Of the abundant food served on the picnic table, my moon cakes were the only Chinese food. My classmate wondered about this. She asked me if Chinese barbecue is the same as American barbecues, as she thought everyone there was Chinese. She did not think these Chinese were any different from her, since they spoke perfect English and acted like Americans. She was expecting Chinese people to not only look Chinese but "behave Chinese," since she knew how different Chinese people could be. However, for her, these OCA people were like Americans with just the *appearance of being* Asian.

Chinese Americans Talk about Losing Their Roots

My friend's comments reminded me of my earlier questions regarding whether I should use an American style of behavior or a Chinese style when communicating and interacting with them. After going to several events held by OCA, and meeting more OCA members at those events, I became sure that I should use an American style of interaction when talking to them, including hugging, greetings, and using certain modes of American humor. There was always a strange feeling of having to remind myself to behave American when being with them, even though they are Chinese. I always confused myself, and sometimes this confusion caused me to react slowly, making me feel embarrassed. For instance, Elisa always hugged me when she saw me. This was awkward since I am more used to Chinese culture, where people seldom hug each other, even their family members. Whenever she came to me and wanted to hug me, I was always stunned for a while and realized that I should hug her back.

I realized then why my friends in Mainline Chinese School and Chinese churches said, "They (second generation Chinese immigrants) are different from us." But I did not realize that I was not the only one who felt this difference. OCA members sensed this difference too. During a Chinese New Year's party in 2007, I came to understand why this happened to me.

Every Chinese New Year's Eve, OCA holds a banquet in Phoenix Restaurant in Chinatown. Chinese New Year's Eve is the most important celebration for Chinese people, and having a feast is the traditional way to celebrate it. However, my experience

of celebrating Chinese New Year's Eve with OCA was a different experience than I expected.

After entering Phoenix Restaurant, I was greeted by OCA event organizers. An usher led me to sit with a group of twelve other OCA members at a traditional big round table for the New Year's Eve banquet. Since no one knew each other, everyone started to introduce themselves in English. Mrs. Huang was a professor in the Chemistry Department at the University of Pennsylvania. She came with her eleven-year-old daughter, Julie. Stephanie and Weber, a couple sitting next to Mrs. Huang, drove from Washington, D. C. for this event. Their parents came from Hong Kong when they were babies. Now in their fifties, they had resided in Philadelphia for more than thirty years. They moved back to D.C. for their retirement. Alex was a senior student at Temple. He was from Flushing, New York but had been in Philadelphia for four years for school. He said his parents are members of OCA in New York, and he went to OCA's Chinese New Year Eve's banquet each year. He came with his girlfriend, Lucy. Lucy was from New Jersey, and she was also finance major at Temple in senior year. Mary was a reporter from *Victoria Time Chinese Newspaper*. After chatting with her for a while, I realized that I had seen her in the Mainline Chinese School parents' waiting room but never had a chance to talk to her. She was the only person at my table who could speak Mandarin.

Mr. and Mrs. Li were a Chinese couple who came from south Philadelphia, where they owned a small Chinese corner restaurant. Their English was not good enough to communicate with the rest of us, but they spoke Cantonese to Stephanie and Weber. They told us through the aid of Stephanie's translation that they joined OCA because they thought living in Philadelphia was dangerous, and they may need help one day. They had

moved to the United States about five years ago. When they were in China, their friend persuaded them to spend their savings and buy a Chinese corner restaurant in south Philadelphia. Mr. Li believed that he had purchased a nice Chinese restaurant that had helped the seller realize their American dream. However, after he arrived in the United States with his family, he realized the restaurant in south Philadelphia was located in a "dangerous" environment with a high crime rate. Chinese corner restaurant owners are more likely to be the target for attack in Philadelphia.

"It is discrimination! Discrimination itself is a crime!" Stephanie added after translating for Mr. Li. "People tend to discriminate against Chinese immigrants, especially in Philadelphia!" Stephanie said, "Last year in 2006, eight Chinese immigrants were killed during a robbery. Six of them were Chinese restaurant owners!" Stephanie began a story of her own: "Unlike Koreans, Chinese people do not like to stick together to fight discrimination! They even distinguish and fight among themselves! Though I grew up here, I always think that I am a Chinese since Americans think of us as Chinese. However, when I visited China several years ago, they all called me an American since I cannot speak Mandarin. I was very puzzled and wondered who the hell am I?" Her facial expression was tense, and I could tell she felt great sorrow. "So I realized that I have to be strong here and fight discrimination, since I have nowhere else to go!" People agreed with her by nodding their heads. Weber said he had experienced the same feeling, and he was very grateful that he had found OCA, which can help fight discrimination for them.

Then everyone on the table started to talk about their own experiences of discrimination. Mrs. Huang said her daughter, Julie, had experienced discrimination two years ago. Julie's high school had a test to select excellent students for an advanced class.

Julie got a perfect score and should have been qualified for the advanced class. However, the school principle and exam directors required Julie to take a TOEFL (Test of English as Foreign Language) exam because they doubted her English ability. They wondered if she had guessed on all the questions to get a high score. “It does not make any sense, since they all knew that Julie was born and raised in Philadelphia!” Mrs. Huang said in an angry voice. She said that she had protested to the school board for several months. But finally, she angrily decided to give up and transfer Julie to a private school. “There is no reason for Julie to stay in that horrible environment for school! I had to get Julie out of that environment, even though I had to spend a lot of money!” Mr. Huang was considering moving out to suburban Philadelphia Mainline, since Julie would now be going to a private school there.

Alex shared his experience of being harassed by panhandlers in north Philly. Panhandlers would follow him or stand in his way if he did not give them the change they asked for. He was not happy about it, since his white classmates did not have the same experience with forceful panhandlers. Lucy shared a similar experience and referred to it as “reverse discrimination.” She was always called a bitch by the black people in north Philadelphia while walking on the street. She said that she had become used to this sort of discrimination and attack after three years of studying in Philadelphia, but, “I just want to graduate and go back to Cherry Hill.”

After having dinner, James Yee, a former US Army Chaplain with the rank of Captain, gave a speech about his experiences of being discriminated against while serving in the US Army. His story brought great sorrow all over the banquet guests. While he was giving the speech, the room was so quiet that everyone could hear his voice

tremble. In the end, when he said that he has not received the apology he requested, I noticed many people shed tears. For me, it was very strange to hear a speech like this at a Chinese New Year's Eve celebration, since in Chinese tradition people should only talk about good things during the Chinese New Year. Talking about a traumatic experience or unfortunate incidents are considered bad omens that could forecast a disastrous new year. Talking about negative experience is thus a serious taboo during the Chinese New Year period, which starts on New Year's Eve and lasts for fifteen days until the Lantern Festival. Obviously this custom did not apply to OCA members at the banquet.

After the banquet, we said goodbye to each other. Mary volunteered to give me a ride home, since she was heading in the same direction. I mentioned that it was very strange to hear them discuss such sad topics of discrimination and sorrow during Chinese New Year's Eve. Mary agreed with me, and she told me that they do this every year. Mary told me that she had to attend because, as a reporter, she had to write an article about OCA's banquet. However, as a first generation immigrant from Taiwan, Mary also told me that she did not feel like she belonged to OCA. She said, "I do not have the same experience of discrimination as they do. For me, they are Americans, not really Chinese. Sometimes I feel lucky that I did not experience the same loss of roots like they did."

The difference between first generation Chinese immigrants and second generation immigrants, which includes the so-called 1.5 generation, is widely recognized by first generation Chinese immigrants who are professionals. But what about those Chinese immigrants who are not professionals? During my volunteer work with OCA, I met many leaders and chairs from associations in Chinatown during event organizing meetings. These leaders used English to work with OCA leaders for organizing events. From our

conversations, I could tell that all of them had been in the United States for a long time. It was embarrassing to find out that I was the only one in our meetings who occasionally spoke Chinglish. I felt ashamed of myself.

Among all OCAGP leaders, Dr. Kuo was the only one who could speak Mandarin. Dr. Kuo came from Hunan, China to Philadelphia twenty years ago. He is now a medical doctor at the Children's Hospital at University of Pennsylvania. I shared my confusion with Dr. Kuo, and asked him why most participants of OCA were non-Mandarin speaking Chinese. He told me, "Chinese immigrants tend to get together, especially those Chinese professionals. However, I wanted to experience more with other people than just be with people of my culture." Dr. Kuo chose to join OCA because OCA is designed to fight for Chinese Americans' rights. It is an organization that helps people in need, especially Chinese immigrants in the United States. He was very happy that he could offer his efforts to deal with discrimination cases and help new Chinese immigrants. "Chinese do not have the concept of contributing and volunteering, but I think I have learned a lot from working in OCA!"

However, OCA's work did not necessary earn the recognition of my Chinese informants in Mainline Philadelphia. In January 2007, while I was chatting in the parent's waiting room in Mainline Chinese School, I overheard some comments and discussion on news about the First-Baby Sweepstakes held by Toys "R"Us in the Chinese newspaper, *The World Journal*.

The toy chain company Toys "R" Us and its Babies "R" Us division planned to award a $25,000 United States savings bond to the first American baby born in 2007.

Originally the company was going to award the prize to a Chinese baby girl, Yuki Liu, who was born at the stroke of midnight in a New York downtown hospital. After realizing that Yuki's parents were illegal immigrants from China, her price was canceled. Albert H. Wang, a corporate lawyer who was also an officer at OCA, initiated a campaign against Toys "R" Us. He compared this company's business in China with discrimination against Chinese Americans:

> "They want business from China," said Mr. Wang, 39, adding that most of the chain's toys are made by Chinese workers in China. "But when it comes to this Chinese-American U.S. citizen, she was deprived of $25,000 intended to be used for her college education, because of who her parents are." [22]

Mr. Wang, one of my informants from the Chinese church, could not understand why this lawyer made such a strange comparison. For him, Chinese Americans were "Americans". They were not Chinese anymore. He could not understand why this lawyer would draw a strange analogy about the Chinese market and the discrimination of Chinese immigrants in the United States. Someone said, "These Chinese Americans imagine that they are related to people in China. But in China, who cares? Illegal immigrants are illegal anyway. Since they are in the United States, there is nothing to do with China." They concluded that "these Chinese Americans" didn't understand much about China, and that they should use their "American" thoughts to "imagine" how Chinese people would think about this news. "Illegal immigrants should not have rights

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[22] New York Times: First-Baby Sweepstakes Fuels Immigration Debate. URL: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/06/nyregion/06toys.html?pagewanted=1&_r=2

to stay here. If so, what is the point for us to work so hard to follow the legal way to become legal residents?"

First generation Chinese immigrants in western suburban Philadelphia do not think Chinese Americans should compare themselves with Chinese people in China, especially while dealing with the issues of illegal immigration. They argue that the Chinese who live in China do not care about the human rights of illegal Chinese immigrants in the US, as these illegal immigrants are seen as betrayers of China who leave China illegally for their own private benefit.

Moreover, these Chinese professionals do not think illegal immigrants should deserve the same civil rights as they do in the United States. These Chinese professionals choose to stay in the United States for work by studying hard for higher degrees. After graduation, they work hard to earn their legal immigration status through working visas and permanent residence, and some take advance step to apply for citizenship. Though they feel sympathetic to those illegal immigrants who have difficult lives in Chinatown, most of these Chinese professionals do not think illegal immigrants should deserve the same rights as those who have earned legal immigration status.

Before the 2008 summer Olympics games started, Spain's Men's and Women's Basketball teams appeared in a Spanish daily sports newspaper picture that aroused serious controversy. In the picture, Spanish team members were asked to use their fingers to create a "slit-eye" look. Officers and members from OCA criticized this image as

racist, disturbing, and inappropriate[23]. In late 2008, IMAGE, the magazine published by OCA, reported on this issue with further interpretation from OCA. While the Spanish basketball team claimed the picture was mis-interpreted, OCA argued that the Spanish teams introduced racist, "offensive and divisive imagery into the Olympics".[24]

During my interview with Chinese professionals from the western suburban Philadelphia area, I always mentioned this incident and asked them how they felt about it. Interestingly, Miley Cyrus, a famous Disney teenage star, made the same slit-eye gesture for a photo shoot when I was conducting these interviews. I mentioned both the Spanish Basketball team incident and Miley Cyrus incident in interviews and asked my informants for their opinions. None of my informants had heard about these two things. Then I did the "slit-eyes" gesture by using my fingers to demonstrate what they did. Surprisingly, only two of my forty adult informants told me they had learned this was a discrimination signal. However, all my informants said doing slit-eye did not mean anything to them. Weber told me that he knew slit-eye could be a discrimination mark to Chinese, "but I do not feel it is, and I don't know why." Mr. Chen joked with me and pointed to his face. "Doesn't my face look like this?" He then pointed to the picture of the Spanish basketball team I had shown him.

At the same time, many of my informants' children knew what the sign meant, and they often corrected my "bad" behavior on the scene. I was corrected by Julia when I was

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[23] ABC News: Spain's 'Slant-Eye' Team Photo Stirs Ire. (Aug 12, 2008) http://abcnews.go.com/Sports/story?id=5563668&page=1
[24] IMAGE Fall/Winter 2008, published by OCA. page 31

interviewing Mr. and Mrs. Luo. She stopped me immediately and told me, "This is a discrimination symbol against Asian. You are being rude by doing this!"

When I asked my Chinese professional informants their thoughts about OCA's activities and their eagerness to fight against discrimination, all of them told me that they felt discriminated against in certain situations, but not all. Probably it is because they have not grown up here in the United States. As parents, they feel that their children have had similar experiences of being discriminated against in school. Mrs. Wang said her eight-year-old son told her that "he hates the fact that he is Chinese and his last name is Wang because people laugh at him in school. However, now he has grown out of it. " But Mrs. Wang noticed that her son's good friends are all Asian boys, while her daughter's good friends could be people of any ethnicity. Mr. and Mrs. Wang describe their children as the so-called second generation Chinese Americans. "Only these people who have good language ability and know well about American culture will fight against discrimination and immigration rights. People like us, who cannot even speak English like native speakers, can only work on our daily jobs and try our best to support our families. In this sense, we probably do not feel or ignore many of the things that other people would consider discrimination." Mr. Wang mentioned, "We do not have time for that [to fight against discrimination], and we do not have that background experience to interpret it! We probably do not even know what discriminatory words in English are!"

Some informants think OCA, and the second generation of Chinese—including their own children—are too sensitive to discrimination cases. "We cannot deny the fact that there are always problems among different races and people from different cultures, and there are always misunderstandings between each other. However, we should not be

too sensitive to these issues." Mrs. Huang told me, "Personally, I do not think I have experienced much discrimination because I live in this nice neighborhood, and it is like hiding in a nice area. Sometimes people are discriminated against not because of their race and culture, but because they are poor in social economic status. So only those poor people would ask for OCA's help since they are weak in this society, and they relate their experience to discrimination." She gave me an example of how having enough money could stop someone from being a victim of discrimination: "like those poor Chinese immigrants' children are the targets of bullies in inner city Philadelphia. If they were wealthy enough to afford private schools here, they would not be bullied."

It was very interesting to hear my Chinese professional informants' thoughts about discrimination, and to note how they differed from what I heard in OCAGP. When being asked about their discrimination experience, most Chinese professional informants I interviewed said they seldom felt discriminated against unless they were in "bad areas", such as Chinatown and Philadelphia's inner city. Weber said that he was forced to pay a parking fee by a black guy at a public parking space in Chinatown. "When I started parallel parking on Eighth Street, a black guy showed up next to my car. He waved his arms and instructed me how to park, even though I did not need his instruction at all. Then he asked me to give him five dollars for this "reserved parking spot". I knew these kinds of road bullies are common in Philadelphia and I was afraid he would damage my car if I refused to pay. So I paid him. However, I wondered if he would do this to a white guy." Weber's wife sighed and said, "we have avoided going to Chinatown since." I was told many stories like this during my interviews. But unfortunately these incidents all

happened in Philadelphia, a city with bad neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the people these Chinese professionals felt were treating them unfairly were black people.

Another common answer for discrimination is the "glass ceiling." But some of these informants told me that they were not very sure if it was a form of discrimination, since they tended to be quiet in their workplace and did not know how to make good connections with their colleagues and managers. However, they definitely felt there was a glass ceiling in their companies.

Help Each Others When Needed

Though these Chinese professional informants do not associate themselves with Chinese in Chinatown or second generation Chinese immigrants, they still provide help when in need. In 2008, Foxwoods Casino considered building a slots parlor in a 1970s-era mall in a struggling downtown retail corridor a half-block south of Chinatown. This plan was backed by Gov. Ed Rendell and Mayor Michael Nutter. In order to pass the petition, the City Council designated the mall an entertainment district, thus serving as a key step in allowing a casino to be built on the site. Foxwoods Casino chose a location close to Chinatown since one third of their major casino gamblers are Asian Americans.[25] However, this plan was opposed by Chinatown residents, who were afraid that the casino would bring gambling problems to the Chinatown community. Protests were arranged in

[25] News resource: Yahoo News
http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap_travel/20081114/ap_tr_ge/travel_brief_chinatown_casino_fight

front of Philadelphia City Hall, and signatures were collected for a petition that opposed the building of the casino.

During October and November, I saw my friends bring petition signing books to Mainline Chinese School and Trinity Chinese Church. They asked everyone to sign the books. Even Pastor Chow encouraged people to sign the petition during his announcements after worship. People lined up to sign the book and said they would like to provide help, "since we are all Chinese."

Conclusion:

According to previous research on Chinese in Chinatowns, the Chinese who live in Chinatowns generally are poorer than Chinese who reside in suburban metropolitan areas. Zhou points out that Chinese residents in New York's Chinatown could be poor, thus making it difficult to leave there (Zhou 1992). In terms of living pattern, poor and unskilled Chinese immigrants choose to reside in traditional Chinatown areas while affluent and better educated Chinese immigrants tend to scatter throughout the country in search of better living conditions (Horton 1995). Most Chinese immigrants who reside in Chinatown are immigrants from southeast China, and many of them cannot speak Mandarin. They rely on *Tongxianhui* for help (Wong 1982 and 1998). These characteristics and residential patterns seem to fit with the general Chinese immigration situation in Philadelphia. It is not hard to notice that my informants—Chinese professionals who reside in suburban Philadelphia—are very aware of these aspects of

social status, economic status and educational levels. These well-educated Chinese professionals express their intent to distinguish themselves from Chinese residents in Philadelphia Chinatown.

The most distinguishable characteristics that Chinese immigrants in suburban areas emphasize have to do with social and economic difference. However, these Chinese professionals are also very different from Chinatown residents in their social and cultural backgrounds and language practices. Though both of them are first generation Chinese immigrants from China, they are totally separate groups in terms of social and economic status. Even if they have contact during work or through business, these two groups of people seldom build personal connections beyond their business.

My experiences serve as examples of social barriers between these two groups of first generation Chinese immigrants. Both my fieldwork experience and interview results reflect that language and social behavior are two major differences separating these two groups of Chinese immigrants. Language is the most prominent cultural barrier between these two groups, for it gives these two groups different identities and solidarities. The second major difference is social behavior. My Chinese professional informants referenced this by pointing out different levels of education, economic status, and integrity. Chinese professionals in suburban Philadelphia tend to distance themselves from Chinatown residents owing to these differences.

Misunderstandings emerge owing to these differences and the lack of mutual conversation. Negative stories about Chinatown residents were common during my fieldwork and interviews with Chinese professional informants. Some of my informants

even referred to neoliberal ideology to explain their difficult lives in Chinatown—they argued that Chinatown people do not work as hard as they do, since many of these informants come from very poor villages. All these comments reinforce the stereotype that most Chinatown residents are very poor, lack integrity, and opt to manipulate or exploit US laws.

These Chinese professional informants not only distinguish themselves from Chinese in Chinatown, but also from 1.5, second or later generation Chinese immigrants. The "Chineseness" that 1.5, second, or later generations of OCA claimed is an "imagined community," following Anderson's definition. It is perpetuated by the media according to their ancestry origins. However, Chinese in China or Chinese professionals who came as first generation Chinese immigrants do not identify with the 1.5 or second generation Chinese immigrants. These Chinese professionals believe the 1.5 and later generation Chinese immigrants lack crucial understandings of Chinese culture and custom. My informants often referred to the 1.5 or second generation Chinese immigrants as "pure Americans just like 'foreigners,'" since "they behave just like typical Americans."

OCAGP is well connected with associations in Chinatown. As 1.5 or later generation Chinese immigrants, many of them can speak their mother tone. This is usually a dialect of Chinese but not Mandarin, owing to the early immigration historical background. Because first generation Chinese immigrants in Chinatown and the 1.5 or later generation Chinese immigrants (such as OCA members) speak the same dialects and share similar immigration backgrounds, OCAGP members and Chinatown associations identify themselves as similarly "Chinese." Moreover, Chinatown residents tend to share similar experience of discrimination with members of OCA through their vulnerable

social status in the US, which my Chinese professional informants referred to as lower economic and social class. First generation Chinese immigrants may rely on OCA's help for certain issues of discrimination.

Discrimination experiences connect second generation Chinese immigrants in OCA and Chinese residents in Chinatown together, but they do not involve Chinese professionals in suburban Philadelphia. When discussing discrimination, my Chinese professional informants referred to small incidents that could be avoided by not going to those "bad areas". These Chinese professionals did not recognize OCA's discrimination experiences since their cultural backgrounds were so different.

Though my Chinese professional informants distinguish themselves from these other groups of Chinese immigrants, when it comes time to campaigns for the rights of Chinese Americans, they still provide help. The anti-Foxwoods casino petition is one example of this. The pan-ethnic identity of "Chinese" emerged when there was a need for all Chinese to sign for their rights. Still, I wonder how many people would help if this campaign asked for a donation instead of signatures.

Media-Introduced Chinese Nationalism in the US

Through modern technology, mass media is powerful enough to spread ideas beyond national boundaries. Modern media even provides an imagined nostalgia for diasporic communities all over the world (Appadurai 1996). Though living in the US for more than a decade, most of these Chinese medical research professionals keep themselves aware of Chinese news and activities through satellite television and the internet. They pay more attention to Chinese news and politics than to US information. However, owing to their living experience in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, they do not necessarily agree with the Chinese nationalistic ideologies embedded within Chinese television programs, shows, and internet sites, even if they enjoy many of these programs as they did before coming to the US. Chinese nationalism emerges in Chinese media, but these medical professionals watch Chinese TV programs and shows with critical awareness. This awareness is clearly present among Christian Chinese groups who are aware of the controls presented by the government in China. Though these Chinese professionals retain national ideals during their daily lives and are proud of being Chinese, they criticize the Chinese nationalism that is put forth by the Chinese government. This chapter considers these aspects through Chinese medical research professionals' discussions and national gatherings, both in China and the United States, during 2008-2010.

Mass media in the twenty-first century had an ominous influence on human life after the boom of the internet and satellite television. From the eighties, it changed how civilians thought about their nation, as Anderson points out. Media plays an essential role in imagined community, which is related to the creation of a nation (Anderson 1996). Appadurai suggests that public mass media transforms the imagination in transnational immigration and diasporas. In other words, the mass media, through the modern technology, extends the boundaries of nation states, and it reaches to immigrants and diasporic communities in a global context. Through mass media, nostalgia and imagination can create ethnic identities in transnational life beyond the nation-state boundaries for immigrants who reside outside their original countries. Appadurai provides a primordial view that mass media in the era of globalization has resulted in the reification of ethnic identities at local or regional levels. This may cause violence in the displaced geographical context, where the media simultaneously bring cultural homogenization to the global culture (Appadurai 1996).

During my five years of fieldwork in Philadelphia, I found that the media has a huge impact on Chinese professionals' lives and thoughts about Chinese nationalism and national identity. The two media that play important roles are the internet and satellite television programming. Though these Chinese professionals have been resided in the suburban Philadelphia area for more than a decade, they still keep informed of their country of origin through the internet and satellite television. But at the same time, they are also heavily affected by media in the United States.

In this chapter, I will provide examples that demonstrate effect of media on Chinese professionals' thoughts about Chinese nationalism. In addition, I will relate information

collected from interviews to analyze and illustrate how these Chinese professionals perpetuate Chinese nationalism and national identity through the mass media available in the United States while simultaneously rejecting the Chinese nationalism that has originated directly from Chinese media within China.

Chinese New Year Shows

During the Chinese New Year's Festival, Chinese professionals from China have parties with their friends and gather together to watch the most popular Chinese New Year Spring festival celebration show in Mainland China, Spring Festival Gala Evening. It is broadcast on Chinese Central Television (CCTV) through the satellite television channel. This show has been broadcast for thirty years since the "market reform" in China, and has become the most popular show in China. CCTV is owned by the Chinese state government. Once CCTV was a television channel for government propaganda; now it is famous for having a limited audience owing to its reputation as a tedious channel. The Spring Festival Gala Evening show is one of the most watched shows during the Chinese New Year period. The Chinese government sponsors the television company to hire popular and famous Chinese stars to perform both traditional and modern Chinese variety shows, songs, dances, and folklore on a live stage. Chinese celebrities and cadres sit downstairs to enjoy the performance while it is recorded to be broadcast in Chinese on New Year's Eve. It has become a popular tradition for Chinese families to watch this show during Chinese New Year's Eve for thirty years since the Market Reform.

While most people in China watch The Spring Festival Gala Evening on Chinese New Year's Eve, people in Taiwan and Hong Kong enjoy their own variety shows hosted by local television companies, even though they also have the television channels to broadcast of The Spring Festival Gala Evening show by CCTV.

In the year of 2009, I was invited to Meda's house for a Chinese New Year's party in Wynnewood. Meda was an accountant working in a local pharmacy. She is Christian herself, but she invited her non-Christian friends for the Chinese New Year party since, according to her, Chinese Christians tend to celebrate Christmas more than Chinese New Year like Americans. Until Meda mentioned it, I had not realized this was true. MedaI had never been to any parties for the Chinese New Year celebration with any of my Chinese Christian friends for those five years. They seemed to downplay the importance of Chinese New Year and emphasized Christmas more. I always spent my Chinese New Year's Eve with people I knew from Chinese School. They usually had big celebrations with plenty of food, regardless of whether they were Chinese Mainlanders, people from Hong Kong, or Taiwanese.

It was a pot-luck party for Meda's Chinese friends to get together to celebrate Chinese New Year. When I arrived at Meda's house around five in the evening, the party had already started. Every adult grabbed food and sat in front of the television to watch the Spring Festival Gala Evening that was being broadcast by satellite television. Children ran around and played video games in the other room. Meda told me that no children would be interested in the Chinese show- it is too difficult for them to understand all these Chinese TV programs. Meda said that her son could never understand what the people in the show were singing and talking about, even though he

could speak Chinese. He did not have the necessary background of what it was like to live in China.

In the beginning of the program, after a group dance, the hosts began to talk about how great Motherland China is. One of Meda's guests, Tom, was sitting in front of the television. He started to make comments. "They still love to preach about loving the mother country (*zuguo*)! I only want to watch the performance!"

Another lady said, "I know, but they love to preach in every show on Chinese television. Well, just wait a little bit then!"

"Ha! Before coming here in the US, I never felt tired of their preaching!"

Someone said from the back, "Now I do think they preach too much." Then they started their discussion: "Why do Chinese programs preach very often while US programs do not?" Interestingly, the discussion became so engaging that the guests stopped paying attention to the show.

"We were taught to love our country, but we decided to move to the US. After staying here for several years, I feel tired of the propaganda on Chinese television. It is very boring."

"A little bit is ok. Too much propaganda makes me sick!"

Tom said, "No wonder CCTV has very little loyal audience!"

"The Spring Festival Gala Evening show is such a national event that the Chinese government spends a lot of money on it, which is a kind of waste!" Yuan said, "There are still many poor people and villages in China where kids can not afford to go to school. Why don't they spend money in those poor villages on the countryside?" Other people nodded and agreed with her.

"Just like the Beijing Olympics game back in 2008, the fact that the Chinese government spent multimillion dollars on it is ridiculous!"

"It is funny that China invests so much money in Olympic game to impress the world, but here in the United States, it is not a major event. Not everyone is watching or cares about this!"

"I feel that China is like 'biting one's face to pretend to be a fat rich guy'."

"It is ironic that Chinese citizens are very proud of the fact that China is a great Olympic host country in the world, while here in the United States, not many people paid much attention to it."

"It is Chinese culture! You have to show your guests the best part of everything and hide the ugly things!" Despite these criticisms, they still enjoyed watching the show.

I was questioned for being present there, since I was the only one who not from Mainland China. After we introduced ourselves, Tom, a pharmacist from Beijing, asked me if I had ever watched The Spring Festival Gala Evening show. "Of course! We have this show broadcasted in Taiwan!" I replied. Then Tom told me that more and more stars from Taiwan have performed in The Spring Festival Gala Evening shows in recent years. He said, "Money rocks!" Then he asked me a question most non-Christian Chinese would ask me when I first meet them: "Are you a separatist?"

This is a question I am always asked by non-Christian Chinese mainlanders, whether Chinese professionals, classmates, or students. It is very interesting that none of my Chinese Christian friends ever asked me this question during my five years in Philadelphia. Chinese Christians seemed to avoid this particular political discussion. Once in a conversation after a Bible study fellowship on Saturday, a discussion about the

political news regarding the Taiwanese president election began. This leads to a discussion about whether or not Taiwan is a part of China. The discussion was killed within one minute by Mr. Zhu's comment: "We all are citizens of God's land".

Whenever I am asked this question, I only state, "I am married to a Chinese mainlander from Shanghai" as my response. It is very interesting that people who ask this question typically assume that I am not a separatist from my answer. Then the conversation continues with the other's opinions and a discussion, which is more meaningful and interesting. Like the other people who asked me this question, Tom continued our discussion with his own opinion. "Taiwan should be part of China, which is a fact like iron, there is nothing to argue about." Interestingly, not all people at the party agreed with him.

"I thought that before I came here. After staying here for many years and gaining many Taiwanese friends, I realized that there is some difference between China and Taiwan. Also I realized that I was taught that 'Taiwan is part of China' as a fact when I was in China. However, after staying in the United States, I started wondering why it is a 'fact,' since I do not really understand the relation of it," said Dr. Yuan, a physician who works in Einstein Health Institute for health. Some people agreed with Yuan, but still some people, like Tom, insisted that Taiwan is part of China.

Tom said, "Taiwan is part of China, and we should not forget to love our country."

The other guy laughed and said, "For most of us, our country and nationality is the United States! There is no point in talking about it, since most of us are not Chinese citizens anymore!" Everyone laughed loudly, and they changed the topic.

Sometimes these Chinese professionals went to the center for Chinese New Year Performance performed by Chinese stars who tour around the United States from China. In 2009, my friend Chin invited me to a Chinese New Year Performance at the University of Pennsylvania. She received the tickets through her friend, a doctor from northeast China. This celebration was held by Dongbei USA, a *tongxianghui* (association of people from the same hometown) of people from northeast China. Dongbei USA is one of the prominent *tongxianhuis* in Philadelphia. Chin told me that an extremely rich merchant from Dongbei USA donated a great amount of money for this event in order to benefit the Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia who miss watching live shows during the Chinese New Year. This year, the performance was held at the University of Pennsylvania. Chin received tickets for free since not all tickets were for selling purpose. There was still a price attached with the ticket, however- a hundred dollars for each of these front row seats.

Chin and I arrived thirty minutes before the show was to start. It was a very interesting experience to observe about three hundred Chinese audience members sitting together in the performance hall. They mostly spoke Mandarin, though some spoke different dialects. The medium-sized music hall was full of different languages and dialects. Everyone seemed very excited to see a show composed of many famous stars and national artists.

Before the show started, I noticed that the people around me seemed to know each other well. Instead of waiting for their seats, people started networking with each other. Chin met her friends on the next row of our seats, and she introduced me to her friends from northeast China.

Finally, the lights started to dim, and it looked like the show was going to start. Everyone went back to their seats to watch the show. The host and hostess appeared and introduced what the show. After making some traditional, propitious statements for an auspicious year, the host asked some important people to give a speech for the show. The leader of Dongbei USA, Dr. Wang, went up on stage and gave an official speech for about fifteen minutes, then he took out a letter from the White House, stating that President Obama wrote a letter to herald this performance. He read the whole letter for about ten minutes. The audience started to become bored. There was another letter from a Chinese government official who supported this performance. A representative from China went up to the stage and started to give his own speech for about 10 minutes, and then he read the letter. The letter stated that Chinese Americans should not forget their "country of origin (*zuguo*)," and the mother country will always embrace them.

However, the audience did not seem to be moved. They seemed to be very impatient, and some people started complaining. I heard people say to each other, "Why do they take so long to say these 'no-use' speeches?"

"It is no use to read propaganda here! It is not China! Let me watch the show!"

Chin also complained, "What are they doing? We are not here to listen to their speech!"

After a while, a murmuring sound emerged as the audience began to talk to each other instead of paying attention to what was happening on stage. The murmuring sound became so loud that the speaker could not help but notice it. He frowned and looked surprised by this unexpected situation. But he managed to finish his speech. When the

performance started after *forty minutes* of speeches, everyone quieted down right away. Silence took the hall until applause broke out.

The performance was very mainland Chinese-oriented, since the performance group was from PR China. There was nothing about American culture or anything spoken in English. After twenty minutes, I noticed that teenagers and children started to feel anxious because they could not understand Chinese cross-talk or songs. They pulled out their electronic gadgets—cell phones and music players—and enjoyed themselves while the adults enjoyed the show.

Some of the performances created a nostalgic atmosphere of the Chinese communist era. The two performers for the Chinese cross-talk show talked about Chinese history since the Communist party took over China. They joked about what happened in the past, and they made their statements in a humorous way. I laughed and enjoy the show. Because I read books of Chinese history and modern China and had so many Chinese friends form P.R. China, I had the cultural background to know what they were talking about. I found that most audience members enjoyed the show, but I could not help myself from wondering if it was enjoyable for Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and all other places. They may not have the cultural background to understand the punch lines of the show. When I was wondering about this, the performer started to make fun of the audience according to where they come from, and he asked them to raise their hands when called. They began with an interesting description of how great China is: "We know that China is our great country (*womendezuguo* 我们的祖国). Let's talk about how great its culture and diverse people are!" They started describing the specific characteristics of people from certain part of China in a humorous way, then announced

the name of a place followed by, “Raise your hands if you are from here!” Then they confirmed their description with the group of audience members who raised their hands. They started with northeastern China. One performer said, “We know these people are tall and generous! They emphasize brotherhood and friendships!” The other one said, “I know who they are! They are people from northeastern China! (*dongbeiren* 东北人)” “Raise your hands, northeastern Chinese!” A large group of them raised their hands, and the performer said, “Do you agree with what I say?”

“Yes!” the audience who raised their hands said loudly.

In the end of the game, these two cross-talk performers mentioned almost every part of China in this fun style. Suddenly, they started to describe a place with good food and friendly people and then said, “Raise your hand if you are from Taiwan!” I raised my hand and quickly realized that I was the only one raising her hand. I was very embarrassed to answer their questions since I become the center of attention. I wondered why they asked this question: did they want purposely to remind us that Taiwan is part of China?

All songs performed, danced, and sang in the show were about the greatness of China. I wondered if they chose this theme deliberately, since even in The Spring Festival Gala Evening show, the songs chosen are not all this patriotic. It looked like they chose patriotic songs in order to spread Chinese nationalism to Chinese immigrants, and to increase the bond between Chinese Americans and China as their home country.

One short dramatic performance was performed as part of a famous Chinese musical drama and movie “*Jiang jie* 江姐”. Jiangjie is female communist leader who devoted all her life to the Communist Party during the civil revolution era in 1940s. She was killed

by the *Kuomingdang*. She has since become the model female character for Chinese communism. Her story was written into dramas of several local dialects, and it was made into a movie in 1978. The performer, Li Huang, a famous star in the Jiangjie drama, sang a song called "Praise the Red Plum Blossom". The audience liked it very much, and she gained loud applause with an encore song called "Embroil the Red Flag". The audience seemed to enjoy the performance very much, but I wondered if these songs strengthened the audience's Chinese identity and their connection to China, and if it spread Chinese nationalism.

After the show, the audience was very happy and entertained. The applause was loud and people were very thrilled about the performance. Everyone talked about the show when walking out of the hall. Children enjoyed the acrobats most, while adults enjoyed the singing and dancing. Some people said, "I have not heard these kinds of songs or watched this kind of show for a long time!"

On our way home, my friends wondered if I could understand the whole performance, and if I wanted them to explain to me. I replied that I am very lucky to have many friends from mainland China and am familiar with Chinese modern history. Chin's friend, Mrs. Jin, who is from northeastern China, told me that they invited friends from Taiwan and Hong Kong last year, but they could not quite understand the show. "They felt bored of it last year and did not want to come this year." She smiled and said, "This happened to my teenagers, too. They did not want to come with us for the show since they are like Americans and cannot understand the show. They have no cultural background for it."

Summer Olympic Game in Beijing 2008

In the year 2008, the Summer Olympic Games were held in Beijing. It was an amazing event for audiences all over the world, especially since the Chinese government reported spending fifteen million US dollars for it. However, other resources estimated that more than forty billion US dollars were spent on the games, thus making this Olympics the most expensive one in its history[26]. The opening ceremony was designed by the famous Chinese film director, Zhang Yimou. More than one thousand performers participated in the opening and closing ceremony, and every participant was carefully selected for the performance. China presented amazing visual images for the global audience by presenting its grand venues and magnificent performances. The Summer Olympic Games in Beijing were designed as a national event to globally market China.

During my interviews, I often asked informants for their opinion about the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. All of my Chinese professional informants told me that they were very proud of being Chinese when they watched the games. They all thought it was wonderful that China made the Olympic games a world experience of Chinese art, culture and history. Mrs. Huang told me, "I was very proud, and my tears almost fell while I was watching the opening ceremony. Though I have been in the United States for more than twenty years, I have never felt so proud of being Chinese in the United States than at that moment."

Some informants thought the Summer Olympic Games in Beijing were a great opportunity for China to present positive images, market themselves, and invite foreign investment. "It is like a declaration to the world that China is a rising country in every

[26] Resource: Gourdian, UK, 28 July 2008:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2008/jul/28/olympicgames2008.china1 and Reuters, August 5, 2008:
http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSPEK25823820080805

aspect. The Summer Olympic Games in Beijing changed foreigners' stereotypes and wrong impressions of China." Patty told me that her American neighbors were amazed by the marvelous performances and huge, high-tech LCD foldable screen during the opening ceremony. Weber said, "My Americans colleagues changed their view of China after watching the game. They realized China is a very modern country!"

Dr. Li is from Beijing, and he thought it was a great way to present the capital of China. "I have not been back to Beijing for four years. On the television, Beijing is much more modern and beautiful than how it was! I am so moved, I started to miss my home city, and I had thoughts to move back! I am so proud of being person from Beijing (北京人), the city selected for summer Olympic Games!"

Some informants thought China spent too much money on the Summer Olympics. "Why do they like to spend that huge amount money on these kinds of events? The money should be used in more practical aspects, like helping those victims of the earthquake in Sichuan!" Mr. Wang told me, "The Chinese government thinks that by spending this huge amount of money, China will become the center of the world's focus. However, not many people paid that much attention to the Olympics in the United States compared to China."

Mrs. Sha said, "There were amazing performance for the opening and closing ceremonies. I wonder if it is a marketing strategy to attract foreign investment as well as to show how great China is. The government should have spent less and used the money to help poor kids in rural areas to go to school."

During the Summer Olympic Games period, there were many scandals reported by the foreign media, including the US media. Some informants pointed out that the

scandals made them feel uncomfortable. They had a casual discussion after the worship luncheon about these scandals. The discussion included several well-known scandals that were widely broadcasted by international media. At the end of the Olympics' opening ceremony, a girl with a red dress lip-sang the Chinese national anthem while another girl sang the song on the back stage. The reason why the performance was arranged in this way is that the Olympic game organizers wanted to present the cutest girl on international media with the best singing voice. However, after the "truth" was revealed by an American event organizer, international news media treated this mock singing performance as a scandal. The story was wide-spread on international news websites like CNN, Reuters and BBC.

There was another incident that was treated as a notorious Summer Olympic Games scandal. The international mass media discovered that the live broadcast of summer Olympic game fireworks after the ceremony was actually pre-recorded. This news was broadcasted as a scandal in the United States. Mrs. Sha said that foreign media, especially the US media, paid too much attention to these so called "scandals," and this made her unhappy. "Scandals draw much attention as the summer Olympic games, and I do not think these are real scandals. They do not understand that the Chinese government does these things in order to present the best part of itself, even though these things are dishonest in the standard of foreign countries." There were similar comments made by other informants, stating that the foreign media do not understand Chinese culture and instead try to make news out of their strange discoveries.

"Foreigners do not understand why these intriguing things are arranged, and they treat them as scandals. It is the failure of the Chinese government to do things according

to Chinese mentality, not the west's. In the end, they created many "scandals" for foreigners to laugh at." Dr. Zhou said. She was not the only one who mentioned this point. Chinese professionals always expressed their concern that very few Americans understand Chinese culture.

"They (Americans) often judge Chinese culture by using their own standards." Mr. Wang usually mentioned this with a deep sigh.

Yuan Chen said that when the summer Olympic games started, she was in China. "The worst thing is that the Olympic games caused many inconveniences when I was in Beijing. The (Chinese) government seemed to sacrifice their citizens' convenience to present the glorious parts of China. However, I wonder if Chinese citizens, especially people who live in Beijing, are aware of this. My family members are very used to these inconveniences, and they are not aware of these aspects."

Some informants mentioned that the Chinese government used the Beijing summer Olympic games to further instill Chinese patriotism in Chinese citizens. During a discussion at an after-worship luncheon at Chinese Christian Church in August 2008 (during which time the Olympic Games were taking place), Mr. Chen said, "In China, everyone is very obsessed with how many gold medals Chinese athletes receive. It is strange that no one pays attention to athletes who win silver or bronze medals. For me, it is not that important! I already forgot it. It is a big deal in China! Sometimes it is close to ridiculous that people in China are so obsessed with it!" Everyone laughed and agreed.

Mrs. Zhou said, "The overseas Chinese public news website had a discussion about whether or not Chinese athletes should thank their mother country (祖国) for

training them to win the gold medal. Before coming here, I had never doubted the idea that athletes should thank the country for training them, but now I have this doubt too."

Laughter emerged, and Mr. Huang said, "It is very interesting that we have changed so much after coming here!"

During my interviews, I asked informants which athletes or teams they wanted to win. All of my informants laughed and said they supported both teams. "The answer is very obvious, both athletes from China and the United States!" Jin said. "We (my family members) care about Chinese and American teams when watching games."

Weber said, "It is always good to care about both Chinese and American athletes because you have more games to watch and more favorite athletes to cheer for! Isn't it great?" Some informants added that they could watch some games online or through the satellite television if they could not find particular games on American television channels.

The Twenty-year Anniversary of June fourth Tiananmen Square Protest

June fourth, 2009 was the twenty-year anniversary of the Tiananmen Square protest in Beijing, China, one of the most controversial incidents discussed in international media. It was a well-discussed topic on news media in the United States and on overseas Chinese websites. In June 2009, news media in the United States, including CNN and ABC, publicized this incident. A special series of Chinese documentary films were broadcast about the development and economic growth of China. On the Discovery Chanel, there was a series of Chinese documentary films entitled *Rising China*. The June fourth

Tiananmen Square Protest was brought up, along with the booming Chinese economy, by the majority of broadcast media in the United States.

The Tiananmen Square Protest was brought up as a casual topic of discussion in fellowships, party gatherings, and in the parents' waiting room at Mainline Chinese School. These Chinese professionals' opinions on the Tiananmen Square Protest differed between Christians and non-Christians, and their opinions of the broadcasting of the Tiananmen Square incident by the US media were also very different.

In the fellowship before June fourth, 2009, everyone prayed after Bible study. During snack time after the Bible study, people in fellowship began to discuss this incident and recall their feelings about it. "It was a strange experience. During that time, it looked like people desired democracy, especially intellectuals. In Wuhan (Hebei Province), there was chaos. Many people and students went to the street to protest and did not do their daily work or study." Amos recalled his memory of that time. "I felt excited to push our country to a new change." Amos said, "I was in high school, and I did not really know what was happening. I remember my teacher told me to study instead of paying attention to the news. But it was a historical moment."

Many others agreed with him. They said that they were also excited and hoped China could become more socially liberal. However, not everyone was paying attention to this event at that time. Mr. Zhu said, "I guess that is for your generation! I did not pay much attention, since I was busy preparing exams for applying to graduate schools in the United States." Mr. Wang mentioned that he was worried at that time. He worried that this incident would affect China's new policy to allow Chinese students to go abroad for education.

Not every place was affected by the democratic trends of the Tiananmen Square protest period. Ms. Zhou said that in her poor village in Sichuan, farmers were too busy to care about it, let alone organize protests. “I went back home during that period of time. My village is the same as usual. People heard that the protests were going on, but they did not pay much attention.” Everyone started to discuss what happened at that time.

“We are very lucky to be here in the United States, which provides much more freedom- especially religious rights! We should pray for China!” Mr. Zhu said, and the discussion ended with a prayer.

In the worship service the next day, Pastor Chow mentioned that Christians should give blessings to China and remember what had happened twenty years ago. He led a prayer for victims of the protest, and he hoped that things could get better in China. During the after-worship luncheon, people talked about their memories of the period of Tiananmen Protest. Most people in the church thought the Tiananmen Protest was an outbreak of Chinese citizens’ desire for democracy and freedom. It was stimulated by the memorial of death of Hu Yaobang.

However, their actions and reactions to the Tiananmen Square protest can be more specifically be divided into two camps. Some of them mentioned that they were busy preparing their applications to study in the United States, and they did not pay much attention to what was happening there. Some of my other Christian informants said they joined the protest in other part of the country, but it was dismissed soon afterwards. “I was so disappointed after hearing that the army struck students in Beijing. The local leaders were going to search for those students and union leaders in our workplace. I knew that I could not stay in China anymore. So I decided to move to the United States

by any means possible," Mr. Chen said. "In 1991 and 1992, there was a wave of Chinese students who went abroad to study. I was very lucky to receive an offer from the University of Minnesota to come to the United States during that time!" Many people agreed with Mr. Chen, saying that they made up their minds to go abroad after the Tiananmen Square Protest. Mr. Wang said that he chose to come to the United States to explore the freedom he had not experienced.

Chinese Christians are very aware of their limited rights in China, especially their religious rights. Their memories of the Tiananmen Square Protest are memories of great sorrow. They say they appreciate the fact that China is rising economically, and that people's lives are improving materially. However, there is always something missing in their motherland, and that is why they choose to stay in the United States.

However, the discussion around the Tiananmen Square Protest arouses a very different discussion in Mainline Chinese School. These parents have very different thoughts than those Chinese Christians in Church. They do not see this incident as a dreadful memory. Instead, many of them think the Tiananmen Square Protest was a pure riot protest. "I was a high school teacher in Wuhan at the time when Tiananmen Square Protest happened, and my students would like to join the protest for 'democracy'. In my opinion, they just wanted to get out of the classroom and have fun! I did not think these young students knew what the real 'democracy' was. I ordered them to stay in my classroom, and I threatened that I would flunk them if they go out for protests. My students did not go to any of these protests since they did not want to fail. They thanked me for being their teacher after this incident because later on those students who lead protests were captured and jailed!" Chin said that in her memory of the period, "In the

beginning, people wanted to remember Hu Yaobang, but in the end, it became a protest composed by riots".

Jin told me that she was working in a company when these protests happened. Jin's husband and Jin could not go to work, since the traffic was blocked by protesters in Beijing. She could not understand why people would do this to stop her from working. "I wondered, Why don't they spend all these efforts on protest to work? They could have made much more money and contributed more by working hard rather than doing nothing in the protest!" She laughed with others for her funny comments.

Other comments were similar. Some parents even laughed at the fact that the students who protested did not know much about politics. Mr. Chen said, "It is too naive to think the (Chinese) government would change its policy for the protest!" He said he was a hard-working student who refused to participate in the protest in Nanjing. "I heard that some of the student leaders just wanted to be famous through the protest. I was too young to understand all of this."

Mrs. Wang continued, "Even if the students won and China become democratic, I do not think China would be better off now. It was a very complicated situation that I do not think students could understand. As a high school student, I did not understand what democracy was at that time, since I was too young! I decided to stay at home studying, since the traffic was horrible during that period."

"I wonder why the news media brought up this topic here in the United States as an important matter. It is none of their business," said one lady.

However, another guy added right after her comment, "It is none of your business too, American!" The discussion ended with a great laughter.

Non-Christian Chinese did not seem to be very involved in the anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Protest. Their understanding of this incident is more about the inconvenience of the riots rather than attaching any special meaning to it. It is interesting that they take the same position as the Chinese state, seeing this incident as an obstacle to the development of modern China. These non-Christian Chinese professionals' interpretation of this incident is very different from Chinese Christian's interpretation. Chinese Christians see this protest as an example of the Chinese state restricting the freedom of its citizens, an experience clearly connected to their awareness of restricted religious freedom in China.

The Sixtieth Year Celebration in China

October first, 2009 was the sixty-year celebration of the People's Republic of China. There was a huge parade for two and half hours in front of Tiananmen Square to celebrate. It included weaponry, goose-stepping troops and all other forms of parade performed by students. The celebration was described as "joyful but solemn" by the US media[27]. In the evening, there was a cultural show of celebration, and it was likewise broadcasted on CCTV. Like the Chinese tradition of big celebrations held for human beings, China had a grand celebration for its sixty year birthday.

Chinese satellite television broadcast the parade in Beijing live; it started in the evening Eastern time. Since the live broadcasting was on a Thursday night, my informants did not gather together to watch it as they did the Spring Festival Gala Evening Show. However, it was still the subject of discussion for that week among the non-Christian Mainland Chinese informants.

[27] Source: MSNBC webstie: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/33108782/ns/world_news-asiapacific/

I watched this show live with my friend Chin. I planned to sleep over at her place, since she told me that the show would end late. Grabbing snacks and drinks, Chin and I set up a small feast in front of her forty-two inch flat-screen television. Chin grabbed blankets for each of us, and she adjusted the sofa to the proper angle to enjoy the show. This show started at ten in the evening with the live parade.

We were very excited to watch the show, since it was the sixtieth year celebration of China and we expected the show to be the best part of all the celebration. However, when the show started, we felt disappointed right away. It was awkward for me and Chin that the live broadcast was extremely "live"- there was no reporter or narrator to illustrate the whole scene and procedures. The screen offered views from different angles—it showed beautiful balloons flying all over the sky in one moment, and then it switched to the parade people in the next minute without explanation. Then the camera switched to close-up shots of people who sat on special seats. These shots looked disorganized, especially since they never provided any information or narration of the activities we were seeing. However, Chin noticed that if we listened to the audio from the television carefully, the host's original announcements of the parade were included in the audio track, along with ambient noise and live music from the parade. The problem was that the noise and the parade music was so loud that the host's illustrations were very unclear and hard to understand.

Later on, several important people, most of them Chinese government officials, including Hu Jing-Tao, the president of the People's Republic of China, gave speeches to the audience as part of the opening ceremony for the parade. There were no subtitles describing who these people were while the camera zoomed in and around during their

speeches. Since we could not hear the host's announcement clearly, Chin and I had to keep guessing while the camera swung across those in VIP seats. The speeches were long with many official slogans. Ironically, I could recognize more people than she, since she had been away from China for a long time.

Thirty minutes later, after important people finished giving speeches, the parade started officially with symbolic activities like releasing doves and balloons to the sky. People gathered in front of the Tiananmen Square to hail, "Long live the People's Republic of China." These scenes were presented by a prolonged single camera shot of each of these events—several minutes of a long shot of pigeons flying to the sky, then another one showing soldiers shooting to the sky for celebration. These long shots made us start to feel bored after a while.

From the scene broadcast on the television, I could tell the parade was extremely magnificent. There were thousands of people participating in this parade, and Tiananmen Square was filled with performers and parade troops. The line of troops for the parade seemed to be endless. On both sides of the parade path, people lifted up color boards as colorful backdrops, and they continuously presented different patterns and slogans. It was a grand parade with thousands of people, and the audience in front of the television should have enjoyed it. However, the camera always used steady long shots from a single angle to broadcast this parade, and it repeatedly switched to leaders without explanation. After another thirty minutes, Chin and I fell asleep on the sofa without making it to the way the air show we originally planned to watch.

In a party that weekend at Dr. Liu's house, Dr. Liu played the prerecorded Sixtieth Celebration Parade show in his living room. He said that he recorded this program for his

friend, and he thought that he could play it at the party so people who missed it could watch it. However, most of the guests said that they had watched it live. Several guests said that they missed it, and they gathered in front of the television to watch.

"Honestly I think it is a boring show!" one guest said. "It is too solemn to enjoy! The live broadcast is too long to watch!"

"Probably we have been used to the American method of broadcasting a live show, and we are used to hearing someone telling us what is happening now."

"I found the camera is very stiff. It does not change the angle for a long time, which makes me feel bored."

"Really?" Mr. Xie looked surprised, "I watched the American version online on NBC. They had only a five-minute version, and it was really great."

"Probably it is just like the Olympic Games. My friend in Beijing told me the American version is much better and more clear than the Chinese one."

Chin said, "It is strange that I feel there is too much patriotic education in it, though I love my country (祖国). But I still feel strange when watching it and the patriotism presented through it."

Dr. Liu argued that the Chinese government spent too much money on an unnecessary parade rather than spending money on necessities like helping the poor and improving its medical systems. "I used to love watching the national parade when I was in China, and I would feel so moved by the greatness of China when watching the parade. Once, I almost cried when watching it live in front of the television. Now I still love watching Chinese national parades every year, but instead of feeling thrilled, I feel sad at the same time. What a big waste of money!"

Others laughed at Dr. Liu's comment. "You think a lot about others! Just enjoy the show!"

One lady says, "There is nothing we can change about this! If we have the power to change China, we would stay in China instead of coming here!"

Everyone laughed. "Just enjoy watching it and stop thinking too much!" Mr. Chen said, and other people agreed with him.

Chinese-ness and the media

During my interviews, every informant told me that they are very proud of being Chinese. However, when I asked them to explain, they had different definitions of the "Chinese" part that they are proud of. My Chinese Christian informants told me that they are proud of the fact that they belong to the thousand-year-old Chinese history and culture. "We have a much longer history than most countries in the world, and I am always glad for this!" Patty said to me. "Though we moved here, I have never forgotten the fact that we are Chinese."

Mrs. Zhu said that she is very happy that China is rising in the world. "Chinese people work very hard for their development, and now it is the Chinese' century."

However, Chinese Christians are very aware of the limited freedoms the Chinese government provides for those who are religious. During conversations after Bible study or speeches held by Chinese Christians, they sometimes mentioned stories of this limited right for Chinese Christians in China. Even Pastor Chow mentioned this in a Sunday worship service. He brought five copies of the Bible to Shanghai, and they were taken away by customs officials. "I did not know that we could not bring more than one Bible

for each person. I should do research before I go." He said with humor, "I hope those custom officer read them instead of throwing them away."

When I asked non-Christians, their answers were more economic-oriented than Chinese Christians, and some of them mentioned that they are proud of the leading role of the Chinese government. "After the market reforms, the Chinese government led people to better life." Mrs. Wang said, "My hometown used to be very poor without electricity and faucet water. But now it is much better! We even have a bus to commute between my hometown and the train station."

Both Christians and non-Christian Chinese professionals from China who come as first generation Chinese immigrants like to watch Chinese television and browse Chinese websites for news and information about China. However, Chinese Christian professionals are more critical of the Chinese news that is broadcast on Chinese local channels than non-Christian Chinese. Nonetheless, both of them enjoy cultural shows and variety shows when the subject is not about politics in China.

Through modern broadcasting technology, mass media facilitate Chinese professionals' connections with their hometowns in China, and it helps them establish their transnational identity as overseas Chinese. Likewise, Chinese nationalism, which is embedded in Chinese television programs, is able to spread overseas. However, not all Chinese professionals absorb all the national propaganda, patriotic ideology, and nationalism embedded in Chinese television programs. After staying in the United States for decades, these Chinese professionals are aware of political controls and the propaganda in Chinese television programs. They enjoy Chinese television programs, but

at the same time, they are able to analyze the presentation of images with a critical attitude. Chinese television and websites provide them with an imagined connection with their hometown and with ideas of Chinese nationalism, but the information they receive is not identical to the original Chinese nationalism that the Chinese government wishes to spread. Political loyalty embedded in Chinese TV shows has been consumed as a cultural loyalty for these Chinese professionals in the northwestern Philadelphia suburban area.

Are Neoliberal Politics Better than *Guanxi* Networks?

Chinese professionals who came to the United States in the 1980s and 1990s and now reside in Philadelphia Mainline have embraced capitalism in the United States. They believe that it provides more economic and personal freedom than in China, where the economic system is dominated by complicated guanxi *networks and politics. Though they feel disempowered socially in comparison to immigrants of European heritage who dominate these suburbs, Chinese professionals believe that their accumulated economic and cultural capital will lead to better opportunities than is possible in China, since they do not have prominent* guanxi *network in China. However, as a result of neoliberal politics, pharmaceutical companies have outsourced jobs, resulting in the repatriation of some Chinese professionals to China. In the meantime, some Chinese medical research professionals are considering moving back to China after being laid off by pharmaceutical companies in the US. These Chinese medical professionals face unexpected challenges, brought about by neoliberal ideology in state and city policies that have shattered their "American dreams." However, despite encountering all these difficulties in the US, these Chinese professionals maintain that the neoliberal basis of US society still provides more opportunities for them to become prosperous than China, where politics and* guanxi *network are too complicated to handle.*

Neoliberalism and Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Neoliberalism is another name for free market capitalism, which means that the state minimizes its control to the market and promotes a free competition among capitalists (Harvey 2005). In the United States, neoliberalism has become a major apparatus since the Regan period of the 1970s. It is now so prominent that it is embedded in everyone's daily life. In the United States, neoliberal ideology has enabled corporations to shape legislation and policy, thus affecting all layers of the government and limiting any opposition to the empowerment of the rich. Neoliberalism has allowed a handful of private interests to take over public social life to maximize their private profits (Chomsky 1999). The political culture has been depoliticized since life has become organized according to modes of privatization, commercialization and deregulation (Giroux 2005). Financial aspects and commercial values take over human needs, public responsibilities, and even the availability of public services (Martin 2002). Giroux argues that under neoliberalism, democracy, which includes the creation of a public sphere where individuals can be educated to gain the capacity to become an autonomous political agent, has diminished. Politics become empty as it people are reduced to following orders, shaming those who make power accountable, and shutting down legitimate modes of dissent (Giroux 2005).

Unlike the situation in the United States, neoliberalism has not dominated China in the same way. Harvey sees China after market reform as an exception to the neoliberal template he created, since he is unable to apply the western model of neoliberalism to China. However, neoliberalism has been introduced in China in a different form by the government. Started in 1979, economic reform was carried out in China to allow

privatization. It was characterized as “free in human natures,” and it worked to promote people’s desire to consume (Rofel 2007). While China opened up its gates to participate in the global economy, the state still has the power to control economic development via non-transparent policies and embedded political controls. Unlike neoliberalism in the United States, the Chinese government controls economic development while at the same time encourages privatization. This complicated economic condition is referred to as “Socialism with Chinese characteristics,” which Ong refers to as “Socialism from Afar” (Ong 2008).

Starting in 2007, the economic recession gradually took over the United States due to falling housing prices, the credit crisis, and rising energy costs. Some of my Chinese informants in Philadelphia Mainline were laid off, and they struggled to find new jobs. Some wondered if it was a good time to go back to their home country to look for new careers. Owing to this recession, the topics that Chinese professionals chatted about in parents’ waiting room and the after-worship luncheon shifted from children’s education to how to save your job and manage your financial burden. In 2008, there were five meetings and three talks about economic recession, and how to survive in the United States under neoliberal ideology. They also discussed and compared the situation in China with the United States.

Methodology:

My research was conducted through interviews and observations I performed by participating in Chinese professionals activities in both Chinese Churches and Chinese

schools from 2007 until 2009. I attended every talk held about the financial crisis, and I interviewed 20 families for this topic. In what follows, I will use one meeting as an example of these meetings about the financial crisis, and I will draw conclusions from meetings and interviews about how Chinese professionals in Philadelphia Mainline areas think about neoliberal ideology in the US and compare it with economic development in China.

In this paper, I will provide a summary of a typical meeting I attended. This meeting was held in November 2008 by a relatively successful Chinese businessman at Trinity Chinese Church of Great Philadelphia. He held this meeting to provide a discussion of how to deal with this crisis for Chinese Church members. In my analysis, I will combine these meeting results and the information I collected through conversations and interviews with my analysis to discuss how these Chinese professionals view neoliberialism in the United States, and in Philadelphia, when compared with the situation in China.

Impacts of the Economic Recession in 2007

Mainline Chinese School experienced a twenty percent drop in its enrollment. The board of Mainline Chinese School set up scholarships to provide free Saturday Chinese School for continuing students who could not afford to attend Chinese school because their parents lost their jobs. Chinese Trinity Church at Philadelphia also set up an emergency fund to help its members with the unexpected financial crisis owing to sudden unemployment.

In the end of 2008, “economic crisis” had become a common topic in every Chinese professional’s conversation, both in Chinese Trinity Church and Mainline Chinese School. Usually when I walked into the Mainline Chinese School parents’ waiting room, I would hear conversations about how to bring up your children and send them to famous colleges, how to decorate one’s garden, or how to invest in the stock market. However, in 2008, the conversations changed from the topic of families and investments to methods for surviving in this economic condition.

Rumors of someone losing his or her job flew in both the-parents’ waiting room and after-worship luncheon. No one could prove if those rumors were true, since the individual featured in the rumor was always absent or had disappeared from the school or church. Other rumors about certain pharmaceutical companies being shut down were prevalent in Chinese schools and churches. Chinese professionals started to worry about their careers since most of them felt that, as Chinese, they were more likely to be fired.

Chats in the Waiting Room and at After-Worship Luncheons:

Starting in 2008, in the middle of the economic recession, meetings were held in Trinity Chinese churches to discuss how to survive the difficult economic crisis. I attended any meetings, fellowship groups, and friends’ gatherings held by my informants where they discussed the economic crisis and what they should do to survive it. During their discussions, these Chinese professionals found similar solutions to this economic crisis, namely, that people had to accumulate more capital through other forms of investment in order to survive. “No one can predict what will happen next, since Chinese

probably have a bigger chance of being laid off," Mr. Chen told me when I asked why people started to worry about being laid off. Two meetings were held by people in Trinity Chinese Church, and one meeting was held by parents in Mainline Chinese School. Unofficial talks and chats about how to survive the economic recession occurred in the parents' waiting room and after-worship luncheon. All of these meetings, talks and chats were held in Chinese Mandarin. In the following, I will list and compare these meetings, chats and talks.

One meeting was held at the office building of Trinity Chinese Church at Conshohocken in November 2008. Mr. Wang, a relatively successful businessman, Pastor Chow, and several Chinese professionals in the church held a meeting with church members to discuss how to invest and maximize private accumulation as a strategy for dealing with the financial difficulties caused by the economic recession.

The meeting was held on a Saturday afternoon by a group of "church brothers" who had successfully invested. During the meeting, they introduced methods of investment both in the US and in China. Also, they discussed and compared their lives in the US and in China.

In the beginning of the meeting, the meeting holder, Mr. Wang, mentioned several questions Chinese professionals typically thought about during the economic recession. There were about thirty people in the meeting, all of them Chinese professionals. Some people left early and others came in only for a part of discussion.

"Life here in the US is already difficult for us, and now it is more difficult during the economic recession than before, since we may be laid off. However, China is developing

and is not as heavily wounded by the economic recession as the US. However, should we consider going back to China?" Everyone seemed to agree with Wang's question, indicating they had thought about it. Many of them said they could not go back because they had children here in the US; others said they would like to. In China, they would gain support from family members and relatives, and it would be much easier to have a family there than in the US, where most help is gained from Chinese church networks. Then Wang showed a picture of a "Chinese swimming pool" on PowerPoint, saying, "This picture shows the situation in China now".

The picture provided a birds-eye view of a regular pool in a stadium with many people immersed in it. There were probably several hundred people in the pool, and another several hundred people enjoying tiny spaces on the side of the pool. The whole pool looked like an ant hill with countless ants on it. I had seen this picture online before and was amazed by it, since I had never been to any swimming pool as crowded as this picture. However, everyone in the meeting smiled at each other. It seemed as thought they were amused by this picture. Some of them said that they already forgotten how the situation was in China.

Mr. Wang smiled and said that he wanted to remind everyone that in China there are many people competing through many different kinds of "methods" (he hinted by using a strange tone for "methods"). Everyone smiled, and some of them nodded their head with a sigh. They could not help themselves but to fall into another discussion at this point. I wanted to make sure I was on the same page with everyone else, so I asked a lady sitting close by. She told me, "It is the *guanxi* relationship, which common people like us do not have."

Mr. Wang continued, "The competition is extremely fierce in China, just like this picture. Many more people are competing for the same resources that we have here. Though we may have certain privileges in this fierce competition because we are *Haigui*,[28] it can be very difficult to be successful. Here in the United States, we surely can survive the economic situation and be successful, so long as we know how to invest our money, since other realities affect us much less here than in China. Here it is not as competitive as it is in China, even though we are in the center of an economic crisis." Most audience members nodded their heads to show that they agreed with Mr. Wang. "Most important of all, in the United States, the country of free market capitalism, as long as you know how to invest and manage your money, you will gain strong economic resources, and you can be successful." The audience members started another discussion amongst themselves about this point. They seemed to agree that in the US, the situation was favorable to them due to this free market capitalism.

Then Mr. Wang started to talk about "free market capitalism" (*ziyoushichangjingji*), the economic system in the US. He mentioned the history of it, and he emphasized that it allows people to invest and to be successful through their own efforts- there are few regulations to limit the power of development of the economy and personal wealth. He said, "We are lucky to be able to come here to enjoy the freedom of this market, and how can we be defeated by the economic recession? We moved to the US for its resources, such as a better living environment and a nicer household. However, we cannot forget how much more competitive China is if we decide to go back or to invest there."

[28] Haigui (海归) means those Chinese who returned to China from other countries.

Then Mr. Wang moved to the topic of why capital accumulation is important for us in this society. “I think everyone knows how important money is in our life, especially in our society where free market capitalism is prominent. You need money to buy everything in your life.” He asked audience members to discuss what money can bring. The audience provided answers such as: “services, basic needs of life, a feeling of security.” Everyone agreed with these aspects. Mr. Wang added another point, which puzzled some audience members: social status. Some of the audience could not help themselves and said, “I don’t care.” Most people smiled and one lady (Mrs. Cheng) said that she could understand why. Mr. Wang has to explain, “Many people think that if they have money, they will have a better social status!”

One gentleman could not help himself, saying, “Rich people here like to distinguish themselves from others if they have a lot of money!”

Mrs. Chen still looked very confused and asked, “How? Do they think they are better than others in social status?”

“Probably! You can tell from how they behave! They go to extra fancy restaurants and show off a lot,” another lady answered. People started to discuss how and why this happens, but most audience members did not feel that money would make one different in social status.

After a while, Mrs. Chen said, “I always feel we Chinese are at a disadvantage when taking about social status, no matter how rich we are, especially in this area.” Sarcastic laughter came out, and everyone nodded, unsurprised.

Some said, “We are always guests for Americans though. However, we knew that before we came!”

“What about our children? They seem to think having money can raise their social status! My daughter definitely feels it, and she asks me if we are poorer than her classmates since I refused to buy an ipod for her!” one lady said sarcastically. She continued, “She thinks her classmates don’t play with her because she does not have those gadgets.” Many people agreed with this lady by nodding their heads, and they claimed that similar things happened to their children, especially to their teenagers in local high schools.

“Probably we do not feel that money would distinguish social status but our children experience it?” one man asked the people around him, and everyone seemed to be puzzled by his question. Most ladies at the meeting looked concerned and started discussing how to deal this problem with their children. They exchanged their experiences with each other.

“But,” suddenly one man said in a high voice, “the situation is more serious in China than here! People always offer different services and attitudes according to how much money you have!”

Mrs. Chen seemed very surprised and said, “Really? Even in China?” Some people were amazed by this additional information, while others nodded their heads.

Mr. Wang smiled to show that he agreed with the comment and said, “Well, probably in China, too. That’s probably because you do not feel it here, but this aspect does mean something for some people here in the US.”

Everyone agreed that their capital accumulation could provide them a feeling of security and the path to the "American dream". Mr. Wang concluded the discussion by saying that this was the main reason for everyone coming to the meeting. As Chinese immigrants, they all came to the United States to pursue their American dreams—big cars, houses, and a good education for their children. By increasing their private accumulation as much as possible, they could have a feeling of security while living here.

In other words, Mr. Wang concluded, having a better life by increasing private accumulation in the United States was much easier to achieve than in China for them as first generation Chinese professionals most likely did not have *guanxi* relationships. Increasing private accumulation was the most essential way to survive and gain a feeling of security in the US.

Mr. Wang then described how to invest capital, and he started a discussion on this topic. Like other meetings, people started to discuss their investment and how to manage their capital in real estate, stocks, or antique markets.

Mr. Wang and the people from Trinity Chinese Church held another meeting on the same topic one week later. Though they had a different audience from the previous meeting, it was very interesting that these Chinese professionals had a similar reaction to these topics.

Another meeting was held at the Chinese school to discuss what people should do to avoid being laid off, and what to do in the event of being laid off. Similar to the meeting in Conshohocken, they compared their lives in the US and in China.

This talk was held on Saturday morning in November, 2009. The topic was "How to Keep Your Job During this Economic Crisis." The presenter, Mr. Chen, was a high level manager in a department at a pharmaceutical company. He presented some of his thoughts regarding who would be hired and who would be laid off during this economic recession.

In the beginning of the talk, Mr. Chen had a discussion about the characteristics of the United States. The audience proposed several points of cultural difference, such as individualism, teenagers having their own culture, and capitalism. Female audience members discussed how hard it is to take care of their teenagers; they exchanged their opinions.

Mr. Chen asked everyone to quiet down and said, "in relation to today's topic, I would ask you to notice that the biggest difference between Chinese society and the United States is capitalism. In other words, money matters, and it is very important to get a job, have a job and keep your job- especially for us who immigrate to the United States. In our home country, we have our relatives and friends to help us if we need help. For example, you can ask your relatives or neighbors to take care of your children after they finish school. Here (in the United States) we rely on ourselves, and it is not a custom to ask our neighbors or friends to do things for us. Therefore, you need to pay for services since you do not have these resources like in our home country. Capitalism makes people pay for everything, and to value the importance of capital.

"The good thing is that you will not owe *renqing* (人情 favor). In some way, you gain more freedom. As long as you have enough money, you can afford services. So it is

very important for you to have money to pay for these services. In other words, we need to have jobs to get money for our daily needs and for the services we used to be able to get for free before we came here." People started to chat about their experiences of having to pay to have better services, such as private schools.

"As Chinese, we may encounter difficulties in working because of cultural differences," said Mr. Chen. Then Mr. Chen presented the common stereotype of Chinese people in office: "docile, obedience, diligent, quiet, do not like to social with colleagues…" Some people smiled and some people nodded their heads to show that they agreed with Mr. Chen. "These characteristics actually are not negative stereotypes. I know some managers prefer to hire Chinese workers because they think Chinese work very hard.

"However, during the economic crisis, these characteristics have become weakness for Chinese employees." Mr. Chen continued, "Managers know that it is easier to lay off these Chinese employees since they tend not to have deep personal connections with other employees, and Chinese employees are much more obedient. In other words, they are much easier to lay off than American ones." Mr. Chen encouraged everyone to provide their opinions regarding what he said, but everyone seemed to agree with him and no one said anything. "All of these characteristics could be attributed to traditional Chinese culture or to our lack of understanding of American culture, even though we have lived here for a long time. The corporate culture here could be similar to how it is in China. You are evaluated not only by how much you have done, but also how by who you are in relation to other people. It is not as serious as what we have in *guanxi*

relationships in Chinese culture, but still, your relation with colleagues, co-workers and your managers are still important."

After asking if anyone had question or opinion about his introduction, Mr. Chen offered some suggestions for improving relationships in the office. "We have to learn about American culture, and learn how to social with Americans. I think everyone knows it, but we know that it is very difficult in practice. But we have to do it! We must socialize with Americans as much as possible to avoid this solitude situation."

Mr. Chen then started a discussion on the difficulties people face when socializing with their colleagues in the office. He suggested learning about American pop culture by watching news, common television programs, movies and sports. He suggested that the audience stay updated on information about what is happening in daily US life. Next, he suggested that the audience try to join in conversations with their colleagues at the office. Mr. Chen encouraged everyone in the audience to not be quiet at work, "since in American culture it is very important for you to tell people what you did, and to show your confidence. It is different from the traditional Chinese culture, where you should be silent to show your wisdom, even if you know a lot. In America under capitalism, the company pays you to work for them, and managers want to know how much you can do and your potential to create profit for them. Think how much profit you can make for the company and let them know that you can do it- not only by working hard but also by telling them what you've done."

Later on, Mr. Chen offered some financial plans to prepare people for unemployment while employed. These included investments and plans for depositing a portion of payments in the bank.

In the end of the talk, Mr. Chen encouraged everyone to think about the economic situation in the United States and in China, and to discuss it. He suggested, “We are very lucky to be able to work here in the United States. Though we may encounter glass ceilings and cultural difficulties, we still enjoy many great things in this country. Even if we go back to our home country now, we may not be able to enjoy the same great life as here.”

Other audience members responded, “We can enjoy our family life here without working late. In Taiwan, everyone works until very late in the evening in order to compete with others.”

“In China, there are too many evening social activities, and I had to drink everyday when I worked there.”

The audience started to recall the situation in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Many of them said that even it is easier to get a job and raise a family in their home country, they could not move there since their children are already used to the life here in the United States, where “it has the best resources for education and a good environment.”

Interviews

In my interviews with 40 informants, I asked each person what was the most obvious difference she or he found upon coming to the United States. All informants told me that they felt alone without relatives and family here, and that they had to earn their own living without asking for help from anyone. "Money becomes important because you have to live on it. While in my village back in Sichuan, you can always borrow things or ask neighbors for help if you need. Here, everything charges, and you are always a consumer. So we have to earn enough money to consume these necessities and services such as day care services, baby sitters, and good education."

"In my generation in China, you do not have to pay extra for good schools, all you need to do is pass all those exams and succeed in intellectual competitions. Here you have to pay a lot more in tuition costs for good private schooling for your children, or you have to move to a good school district and pay a higher price for the housing."

These Chinese professionals thought that they had to earn enough money for good services, especially good education for their children. This point probably is related to the high percentage of Chinese wives who came from P.R. China to take full-time jobs in this area. Among my 40 informants were individuals from 20 couples. Of fourteen of these couples (all of whom were from China), both the male and female had full-time jobs. Among the other six couples, whose countries of origin were China, Hong Kong or Taiwan, the wives stayed home and took care of their children while their husbands had full-time employment.

Those children whose parents both worked hard for economic purposes were not necessarily happy about it. During my interviews, five children told me that their parents were too busy to take care of their school lives. “I do not have a high reputation, since my parents are too busy working to take me to activities or parties. My parents are not able to go to parents’ meetings since they have busy work schedules, and my voice is never heard. ”

“For our parents, the most important thing is to study and go to good college. But for me, reputation is very important!”

When asked if it is hard to work and take care of children after work, my female informants told me it was a very difficult situation during the economic recession. “I always feel exhausted after work, but I have to pick up my children from the day care center, and to come home to cook dinner.”

Mrs. Zhu, an accountant from a local company who has two girls, described how her situation worsened during the economic crisis: “During these recession days, my company has to lay off several people in my department. Then it becomes more difficult for me because I have to do all the work. I have to work until seven o’clock in the evening everyday, and I have to rely on my parents for the housework.” Many Chinese professionals found it was very helpful to have their parents come from China to help them during this difficult time.

When talking about the high unemployment rate, my informants always told me that they were worried. They told me that it was not because they did not work hard but because they did not know how to socialize well at work. Most of my informants told me

that since they did not really know how to deal with American colleagues, they felt lonely in the office sometimes. They avoided socializing with other colleagues while at work since it was very difficult for them. My informants told me that they did not know much about American culture, including football, fashion, and teen culture. Therefore, they were not able to join in casual conversation with their American colleagues. "Colleagues talked about football a lot, especially about Eagles' performance. Football is very difficult to learn to watch, since in China, we watch soccer. In order to talk to them, I have to learn to watch football, which is too much trouble for my busy life."

Informants found that they could talk about very few topics other than work when conversing with their work-mates. These Chinese professionals did not necessarily think this was a problem, since they devoted themselves fully to work. They believed that as long as they had skills and performed well at work, there would be a slight chance of being laid off or losing their jobs. However, this situation changed during the economic recession. The pharmaceutical companies had to cut off a big portion of workers owing to their budget cuts and outsourced jobs to China.

According to my informants, there was a certain process for laying off people. "First, they lay off those who do not do work well and are inefficient. Then, they lay us off, since we are a solitary group who are not very familiar with managers and colleagues." As many of my informants mentioned, and as was reflected in a talk I attended in 2002 about how to get hired, "There is a stereotype that Chinese workers are diligent and submissive. They work efficiently and do not chat during work like Americans. Besides, firing Chinese workers is easier than workers who are familiar with American culture. Chinese workers are more passive than other Americans and there is a very little chance

that they will sue the company for firing them." One of my informants said to me sarcastically, "That is probably why many of my Chinese friends were laid off but then found another job in a short time. We will never know if we will be laid off soon or not."

When asked why they chose to stay in the United States, many of my informants told me the reason is that they believe as long as they have skills and work hard, they will reach the American dream. In China, where they do not have *guanxi* relationships, it is extremely difficult for them to reach a living standard as high as it is in the US. All of the informants I studied came from "regular families" in China. In other words, they came from families without prominent *quanxi* relationships. About half of them came from peasant families in the "countryside" or in the "mountains". They were all highly ranked in high schools in their home-towns, and some of the very few who could go to college in big cities. They were the elites in China, and they told me that their dream was to have a good life for their family. That is why they chose to come and stay in the United States.

"We came here because it was easier to have a better life than in China, with a nice natural living environment and good education for children."

"In China, the competition is extremely fierce. Even if you have a good education and the skills to compete, it is difficult to reach as high a living standard as in the United States. Most important of all, you will need *guanxi*, or high EQ (emotional and social intelligence)—to know how to socialize after work— to earn a lot of money to reach the good living standard like here (in the United States)! You have to sacrifice your evenings and weekends to socialize with clients or your managers. But here you can just work hard

without sacrificing much of your family life. And you can enjoy the nice natural environment!" Some informants even joked, "I am not smart enough to reach such high living standards in China. Only those true elites or those people who have good connections can make it."

Analysis: Neoliberalism and Socialism with Chinese Characteristics?

The Chinese professionals I studied are very aware of structural differences between the economic systems of the United States and China. They are very aware that neoliberalism has dominated their lives in the United States. They are aware that free market capitalism in the United States has made services available according to a citizen's economic status. In other words, they have to pay for everything themselves, since there is only minimum help from the state. In the meantime, they feel marginalized and disempowered by the mainstream society, as these Chinese professionals do not have connections to powerful people. They feel they are lacking in social capital since language and cultural differences become the barrier for them to make connections with the so-called "mainstream society." Moreover, their kinship networks in China are not available here in the United States to help them with their lives and connections. For their daily lives, there are many expenses they have to pay for, including what they think is the most essential service—good education for their children. Therefore, they believe that to be successful and to reach the "American dream" in the United States as first generation immigrants, they have to maximize their capital—both cultural capital and the accumulation of wealth.

Though residing in the United States, these Chinese professionals are aware of the booming economy in China because they constantly pay attention to news in China. These Chinese professionals see the "survival of the fittest" and competition as natural to human societies, both in the United States and China. However, they think that the environment in the United States provides more opportunities and resources for them than the social environment in China, since they do not have special access to opportunities and resources in China owing to their ordinary background and social networks.

These Chinese professionals are very aware of social control and the unequal access to resources in China. After the economic reform in 1979, the Chinese government encouraged privatization and investment. The market opened for individuals and investors to explore, but politically, most aspects remained under state control. Moreover, during this period, Chinese party cadres, urban residents and elites had more access to social resources than rural peasants. This embedded inequality in the Chinese social system was mentioned by my informants. These Chinese professionals understand that in China, many policies are not transparent, thus leaving rooms for negotiation and directly benefiting those people with *guanxi*. They think that the situation is much more competitive and complicated in China. In other words, it is a massive competition involving complicated *guanxi* relationships and state control. Without *guanxi* relationships, most of my informants think they are at worse odds when competing for success in China.

While my informants do not have prominent *guanxi* in their families, they would rather stay in the United States than go back for career development- even if they are laid

off here in the United States. They consider the situation in China to be much more difficult due to the fierce competition, the ideology of privatization, the opaque state policies and the complexities of *quanxi*, a long and traditional element of Chinese culture.

My informants are very aware of the political restrictions and controls in China, even under what they call the "open market" (*kaifangshichang*). Ong points out that neoliberal technology in China has enabled the Chinese government to initiate "socialism from afar"—to provide market reform without political liberalization (Zhang and Ong 2008). However, my informants think that state controls on the so-called free market still regulate who benefits from the rapid economic development and to what level. *Guanxi*, which is acquired by social networking or family background, becomes an important mechanism for deciding who can take the profit of certain developments or projects. These Chinese professionals would be the marginalized group in China, since they left China twenty and thirty years ago. They know that they are not as familiar with the bureaucratic system as local people, and their minds "become as simple (*tounaojiandan*) as Americans," as Mrs. Chen claimed.

They like the fact that Chinese *guanxi* relationship barely exist here. "In the US, as long as you work hard, you will reach American dreams," Mrs. Chen said. Chinese professionals think American life is much "simpler" (*jiandanduole*) than the life in China since money can buy any services people need in life. They are satisfied with their quality of life in the US—having a house to live in, being able to afford a new car, enjoying the greener environment, and so on. They believe that to reach the same living standard in China would require much more than hard work; it would involve the complicated *guanxi* networking. When considering favor giving and *guanxi* networking, these Chinese

professionals argue that it is much easier to accumulate their capital here than spend time dealing with the Chinese style of favor giving and *guanxi* networking. Favor giving and *guanxi* networks require strategic thoughts and sophistication. They believe that after staying in the US for more than a decade, they are more comfortable being consumers under neoliberalism ideology in the US, rather than being back in the realm of traditional Chinese favor giving and *guanxi* relationships.

In these meetings and conversations about dealing with the economic recession, Chinese professionals always compared the living conditions in China with those in the US. Their conclusion is that China is much more competitive than the US, and if they go back to China they will not have many privileges without *guanxi* (social networking). Being in the United States for ten to twenty years, some of these Chinese professionals believe that they are not as familiar with the situation in China as before they moved to the United States. Though some of them go back to visit their relatives once every year, they feel like tourists and outsiders. As one of my informants, Weber, mentioned, "I only go back for 2 weeks to see my parents and relatives, and to visit places like a tourist. I was amazed by the fast development in my hometown. But I felt like a stranger there since China has changed so much these recent years." My informants know that there are still restrictions for doing business, and that one has to know the rules to play well in the fierce competition. For these Chinese professionals, "socialism with Chinese characteristics" after the market reform is capitalism under careful control by the state. It is very complicated to understand and to deal with. "It is possible to be successful there and to have a similar quality of life if we go back to our home country, but we need to do a lot of work for it."

Transnational Identity Affected by Neoliberalism?

While Ong argues that Chinese tycoons use their private accumulations and their flexible citizenship to gain more profit in the global economy (Ong 1999), these Chinese professionals in suburban Philadelphia area consider and call themselves more like "drifting duckweed" (*fuping*). They go where they can have a better life. They describe themselves "drifting from place to places where they can pursue a better life than somewhere." (*Xiang fuping yiyang piaodaonahaojiushina*.) Being like drifting duckweeds, these Chinese professionals are very aware of the neoliberal market in the US. They are aware of the fact that they are participating in the neoliberal market at a global level (especially since some of them come from Europe and Canada). They are aware that they are immigrants driven by their own needs and demands for their skill and knowledge in the global market. Under neoliberal ideology, where the state does not interfere with the market to benefit its citizens, these Chinese professionals keep in mind that if pharmaceutical companies find replacements for them (they always mentioned outsourcing during our interviews), they may have to move back to their home country and find support from their relatives in the worst case. Living in the United States for decades, they maintain their transnational identities as Chinese in America, since they do not feel secure and know they could lose their jobs owing to outsourcing or any policy changes made by the multi-national corporations for which they work. My informants from Taiwan and Hong Kong keep passports from at least two countries—the United States, Taiwan, or the United Kingdom[29]. These countries do not have limits on how many passports you have. Of my thirty informants who came from the People's Republic

[29] Taiwan has a different citizenship rule, which does not limit its citizen to have multi citizenships.

of China, ten chose not to apply for United States Citizenship and to live as permanent residents of the United States (Green Card holder). They told me that they would like to keep their Chinese citizenship for the convenience of travel. However, other informants told me during personal conversations that it is more convenient to keep this flexible status in case something happens. According to the US census bureau, fifty percent of all China-born immigrants in the United States were not US citizens in 2000[30]. However, this number is lower than the percentage of total foreign born immigrants who are not US citizens[31]. Ong argues that affluent Chinese tycoons keep flexible citizenships and multi passports for an unconditional future (Ong 1998). My informants have similar practices, maintaining their flexible status as much as possible for an unpredictable future. Wang points out that Chinese professionals in Silicon Valley have been the stereotyped being not loyal to the United States (Wang 1996). Feeling insecure, disempowered, and isolated, Chinese professionals in suburban Philadelphia maintain their dual citizenship or flexible status for the unknown future that is at least partially owed to the unpredictable nature of life under neoliberalism.

Money Games in Neoliberal Society

Chinese professionals know that private accumulation may not bring them social power or help them engage with society. Instead, Chinese professionals focus on the private accumulation they have and on how to use this wealth to invest in the education of their children. In the Philadelphia suburban area, these Chinese professionals do not

[30] Immigrants who were born in Taiwan is not included in this census.
[31] According to US Census Bureau, 59.7% of total foreign-born immigrants in the US do not have US citizenship.

think private accumulation will gain social status in the US, since they feel there will always be a barrier there no matter how wealthy they become. However, they firmly believe that private accumulation can definitely help their children gain social status in the US by giving them a good education in the future as second generation Chinese Americans. They are very aware of the cultural capital they have—the skills and knowledge that enabled them to immigrate to the United States. They hope their children can receive great education in order to compete in the future, and they believe the best way is to provide their children the best education and learning environment they can.

These Chinese professionals understand how powerful capital is in a neoliberal society, and they intend to buy good education with all the money they have earned. In the Philadelphia metropolitan area, Mainline offers one of the best school districts in the nation. However, Philadelphia also has the two best high schools, including Philadelphia Central High School, in its city. In order to provide their children a great education, these Chinese professionals choose to live in Mainline even though the housing prices there are some of the most expensive in the nation. Some parents even rent apartments from the so called "run-down" houses in north Philadelphia in order to keep a residency so their children can go to the best high schools in Philadelphia. These parents often reminded me during our interviews that "we have to provide our children the best education to compete in the future."

In order to earn enough money to afford good private school education or a house in the right school district in Mainline, *both* parents in all the Chinese professional couples from Mainland China I met go to work. In other words, housewives are only found in those couples who are not both from Mainland China. This condition fits the norm in the

PRC, that women should work as men do as according to the socialist legacy. For families with young children, these Chinese professionals invite their parents or in-laws to come to the United States to babysit their kids periodically. Some of them send their kids (who are younger than school age) back to their parents or in-laws in China. Only a few of them send their children to daycare, since the service costs a lot for them.

These Chinese professionals' children, especially teenagers, do not like the idea that their mothers go to work, since many of their classmates' mothers stay home. They feel excluded when their parents cannot take part in their school activities or offer to drive them and their friends around. Though their grandparents from China could accompany them for activities, they can not offer much support due to their limited language abilities and inability to drive. Teenagers especially do not feel they have privileges when their parents cannot participate in activities or offer to drive them around. They feel they do not have a "good reputation" in the school, even though their parents can afford them to participate in activities they want.

At the same time, these Chinese professionals complain their children feel too secure (*anquangan*), enjoy being consumers, and do not save money like their American friends.

While being wealthy does not provide access to social power in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area, since Chinese professionals are not able to or interested in gaining the social power from the mainstream society, these individuals still distinguish themselves from those Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia's Chinatown and in poorer parts of Philadelphia. They know that their cultural capital—education and skills—make them different from those who are neither high skilled nor well-educated living in

Philadelphia Chinatown. When they hear about Chinese immigrants suffering from the high murder rates of Philadelphia's Chinatown area, and Asian children being bullied in schools, my informants sigh, concluding that Philadelphia is not a good place to live and that is why they came here. They contend, "In the United States, you need money to stay away from bad violence, bad environment and to enjoy good environment and public services like good libraries and museums."

Conclusion

The Chinese professionals in the northwest suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area prefer the ideology of neoliberalism in the United States over the "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" of China. They understand that they can use their cultural capital—good education and skills—to reach their American dreams by accumulating wealth in the United States. These Chinese professionals adopt neoliberalism ideology into their life style after deciding to stay in the United States. They are very aware that they are participants of a global economy and are driven by the needs of the multinational corporations they work for.

Being first generation immigrants who always talk about how much they miss their hometowns during this economic recession period, these Chinese professionals still prefer to stay in the United States for the better resources they believe they have access to for the accumulation of wealth. At the same time, they still think that China has great potential for a great career with its booming economy. But for most of those who were born and raised in families without prominent social backgrounds and *guanxi*

relationships, achieving a successful career and life quality in China as in the United States is extremely difficult.

Globalization leads the currents of immigration, and neoliberalism in the US leads to return immigration for some Chinese professionals. For Chinese professionals in the Mainline Philadelphia area, neoliberalism is one of the reasons that keeps them from gaining a cultural identity of the country to which they have immigrated. These Chinese professionals experienced insecurity as subjects driven by a global economy and the neoliberalism ideology of the United States. They continue to keep their cultural citizenship as Chinese. Having come to the United States for the "American dream", for good resources and a decent living environment, these Chinese professionals always think about going back to their home country in the event of an emergency.

Feeling disempowered in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia area and Philadelphia Mainline, these Chinese professionals understand that neoliberal society favors wealthy people and provides them more services and chances to succeed. Therefore, they believe that maximizing private accumulation is one of the most important aspects of their lives. These Chinese professionals have developed certain life styles—such as inviting their parents from China to take care of their children instead of sending them to daycare, or sending children back to China to live with their parents—to maintain their family while maximizing their capital accumulation and minimizing their living expenses. However, their children, as second generation Chinese immigrants, feel disempowered school owing to the minimum participation of their parents who are always away for work.

I argue that for those disempowered Chinese professionals who are not able to participate in political activities in mainstream society, life within neoliberal ideology alters their foci from social aspects to consumption and the accumulation of private wealth. However, they choose to stay in the US over China because the social environment is much more complicated in China than in the US. They understand that the pronounced importance of *guanxi* relationships, which is what they lack in their family backgrounds, is essential for them to reach living standards like those in the US under socialism with Chinese characteristics in China. Therefore, they choose to stay in the US and survive under neoliberalism by maximizing their private accumulation.

PART II: SHANGHAI

Introduction

During my flight from Detroit to Shanghai, I sit next to two teenagers, Andy and Vincent. They are from Shanghai and went to the United States for boarding school for more than five years. From their appearance, I can tell right away that they are the second generation of the rich- so-called "*fuerdai*" (富二代, second generation of the wealthy people). However, they are very polite and we introduce ourselves. It is a fourteen-hour flight from Detroit to Shanghai, and about eighty percent of the passengers in the economy class are Chinese speaking people; it is very noisy as we listen to the language. Andy, Vincent and I sit one row behind the emergency exit, and three Caucasians sit in front of us. It is a long flight, and many people feel bored and walk around in the aisles. About five passengers gather in the space between the emergency exit and the restroom, one row in front of us, and they talk loudly in Mandarin. The three sleeping Americans are awakened by these passengers, but they try to ignore them. Andy and Vincent are using their gadgets, including iphones, the new thin air Apple laptop and SPS2 during the long flight, and they put on headphones to cut out the loud voices.

Since the discussion is so loud that I cannot fall asleep either, I eavesdrop on the conversation. There are five people standing and chatting, and sometimes new people join them. All of them are Chinese professionals from different places. They briefly introduce themselves while waiting for the lavatory, then stand there chatting. Similar to conversations heard in Mainline Chinese School, they talk about buying houses, stock markets, school districts and good universities to send their kids to.

Several hours later, Andy and Vincent start to complain about these noisy people, and they tell me that the flight back to China is always the noisiest and dirtiest. “I am so ashamed to be Chinese since most Chinese are bad in ‘*suzhi’* (素质 human quality), even those returnees!” They complain that they regret their hasty decision to go back to Shanghai. They booked their tickets too late, or else they would have obtained seats in the business class, at least. As an “old sis,” what they called me since we boarded the flight, I comfort them, reminding them that we are arriving soon, as there are only several hours left before landing.

When the flight starts to descend, I try to look out the window and see the scenery of Shanghai. Andy and Vincent laugh and tell me that it is not possible to see anything because Shanghai is always covered by gray fog due to the pollution of fast development. But I insist on looking out the window. Unfortunately, they are right. I only see gray mist until the flight lands in the airport. “See, you can see nothing!” Andy laughs, “I thought all sky was gray before I went to United States, since it is always gray in Shanghai!” Then they start to laugh at the fact that it is hard for someone to recognize what is the “normal” and what is not in China, if you assume the things you see every day are facts of normal life. During my stay in Shanghai, I seldom see the blue sky, especially in *Puxi* (浦西 Reverwest, the part of Shanghai located on the west of the Huangpu River.). Following what these teenagers told me, there is always dark gray fog covering the top of the city, even on sunny days when you can feel the sunshine sticking out of the gray foggy sky. Anytime I check the air quality report from the government’s official air report websites, the air quality always reads: great. It reminds me of what Andy and

Vincent told me—it is normal to live in gray foggy city, and to think the color of the sky should be gray.

Before the airplane starts to descend, the captain announces that Chinese officials requires every airplane from the United States to have its passengers' body temperature checked by Chinese health officials before they depart owing to the current H1N1 influenza outbreak in the US. When the plane lands, every passenger cannot wait to get up and stretch. The captain announces again that everyone should be seated and no one should stand up or leave the seat. After the announcement, a loud noise of discussion amongst the passengers occurs as we wait for Chinese officials from the health department. It takes about half an hour before the official comes into our aircraft. Andy and Vincent complain that the Chinese government makes a big deal out of checking out everyone's temperature from the US. Passengers in economy class start to complain about the long wait before they see that the Chinese official of the health department has entered the plane. Vincent and Andy think the Chinese government is using this as an opportunity to play hardball with passengers from the US.

Suddenly, I hear loud laughter from the front part of the economy class. Vincent, Andy, and I cannot help ourselves but stand up and see what is happening in the front part of the economy class. Other passengers around us do the same, even though the captain announces again that passenger should stay seated. We see three people in white bio suits with an airtight goggle and mouth mask enter the economy class. They start checking passengers' body temperature by pointing thermometer guns at each passenger. "They think we are contagious and dangerous! It is so phenomenal!" Andy says in an excited voice. Andy and Vincent, like many other passengers, think it is hilarious, and

they start to take out their cellphones and cameras to take pictures of this interesting scene. Flashes spark from cameras and cellphones. Passengers heave with laughter and discuss this strange scene while people in bio suits work hard and are serious about their examinations. Vincent laughs and says, “I think China has finally found a way to ‘fix’ people from the United States, or why else would they dress like this?”

Andy asks, “Don’t they have the remote scanner in the exit gate like Japan does to automatically detect passengers with fever?”

The presence of bio suit-clad Chinese officials visually demonstrates Chinese authority over passengers from the United States. The bio suits, airtight goggles, and mouth masks demonstrate that the US is the contaminated country but China is not. Some passengers complain that they feel insulted- but at the same time, they take this visual presentation as a funny act. It is the most immediate, clear demonstration of strong Chinese state authority. It is a symbolic statement that exclaims, in China, you have to act in the Chinese way and be submissive to the state power. It is very true that in China, it is extremely vital to do things according to the “Chinese way”. The intrusion of western political and economic power is blocked by the tenacious and ominous government control of China. The powerful government control is represented in these officials with their bio suits. They very seriously scan everyone’s forehead before letting them go- even though H1N1 is not taken seriously in the United States. Foreign standards do not apply here in China, no matter what the matter is concerning. The state takes this position firmly to keep everything and everyone under their control without regard for western influence, even in this globalization world.

Figure 1

The Chinese official examiner in bio suit tests every passenger's temperature for H1N1 influenza before allowing them to walk out of the airplane.

I have been to China many times since the late 1990s. However, this was my first time going to China alone as a short-term resident and as an observer, not as a tourist or student. It was an extremely different experience. Since my husband's family is from Shanghai, they introduced me to a host family in Puxi. In the beginning of my fieldwork, I stayed with my host family, Cindy and Jay, in the Xinzhuang (辛庄) district of Puxi (Riverwest). For some reasons (which I will state later), I moved to my other host family,

Ken and Wendy, in the Pudong (浦东, Rivereast, the part of Shanghai located on the east of Huangpu River) Jingqiao (金桥) district during my last month in Shanghai. There, I experienced a whole different face of Shanghai.

Life in Shanghai: Research Methodology

Cindy and Jay are local Shanghainese. Their family moved to Shanghai several generations ago in the Qing Dynasty; therefore, they consider themselves local Shanghainese and identify themselves as the very "original Shanghainese" (laoshanghai 老上海). Five years ago, they moved from the one bedroom small apartment in the center of city that Cindy received from her work unit (peifang 配房), to a new apartment complex she bought in Xinzhuang township. Xinzhuang township is located in the Minhang district, in the west part of Puxi, Shanghai. Though Xinzhuang township officially is part of Shanghai, most people consider this area the peripheral part of Shanghai (城乡交界区). Compared with most towns in Shanghai, Xinzhuang town is a relatively newly developed area. People who live in this town are mostly local Shanghainese and Chinese from other places (外地人).

I lived far away from my informants, as most of them live in convenient locations in the so-called city center in Puxi or gathered in the foreigner's district in Pudong. Surprisingly, I gathered a myriad of information from local Chinese people as well as from my American Chinese informants in Shanghai. Living in Xinzhuang, which was considered a remote area by my informants since it is far away from the foreigners'

districts where most of my informants reside, I found myself spending most of my time mingling with local Chinese in shared social spaces. These spaces included the long commute on subway trains, crowded bus stations, local markets and supermarkets, and they offered me plenty of chances to talk to local Chinese people. I thus collected information and opinions from the local Chinese I met as well as from the informants I interviewed.

During my staying in Shanghai, I stayed with a host family in Puxi for three months, then moved to a host family in the Pudong new district for the final month. Since Jinqiao town is one of the famous places in which foreigners and waijirenshi (people with non-PRC citizenships) reside, the design of the environment and community is very different from Xinzhuang. Moving to Wendy and Ken's house led me to the shocking experience of a totally different environment in Shanghai. Staying with Wendy's family provided me important background information for understanding the environment and school system my informants in Pudong referred to. Wendy's family moved to Shanghai due to her husband's relocation decision from an US company. Part of my living experience with my host family in Pudong became my observation of a family that had relocated to Shanghai.

During my stay in China, I interviewed couples from twenty families who went back to China as return immigrants. I also individually interviewed 12 children from these families. Most of them reside in Pudong new district since their work places and companies are located in Pudong new district. This part of my dissertation is based on observations and interviews I conducted during my time in Shanghai, from June to October 2009.

Originally I planned for Part II to primarily consider Chinese returnees' experiences in Shanghai. However, I gathered so much information from local people and from my own interesting experiences of living in Shanghai that I ended up focusing more in my analysis on modern Chinese culture with the insights from my Chinese returnees. Part II starts with an introduction to the diverse identities in Shanghai and moves to the characteristics of modern Chinese culture as reflected in lives in Shanghai.

Group Identities and Development in Shanghai

*This chapter introduces background information on Shanghai, and it emphasizes changes brought about by the city's rapid growth after the market reforms in 1979. This chapter discusses the relationships of the different ethnic groups who co-exist in Shanghai—Shanghainese, Chinese from other places (*waidiren*), and foreigners. About half of Shangai's population of* twenty million *are non-Shanghainese. The huge migration to Shanghai has divided Shanghai into different districts geographically. These different groups stand at different levels in Shanghai social hierarchies owing to residence laws and private accumulations of capital. People in Shanghai are very aware of which group they belong to and their position in this social hierarchy. Chinese returnees thus find themselves in an awkward position in this social hierarchy. However, they have managed to utilize their transnational cultural capital as Chinese returnees to construct an isolated social environment for themselves.*

Shanghai, the City of Chinese Modernity

Walking on the street in Shanghai is a very interesting experience. You see a variety of people according to your location. In a hot sizzling summer morning in June, I mingled with a big crowd of marching people on my way to the Xinzhuang subway station. Most people walked in a hurry in the morning; they lowered their heads and kept walking. Most of them walked on the sidewalk, though some of them preferred walking on bicycle path since there was much more shade to filter out the sizzling sunshine. In the

busy morning, hundreds of people were moving in the same direction to the Xingzhuang subway and train station. Some of them wore suites, some of them wore old and shabby shirts, some of them carried huge luggage and bags, and some of them carried farm tools over their shoulders. The endless crowd marched across the hustling and bustling traffic, swarming onto the path to Xinzhuang station. The Xinzhuang subway station was always crowded with people from all over China.

This scenery changed dramatically when I entered the so-called "center city" in the eastern side of Puxi, or Pudong new district in Jinqiao area. There, I saw many more foreigners—one can easily recognize them because they are not Asian—mingled in the crowd on the street in certain areas, like Jingang district and Gubei district.

Shanghai has been the one of the major cities for internal migration in China since the 1990s. Its permanent population increased from 16 million in 2000 to over 19 million in 2009[32], including thirteen million registered permanent residents and six million people from other places. An estimated 130,000 are foreigners from foreign countries, and over five million people reside in Shanghai temporarily. There is also a transient population (or floating population 流动人口, people who live away from their place of legal residence for less than a year) of 1.6 million. Most of these temporary residents reside in the near peripheral area of Shanghai, Minhang district being one of these so called "city-suburb peripheral area" (城乡交界区)[33]. There has been a gradual decline in

[32] Sources: People Daily Online, Feb 20, 2010, Shanghai's permanent population approaches 20 million.

http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90782/90872/6897139.html

[33]Source: http://www.shanghaiinvest.com/cn/viewfile.php?id=3485

the population of registered local residents over the past seventeen years[34], while there has been a huge increase in the total population and in the new registration of local residents[35]. There is a huge gap between the registered population and the real population. Thus, other resources estimate that Shanghai's actual population is about twenty-three million.

Historically, Shanghai has been an, if not the most, major trading port since the Ming Dynasty. In the Qing dynasty, Shanghai grew into a huge city due to its location. After the First Opium War, western countries like France, Britain, and Holland established settlement and districts in Shanghai. These became foreign concessions in later treaties. The western cultural and architectural styles that were brought to Shanghai made it into a cosmopolitan city heavily influenced by the west. This special history has made Shanghai one of the most commercialized and prominent cities in China.

Shanghainese

Due to Shanghai's unique reputation and its prestigious status, the people who reside in this city have a complex identity. This complicated history and background developed a strong local identity as Shanghainese (上海人) in those people whose families are rooted in Shanghai.

The Shanghainese comprise about fifty percent of the total population in Shanghai, which is about ten million people. Not all of the permanent residents in Shanghai are so-

[34]Source: Census of March 27, 2010 http://www.spic.sh.cn/NEWSRK/rk279.htm

[35] Source: Xinhua News: http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2008-07/11/content_8527016.htm

called Shanghainese, since the immigration policy allows only elites and people who can afford property in Shanghai to register as Shanghai permanent residents. In recent years, more and more Chinese people from other provinces bought properties in Shanghai and registered as permanent residents in Shanghai to take advantage of its abundant public resources.

The people who call themselves Shanghainese do not have special cultural characters and are diversified in backgrounds. The only shared characteristic of this group of people is their residential history in Shanghai and the Shanghai dialect that they speak. Shanghainese can easily recognize each other according to the Shanghai dialect they speak, and link with each other through their common geographic background.

Shanghainese are famous and notorious for being proud of being Shanghainese. The Shanghai dialect is spoken almost everywhere in Shanghai, though the government still campaigns for people to speak *Putonghua* (Mandarin) instead of the Shanghai dialect. The Shanghai dialect is spoken as a tool for Shanghainese to distinguish themselves from others. This Shanghai dialect serves a major function for identifying themselves. Moreover, it provides information that allows Shanghainese to distinguish social classes, even among themselves.

However, learning the Shanghai dialect does not necessary provide an outsider access to the social circle of Shanghainese. Shanghainese think it is quite normal for outsiders to learn Shanghai dialect, since they think outsiders should learn the Shanghai dialect in order to live in Shanghai. However, local Chinese informants and some of my Chinese American informants told me that even if one speaks the Shanghai dialect with a

strange accent, Shanghainese would still look down upon these since they think this person wants to pretend she or he is Shanghainese by learning the dialect. It is very interesting to learn all the stereotypes and rumors about how different groups of people perceive each other in Shanghai. During my stay in Shanghai, I chatted with strangers everyday on the side of road, in parks, or in coffee shops about their thoughts and experiences in Shanghai. During these conversations, I heard many stories from non-Shanghainese about how proud Shanghainese are. Most of the people I chatted to told me that Shanghainese are hard to be friends with, since they always think that they have prestige, and they only speak the Shanghai dialect. However, my personal experience did not correspond with this point. Since my husband is Shanghainese, Shanghainese strangers like restaurant owners, taxi drivers and vendors appreciated the fact that I said several Shanghainese sentences when talking to them. These strangers liked the fact that I tried hard to learn their Shanghainese dialect, and they were eager to correct my pronunciation.

The most interesting thing is that these non-Shanghainese strangers are right: No Shanghainese stranger would talk to me, even though I tried to initiate a conversation with them by speaking the Shanghai dialect. And every non-Shanghainese stranger pointed this out with annoyance during my chats with them.

However, because I am married to a Shanghainese, I was granted access to certain Shanghainese social circles and allowed to experience and research Shanghai through these people's points of view. My parents-in-law introduced me to a Shanghainese host family who I stayed with in Puxi during my fieldwork in Shanghai. There were only two members in the host family, a host father and a host mother. They were both in their

sixties, and their only one son worked in the US. The host family was a local Shanghainese family whose ancestors had resided in Shanghai for several generations. They spoke the Shanghai dialect as their mother tongue. My host father could not speak Mandarin well, and sometimes I had a hard time understanding his Mandarin. Both my host parents were of the Cultural Revolution generation who were sent to the countryside to serve as "sent down youth". They had watched Shanghai change throughout their lives, and they were very proud to be Shanghainese. During my stay in Shanghai, my host parents introduced me to their own "Shanghai" culture, and they offered the perspective of old Shanghainese toward the fast development of Shanghai.

My host mother, Cindy, was born in a wealthy family in Shanghai. Her grandfather was a rich businessman in the Qing dynasty, and her father was a government official in the Republic of China period in the early twentieth century. According to her, her grandparents used to own more than twenty houses in Shanghai. However, after the Communists took over China, her father decided to donate all his property to the government in order to save his family in the late 1950s when Cindy was in high school. For Cindy, it was a dramatic change. Her family became poor overnight, and she felt that her life became difficult after that. She associated her petite figure with malnutrition from being poor after her father donated all his money. "My older brothers are much taller than me because they had enough food to eat when they were teenagers. We even had maids cooking for us. However, when I was about to grow tall in my teenage years, our family became poor and I was always starving since there was nothing to eat in 1957. But it is always better to starve than to be dead." During the Cultural Revolution period, her family was rated one of the worst "qualities" as according to the Communist Standard

System: land owners. However, because they were poor at that time, no one really paid attention or criticized them during that period.

When the Culture Revolution started, Cindy was in her freshmen year of college. Instead of going to school, she became a Red Guard during the Culture Revolution. Nonetheless, she still really wanted to study. She told me that she had a "scar" in her heart ever since. "After the Culture Revolution, you would not trust anyone- not even your parents- anymore!" She repeated a story about how her father did not tell her that his brother went to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-Shek. He thought she would criticize him because she was a Red Guard. "Even my father could not trust me since he knew that my classmate brought us to criticize her own father and had him killed in her own house." She always sighed when mentioning this sad story. "I could not believe that my father would hide this fact from me. My older brother told me this in the 1990s, and I was really upset about the truth, because my father did not tell me."

Later on, Cindy was sent to the countryside in Jiangsu as a "sent down youth" during the Culture Revolution. Cindy told me that life in the countryside was extremely difficult. "I was very young and thought I could do anything in the countryside. However, I realized that I could not do much since ladies in the countryside were much stronger than me." After the Culture Revolution, she went back to college, and "re-started her delayed life."

Cindy considered people in her age-group the most unfortunate generation in China's history, but she still felt fortunate to be a Shanghai resident. "Shanghai is in better condition than most cities in China during the period of Cultural Revolution, since

it is a city with a lot of foreign influence. However, people learned not to trust anyone and they become much more indifferent in that period of time." Cindy felt left behind by the fast development in Shanghai. She went back to college after the Culture Revolution, and she became a high school English teacher. She did not realize that Shanghai was developing so quickly until she felt she was left by the city. "I did not realize the real estate price went up like crazy until I needed a bigger apartment for my retirement. The inflation was huge- everything became expensive after the market reform! My life would become much difficult if I relied only on my pension." Cindy was very aware of the changing society, and she felt that most Shanghainese, especially the every-day civilians, are in a vulnerable position just like her. However, there was nothing she could do without special *guanxi* networking. "Compared to the life in my early years, my life now is much better than before!"

My host father, Jay, was adopted by a family in Shanghai. His parents went to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-Shek in 1949. Jay identified himself as a local Shanghainese, and he was very proud of being a Shanghainese who grew up in Shanghai. He read the Shanghainese newspaper every single day, and he tracked what was happening in Shanghai. He enjoyed his life in Shanghai and cherishes the "modernity" that brought Shanghai such huge progress. He always told me that Shanghai is the best city in the world. "Shanghai has the tallest building in the world and the most expensive mansion in the world! The public transportation in Shanghai is very convenient, and there are many foreigners who come to Shanghai to visit here!" During my stay in Shanghai, Jay showed me the traditional market in Shanghai. He thought the old lanes and streets expressed the so-called "old Shanghainese life and culture". Thanks to him, I visited places that he

believed exhibited the “true life of old Shanghainese people” in Puxi. He introduced me to what he thought was “the real Shanghainese culture,” telling me what was happening in Shanghai every day.

It is very interesting that his idea of Shanghaiese culture is somewhat different from what I heard from other Shanghainese people in younger generations.

Figure 2

Jay reads the newspaper in the balcony in his condo, which directly looks out to the other residences in the building. These crowded modern resident skyscrapers are considered one of the characteristics of Chinese modernity.

I noticed during my stay in Shanghai that my host family did not socialize with friends but only with relatives in Shanghai. During the weekends, they always got together to play poker. When I asked them why they did not social with friends, they told me that "Old Shanghainese *(laoshanghai* 老上海) did not usually socialize with people other than relatives. "It is our way of life in Shanghai!" Cindy's brother, Cai, proudly told me.

It was very interesting to observe how their way of living reflected Shanghainese families. Cindy's brother, Cai, lives in Shanghai, too. He has two daughters. The elder daughter, Nongnong, who is now 35 years old, is divorced from a wealthy businessman. My father-in-law repeatedly told me that the reason why Nongnong married the wealthy businessman was in accordance with a popular Shanghainese saying of her generation: "Shanghainese girls must always choose a wealthy business owner (dakuan 大款) to marry." However, her rich husband had an affair, and this led to their divorce. Nongnong's daughter, Beibie, who is 12 years old, stayed with her. Nongnong's sister, Liangliang, married an Australian. Jay told me that there is another Shanghainese saying: "It is always good to marry a foreigner." However, the Australian husband was not used to life in Shanghai. Liangliang had to move to Australia with her husband. Later in the summer of 2010, Nongnong immigrated to Australia with her daughter.

Other than my host family members and my in-laws, most Shanghainese I met during my stay in Shanghai were taxi drivers. I met hundreds of taxi drivers, as I had to take taxis every single day. More than half of the taxi drivers I met identified themselves as Shanghainese and could speak the Shanghai dialect. Though I could not speak

Shanghai dialect (but only understand it), I still found that my status as a "Taiwanese who married to a Shanghainese" make Shanghai taxi drivers more willing to talk to me. They provided interesting insights on living in Shanghai- having an identity of local Shanghainese offered a very different angle than my relatives and host families.

My local friends and informants in China complained to me that they do not understand why Shanghainese are so proud of themselves, since most Shanghainese becomes taxi drivers while other people go on to better positions. However, this did not happen to me during my fieldwork in Shanghai.

My other important Shanghainese informant was Mr. Zheng, the driver of my other host family in Pudong, where I stayed in the later period of my fieldwork. Mr. Zheng was in his forties. He grew up in Qibao in Puxi, Shanghai. He used to work as an electric engineer for several years after he graduated from college. Later on, he worked as a driver for a Japanese company, then started his career as an independent driver. He was very proud of being Shanghainese, but he always thought that economic status was the critical key to a better life. Therefore, he devoted most of his time to researching real estate markets and flipping houses. He always talked with other drivers while waiting for riders. Mr. Zheng provided his views and thoughts about Shanghai, which were very different from those of my host families in Puxi.

One time Mr. Zheng had a chance to meet my host mother in Puxi when he took us both to a department store. They both switched their language to the Shanghai dialect after I introduced each as a Shanghainese. My host mother later told me that from Mr. Zheng's accent, she could tell he came from the "countryside", and moved to Shanghai

later, indicating he belonged to a lower social level. Mr. Zheng made comments about Cindy, too. He told me that he could tell Cindy was from well-educated wealthy family, since her Shanghai dialect was different from his. Accent became a symbol of identity, even among Shanghainese.

Non-Shanghainese: Foreigners, *Waijirenshi, Waidiren*

Foreigners:

More than fifty percent of the people who live in Shanghai do not call themselves Shanghainese. Among these non-Shanghainese, less than one percent of them are foreign passport holders. However, not all foreign passport holders are called *waiguoren* (外国人, foreigners) by local Chinese. Many of these foreign passport holders are Chinese immigrants who returned to China from foreign countries. They can speak Mandarin and look just like local Chinese people. Therefore, according to local Chinese people I interviewed, "*waiguoren*" means those people who cannot speak Mandarin, have a non-Chinese appearance, and do not know about Chinese culture. It is very interesting for me to find out their definition of "*waiguoren*".

During my stay in my cousin's place in Pudong, I took taxis when her driver was not available to take me, since there was no bus for me to take in her community. Since my cousin's house was located in a so-called "*waiguoren*" community in Jinqiao, Pudong, taxi drivers always found it strange that I lived in this community and wasn't a "*waiguoren*". In their definition, I was not "waiguoren because I could speak Chinese Mandarin and I looked Chinese. Sometimes I told them that I am from the United States,

and they called me "*waijirenshi*". Several taxi drivers were surprised to find me living in this community, and they told me, "I thought only *waiguoren* lived in this community". After talking to more than a hundred taxi drivers, I realized that their definition of "*waiguoren*" did not include Chinese Americans who can speak Mandarin.

Most *waiguoren* live in the Jingan district in Puxi, and in Pudong Jinqiao district. Jingan district is a relatively better district in Puxi, with beautiful and historic buildings. Since it is considered the center city, it is a tourist area. Other than this group of people, the majority of non-Shanghainese (about fifty percent of the total population in Shanghai) come from other provinces, special districts in China, or from regions shared with Chinese culture. This group can be generally divided into two groups—*Jingwairenshi* (境外人士) and *waidiren* (外地人).

***Jingwairenshi* (境外人士), *waidiren* (外地人)**

Jingwairenshi are people who came from other countries and from Taiwan, Macao, and Hong Kong. Legally, they are different from Chinese citizens, and are called *jingwairenshi* (境外人士) as a legal term. "*Waidiren*" (外地人)means people who come from outside of Shanghai but within China. Most of these groups of people come as hard-labor workers. These two kinds of *non-Shanghainese* receive a very different treatment in Shanghai, both legally and socially. Legally in Shanghai, none of them are able to register for Shanghai residency (*Shanghai hukou* 上海户口) as Shanghainese, unless they have certain powerful *guanxi* relationship or the right amount of capital to meet the

regulations for applying for Shanghai hukou. Household registration (*hukou*) is a state method to ensure and control the population in urban areas, as well as to restrict and distribute certain social welfare to urbanites (Wu 2002; Chan 1996). Though these *waidiren* can choose to register as temporary city dwellers, they still cannot enjoy legal rights to household residence in Shanghai or the social welfare and other rights that Shanghai residents enjoy. For example, my informants complained that they are not allowed to buy certain commercial real estate properties in Shanghai. One of the most serious problems is that their children cannot receive education in Shanghai if their residency is not registered in Shanghai. As Solinger points out, this political system confronts the city-ward sojourners, and it denies their civic, legal, or political rights (Solinger 2002).

In Shanghai, most of these *waidiren* come from rural areas close to Shanghai, and most of them are hard labor workers. Not able to afford housing in big cities, most of these hard labor workers live in self-built shacks they built in big cities (Wu 2001). In 1994, there were 12,747 shacks in 212 neighborhoods in Shanghai. However, most rural migrants choose instead to live in the urban fringe than in rental apartments in nearby rural areas (Wu 2002).

Jinwairenshi receive special treatment as regulated by another set of laws, thus allowing them more of the benefits of living in Shanghai. Moreover, *jinwairenshi* usually have influence from *guanxi* social networks, other kind of citizenship,[36] and economic advantages. Therefore, their disadvantage is much less than those *waidiren* from other

[36] People from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macao are considered jinwairenshi officially by Chinese government. Though they have different passport than P. R. China, they are considered Chinese citizens, not waijirenshi or foreigners.

provinces in China. Like most rural migration in big cities in China, these *waidiren* who came to Shanghai for labor work are looked down upon by local Shanghainese and urbanites. Shanghainese call this group of people "*xianxiaren*" (乡下人), which means hill-billy. Some Shanghainese even believe that these *waidiren* cause problems in Shanghai, since news report and statistics point out that these poor people form so-called poor ghettoes and create security problems in Shanghai.

In the following chapter, I will talk more about the interaction between people from different places in Shanghai, and how Chinese professionals who returned to Shanghai from the United States think about this.

Influences of Non-Shanhainese People in Shanghai

The various immigrants from all over the world bring various kinds of culture to Shanghai. These immigrants make Shanghai a metropolitan city. Like other big cities, people from the same place tend to reside together. This residence pattern makes Shanghai a block-to-block city. Generally speaking, foreigners and *waijirenshi* mainly gather in Gubei and Jinqiao, while *waidiren* from other provinces reside almost everywhere in Shanghai. In Gubei, there are Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese streets, where there are many restaurants and supermarkets corresponding to these ethnicities. In some districts, such as Tianzifang, that are famous for being foreigner residences, some restaurants do not even have waiters who can speak Mandarin. This block-to-block development leads to the unequal development of different districts in Shanghai.

The Changes in Shanghai brought about by Non-Shanghainese

People in Shanghai are very aware of the division of economic-based social classes in Shanghai under the ideology of neoliberalism, even though they all call it "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" (*youzhongguotesedeshehuizhiyi*). Since Shanghai is the biggest commercial city in China, capitalism is prosperous in every corner in Shanghai. In modern Chinese history since 1949, social class has always been an issue, especially during the communist era. From a study of Kunming, a city in southwest China, Li Zhang points out that *jieceng* (social strata) is more appropriate than *jieji*, which is the term used in Mao's area. However, social class in Shanghai nowadays is mainly based on the economic status more than other facts, since neoliberalism is so prosperous in this city. Capital becomes the major and fastest way to measure one's achievement, and to judge one's ability to consume in Shanghai. These economic differences can be reflected in the appearances of individuals and other people who are so aware of their images. The main method to tell the difference is through the appearance and materials of every kind. Under neoliberal ideology, people tend to judge others according to their ability to consume, since "上海处处是黄金". If you do not get any money, that is your failure—neoliberal thinking has become the default of this society since the economic reform, especially in this biggest commercial city of China—Shanghai.

Human integrity and respect are put aside in order to achieve fast capital. Because of neoliberalism and the enthusiastic drive to achieve better material lives, people in Shanghai tend to do anything for capital and material wealth, no matter what the cost to the environment and human rights. Since almost everything is evaluated through capital, achieving fast products becomes the goal of pursuing capital, not real quality. This

ideology has caused problems of low quality products in manufacturing and low-efficient working attitudes. Some informants argued that this situation is due to Chinese people's previous poor conditions before the economic reform. Therefore, Chinese people are always thinking about pursuing a better material life, at any cost. This leads to serious conditions of environment pollutions, a disregard for human rights, and unequal living conditions in Shanghai. In the following chapter, I will discuss this in more detail.

Improving human quality has become a national project managed by the state. It is stated as a national project in order to participate in globalization. "*Suzhi*" – human mind quality has been interpreted as a patriotic performance that needs to be promoted for the nation's good by every Chinese citizen. The Shanghai World Expo is an example for promoting nationalism and the commercial value of this city. "*Suzhi*" is one of the most important items for the promotion and imagined better future of this city. state government's promotion of an enthusiastic atmosphere for the Shanghai World Expo is another example of a national opportunity for Chinese citizens to participate in the imagined global activity.

The trend of making money efficiently with low human mentality and the emphasis on the outside appearance leads to a culture of making the outside appearance or presentation nice, rather than inside qualities. In the Chinese tradition, the "face"—(Yang 1994) is always the most important element in the social aspect. When face is more important than quality, the face becomes superficial, and it is represented as the outside appearance. The idea that appearance does not reflect the true entity is both explicit and

implicit in modern Chinese society. The result of capitalism is shown in China. The best goods China produces go overseas, while goods of lesser quality stay in China. I will discuss this idea as it is exhibited in China's increasing consumption of luxury brands to the overflow of replicas all over in Shanghai. Later, I will move to how this idea impacts human minds and the society, and the thoughts of return Chinese professionals about this.

Implicitness is an essential part of traditional Chinese culture. People know all these aspects but no one makes it clear. This implicitness is shown and presented broadly in governmental policies, as well as in small aspects of daily chores in everyday life. The essence of negotiation is embedded in every element of life, and what is not said is sometimes more important than what is announced. Therefore, there is plenty of room for negotiation and explanation within governmental policies. This ambiguity leaves plenty of room for the insertion of power for those people with social prestige and wealth. This idea is related to the "face" ideology since it shows the perfect superficial side of the social system. I will discuss the social policy about this by way of incidents at construction sites and my informants' experiences.

The media serves as a method for discipline, education, and reinforcement of the governmental ideology and implicitness. At the same time, every kind of mass media is under strict state control. Though commercialization has been introduced into TV programs in Shanghai, TV programs and shows are filled with the ideology of Chinese nationalism, discipline, and the regulation of ethics for Chinese citizens. News subjects are carefully formulated and selected under the state will in order to promote the image of China in the world stage. The Internet is limited to those websites that do not address sensitive political issues and are deemed to be "healthy for citizens' minds."

Urbanization is considered an important part of the development in Shanghai. An urbanized city is considered a city progressing under the idea of Chinese modernity. Therefore, the infrastructure, such as skyscrapers, highways, and transportation devices, in Shanghai is highly developed, especially in the Pudong new district, which has been developed following the government's well- designed plans. This fast development has grown Shanghai into the largest commercial city, and it has changed people's living environments in Shanghai—the renewal of the city, the rebuilding of public spaces, and the redesign of traffic patterns. Tall skyscrapers have become proud symbols for Shanghai residents. Districts of different social classes can be clearly seen, while notorious "slums" are developed in certain areas and are resided in mostly by people from other provinces. This fast development of public places has enabled the minimizing of shared geographic areas and public spaces for people from different economic classes. In other words, people in Shanghai tend to go to different places according to their different economic classes. Therefore, people from different economic classes do not mingle in and share the same public spaces. They only meet others from other social economic classes when necessary.

Embedded social control in China is in almost every aspect of people's daily lives. However, it is so subtle that it is taken for granted by most Chinese citizens. The economic freedom and privatization makes citizens to feel freer to have their own private belongings than before. Ong points out that after the market reform, the Chinese urban milieu promoted radicalization of the personal without radicalization of political freedom under Chinese Communist Party's political strategy. "Encouragement of self-reform, individual freedom, and self-reflexivity are entirely driven by commercial interests and

discourse," and personal style becomes a form of commodity (Ong 2008). While most people are consumed with pursuing economic prosperity, the embedded social control is sensed only by those who are sensitive to it, such as Chinese returnees, and those who are victims of it, such as certain protesters and intellectuals.

Regarding social space, the urban space in Shanghai is designed and regulated for the full control of the state government. Privatization in China has gradually changed residential patterns from mostly work-units residence (*danwei*) and non-work-units related residence to "small neighborhoods" (*xiaoqu*) since the 1990s (Zhang 2008, 2010). This process seems to offer more privacy for residents in private-owned units in small neighborhood communities. However, the management teams for these small neighborhoods communities are assigned by the Shanghai municipal office. In this way, they can timely report and provide information on suspicious private activities. Presented as a city of economic freedom and the liberation of personal desire, Shanghai is still under careful control of the government through monitoring and censoring.

The Chinese professionals who come to Shanghai as Chinese returnees first experience difficulties in adapting to the city owing to changes in themselves and the fast pace of development in China. However, they develop strategies for living in Shanghai by developing networks and utilizing their cultural capital. In the following chapters I will discuss the complicated cultural and social situation in Shanghai, and the strategies of Chinese returnees who live there.

Lives in Shanghai as *Haigui* (Chinese returnees)

After returning to Shanghai, Chinese medical research professionals find themselves unfamiliar with Chinese society because of the rapid economic development that has taken place since the 1990s. They start to adapt themselves to Chinese guanxi *politics and social networking. They realize that their identity as Chinese is not recognized by local Chinese, and they find local Chinese dissimilar to them in ways that limit them from associating with local Chinese. Therefore, they form their own social networks and spaces that allow them to share spaces with local Chinese only when necessary. Their children experience a shift in identity- a change from self-identifying as Chinese, which they were socialized into in the US, to self-identifying as American in order to distinguish themselves from local Chinese. These Chinese returnees encounter difficulties educating their children in what they value as integrity, since they do not see this as truly valued in Shanghai. All these Chinese returnees plan to return to the US, for they realize that they have been Americanized in behavior and thoughts.*

In this Chapter, I will introduce my informants' backgrounds, their lives in Shanghai, and their solutions to living in Shanghai as *haigui*. The methods they employ to arrange their lives differ from those they employ in the United States. I will introduce *haigui's* strategies for educating their children, as well as their difficulties in living in this metropolitan city. In the second part of this chapter, I will discuss their choice of identity in this self-aware city. I will also discuss their children's choice of identity and the ways in which they explain this choice. Finally, I will explore their plans for the future and their thoughts on being Chinese American in China.

My Informants in Shanghai: *Jingwairenshi, Waijirenshi,* and Chinese Citizens

Before I came to Shanghai from Philadelphia Mainline, my informants in the Philadelphia metropolitan area introduced me to several couples who were moved to Shanghai by pharmaceutical companies in Shanghai. Other couples I interviewed were introduced to me by my friends in the church and by Ken's friends in Shanghai. Altogether, I interviewed twenty couples as "*haigui huaren*"(Chinese returnees). I knew more than twenty couples of *haiguihuaren* in Shanghai, but most of them did not want me to interview them. However, they allowed me to participate in their activities as a kind of observation. I participated in their friends' gatherings, tours, and dinners out. I observed about forty *haiguihuaren* families through church activities and friends' gatherings during my stay in Shanghai.

The Chinese returnees have a very complicated national status and national identity. Most of my informants' nationalities can hardly to be defined in one category.

They all call themselves Chinese and "*jingwairenshi*"(Chinese who reside outside of P.R. China) at the same time. Actually many of them are "*waijirenshi*" who have foreign passports, and they tend to downplay this part of their social status when they are in China. Informants who do not have Chinese passports, or who choose to give up their Chinese citizenship and obtain US passports instead, have very complicated national identities. Many of them have multiple passports because the government policies of their passport-holding home countries allow their citizens to have multiple passports, while P. R. China does not.

Among the twenty couples I interviewed, twelve couples came from Mainland China. Among these twelve couples, two couples kept their P.R. China passports. One couple told me that both of them think green cards are good enough for their family to stay in the United States. They all pointed out that the process of applying for a US passport is so complicated that they do not have time to prepare for the exam. Moreover, they enjoy the fact that it is very convenient for them to come back to China as Chinese citizens, and they enjoy the easy mobility of entering China and the United States. "Having a Chinese passport enables me to come back to China for business trips easily. It really is a lot of work to go to the Chinese embassy in New York to get a new visa from Philadelphia," Mr. Yuan tells me, and he thinks it is very convenient for him to travel to China right away when there is a need from the company he works for, GSK.

The only complaint I heard from my informants who hold Chinese passports in Shanghai is the fact that they are considered "*waidiren*" in Shanghai. Since these Chinese passport holders are not from Shanghai, they do not have Shanghai residency (Shanghai *hukou*). It takes a period of time to apply for Shanghai *hukou*. According to my

informants, it is commonly known that the process of applying for Shanghai *hukou* takes months if one does not have special *guanxi* with someone who has power to expedite the process. This happened to Mr. Huang, who had been in Shanghai for three years. Like my other informants who held P. R. China passports, Mr. Huang thought that going through the process to get a Shanghai *hukou* "caused too much trouble." He told me that since his children were in the United States, there was no need for him to go through that process.

Mr. and Mr. Huang told me that the only problem they had was the limited right to religious gathering. Since they did not have US passports, they were not considered '*waijirenshi'* or "*jingwairenshi*". The most disturbing problem they pointed out was that legally they could not join the private religious gatherings that are only allowed for "*waijirenshi*" or "*jingwairenshi*". "Chinese citizens are not allowed to attend religious gathering because they do not have religious rights!" Mr. Huang said in an ironic tone. "We are discriminated against by our own Chinese government as Chinese citizens!" He smiled and said, "Probably it is the biggest mistake for loving to be a Chinese citizen! We are thinking of taking that exam one day after we go back to the United States."

For Alisa and Weber, the problem of "being a Chinese citizen in Shanghai without Shanghai *Hukou*" was more difficult to handle since they had an eight year old boy, Jack. Alisa insisted on sending Jack to a regular Chinese school to learn the Chinese language. Weber was sent by Johnson and Johnson from Philadelphia to Shanghai two years ago, and he knew he could be sent back to the United States anytime his manager decided to move him. Therefore, Alisa saw this as a great chance for her boy to learn the Chinese language in Shanghai. Having no Shanghai *Hukou* made it difficult for Alisa to send Jack to a local Shanghai school without paying a large tuition fee, which according to Alisa,

was more than twice the local tuition. “Though it is affordable for us, I don’t feel good about that.” Alisa complained. “I am Chinese citizen, why should I be discriminated against in the mother country (*zuguo*)? We were never discriminated against in the United States where we are foreigners! It is very strange to have this weird feeling!” Alisa said that she was considering transferring her son to a private school, since she heard the learning environment was better there while the tuition was only a little bit more expensive.

As Solinger points out, Chinese society is a closed class structure. This is a function of the government policy, which impedes social mobility for newcomers, especially in big cities. She points out that the state-imposed *hukou* system is the main system for carrying out the stratified social structure (Solinger 2002). In her study of floaters in Chinese metropolitan cities, Solinger suggests that localism and xenophobia shade into discrimination and prejudice and open hostility toward the floating population in urban settings. However, my informants, returnees from the United States who do not share a similar background and social hierarchy with these so-called floating populations, find themselves sharing a similar social status with them. They feel as discriminated against in Shanghai as the floating populations. They find themselves in unexpected social strata in the social hierarchy in this metropolitan city just because they insist on retaining their P. R. China citizenship. Weber laughs and says, “I am surprised to find that my family is as discriminated in this big city as ‘*waidiren*’!”

However, Mr. Ye tells me, “It is a lot of trouble to apply for US citizenship, but it is much more trouble to apply for Shanghai *hukou* if you do not have certain *guanxi*!” He laughs and continues, “After several years after you have built up a *guanxi* network,

when you are ready to get Shanghai *hukou* easily, you probably will be sent back to the US by your manager (at work)! This happened to my colleague who just returned to the US last year!"

Regardless of citizenship status, all of my informants tell me that Shanghai is a place they will stay temporary. Only one couple who holds P. R. China passports have registered for Shanghai *hukou* for the convenience of sending their children to school. All the others think they will stay in Shanghai temporary, and they tell me they "do not bother" to do so. When I ask this question, I always hear them say, "We do not even know if we will be sent back to the United States someday!" Some informants add, "If not, we are returning to the US after retirement, since our children will be there!" This is just like Mr. Wang's answer. The reason why they choose not to stay in Shanghai is that it is very difficult to manage their life in Shanghai due to the complicated social networking and social system.

Unfortunately, none of the informants who I was introduced to by my informants in Philadelphia are Shanghainese, and this is probably the reason why none of my informants want to stay in Shanghai after their retirement. I asked Ken to introduce me to some of his friends, Chinese returnees from Shanghai. Ken referred me to two Shanghai couples who are *haigui*. However, they all told me that they would return to the United States in the future for the same reason—their children are there or would be there. Though they all emphasized that they love Shanghai as their hometown, they chose to stay in the US because their family—their children—are in the US. They would like to stay in the US with their families, since sometimes their families may need their help. Moreover, one couple told me that the US has a better environment for retirees.. Julie, the

Shanghainese returnee from New York City told me, “It takes a complicated process to see a certain good doctor here in Shanghai if you are sick. You have to get to know someone who knows the doctor well to see the doctor. To get the *guanxi* relationship in order to see a doctor or to have an operation by certain doctor, you have to spend time on social networking. But in the US, you only need to wait, though sometimes you need to wait for years.”

It is very interesting to discover that all my informants see Shanghai as a temporary place to stay for work, whether they are from Shanghai or not. All of them told me that they will stay in Shanghai only for work, and they will return to the US once they have finished their work or reach the retirement age. These Chinese returnees have developed common strategies for their temporary stay in Shanghai, and certain characteristics for their lives in Shanghai.

The first noticeable characteristic that I am aware of during my participant observation is that all of them limit themselves to a certain social and environmental locale. In other words, they limit their physical presence to several places in the metropolitan area, and they avoid exploring unfamiliar places in Shanghai. They all tell me that they do not explore Shanghai much since it is difficult to travel around this city. Therefore, they all limit their life to several places: their residences, offices, children’s schools, friends’ places for gatherings, and certain malls for recreation and shopping.

Like Ken and Wendy’s family, my informants are very aware of the embedded social hierarchy that is reflected in space and human behavior. Being in the US for a long time, they find themselves having a difficult time sharing spaces with most of the local

Chinese they meet in public places, such as in subways and train stations. Therefore, they always drive, or ride in cars or taxis, rather than public transportation. It is very interesting that all of my informants told me that they had horrifying experiences riding a bus or subway, just like Ken and Wendy.

Lin, who is from Hunan, moved back to Shanghai because her husband was sent there by Merck, the company for which he works. Lin's husband is a patent lawyer, and she is a housewife and takes care of her mother-in-law, who lives with them. She told me that once her driver could not take her to a doctor's appointment because he was in an accident. Her mother-in-law refused to take a taxi, since she once had a very bad experience taking a taxi. Therefore, they decided to take a bus, since the clinic was not far away. "That was my first time taking a bus since moving to Shanghai. The bus was not full, but every seat was occupied. No one on the "respect elders seats" would yield their seat for my mother-in-law; they all pretended that they were sleeping." Lin smiled when she described what happened: "My mother-in-law was really unhappy, and she pushed the "sleeping" young folks on the "respect elders seats" to yield their seats. This always worked when she did it in Wuhan, Hunan, where she used to live. However, my mother-in-law could not wake any of these young people up, even though she pushed them very hard. My mother-in-law was very angry and she scolded those "sleeping passengers" so intensely that she did not want to get off the bus when it was time to get off. Isn't it funny?" Lin laughed after describing this story.

Janie was introduced to me by my best friend in Mainline. Janie and her husband both work in Shanghai. Her husband works for Bayer, while she works for General Electronic. Both of them are PhDs who graduated from University of Pennsylvania. They

have a twelve year old son, and they live in Pudong. Janie refused to be interviewed when she knew that I was staying in Puxi. She told me that she was concerned that I would have to take the public transportation for one hour to go to Pudong. For her, the trip was too tiresome. After I moved to Pudong, she gladly allowed me to interview her. Janie told me that she did not want her good friend's best friend to ride the subway just because of her. When Janie found out that I took the subways to explore the city every day, her face was filled with surprise. "How can you take subway and be in public all the time? After being in the US for a long time, I can never adjust to the tight personal space that local people maintain!" Janie insisted on driving each time she went out. By doing so, she could avoid what she called "rude contacts" with people. Janie thought these rude behaviors had something to do with the development of this big city. "It was not like this when I left this country in 1992! I am from Beijing. When I went back to Beijing three years ago, I realized it was like being in Shanghai—people were very rude in public places. That is why I avoid going to other places and being in public."

Hank provided me a different reason for why he drives to work. Hank comes from Hubei province, and he went to Canada for his graduate degree in accounting. He divorced when he was in Philadelphia, and he came to Shanghai for business. According to him, Shanghai was only a place for business, and he had to avoid the negative energy of everything else- it was very difficult to deal with complicated *guangxi* networks and government policies while carrying out his business. "I do not have time to waste on this avoidable unhappiness." He told me that he often becomes annoyed by uncivilized (buwenming 不文明) people in Shanghai, so he avoids these things at all costs. Driving

his own car and utilizing valet parking when possible were some of the more efficient ways for him to avoid this negative energy.

Since all of these Chinese returnees consider Shanghai a temporary place to live and do not identify as residents of this city, they do not invest many of their feelings or emotions in the city. When interviewed, they told honestly me that they saw this city as a temporary place to stay, not their homeland. Even informants who were from Shanghai said this. Judy and Jack came from Shanghai, and they moved to the United States in 1991 when they started their graduate degree at the University of Michigan. Their fifteen year old daughter stayed in the United States for high school with Judy when Jack moved back to Shanghai last year to relocate for his job. When I visited them in the summer, Judy and their daughter were in Shanghai to visit Jack, and they would return to the Philadelphia metropolitan area after the fall semester started in late August. Jack told me it was great to come back to Shanghai where he grew up, but he realized that things had changed very much since 1992. "It is very different to "visit" your homeland (*jiaxiang*) than to "live" here. It was always fun when we visited Shanghai for vacation back when we were living in the United States. But to live in Shanghai required a lot of changes in my lifestyle. I realized that I had been Americanized." He described that he was not used to the complicated social networks of China. "You have to get *guanxi* with others in order to get a promotion, and it is too much work." Jack smiled and said, "Moreover, I realized that Shanghai changed dramatically since I left, and I had to adjust to adopt to these changes!" When I asked him for an example, he told me that people were more deceptive now than before. "People are more complicated (*renxinfuza* 人心复杂), and you have to

be very careful all the time." Other informants shared Jack's point of view, identifying Shanghai as temporary place to live.

Seeing themselves as temporary visitors, these Chinese professionals have their own strategy for living in Shanghai. Like other immigrants, they maintain a simple living style. They do not buy properties for themselves to move into, but only purchase them as investments. Like Ken and Wendy, most of these returnees have housing subsidies from they companies they work for, and they rent their residences. However, almost all of them buy apartments and houses for investment. Though these Chinese returnees don't see Shanghai as a long-tern living place, they do see their relocation to Shanghai as a good opportunity to make investments. In their gatherings, they often discuss their investments in Shanghai—these typically involve real estate and the Chinese stock market. Most of my informants buy properties in Shanghai to rent out, and for investment. They consider this a profitable way to invest, since the property prices in Shanghai have been going up since the 1990s. Other than profitable investments in Shanghai, these Chinese returnees do not invest much in their life materially. Most of these Chinese returnees buy furniture used from those colleagues and friends who left Shanghai, and they lease their vehicles. "We might return to the US soon, so we maintain a minimum amount of materials in our place," Mr. Wang told me. "In this way, we can pack fast and leave as soon as possible!"

My informants not only maintain minimal living essentials for their lives in Shanghai, but they also keep few local friends in Shanghai. "It is not because we do not want to have local friends; it is mainly because we are different," Hank told me. "It is very hard to have local Chinese friends." Many of my informants point out that local

Chinese are very different from Chinese returnees from the United States. Janie told me that she found local people to be much more complicated as friends. “Sometimes it (the condition) is too complicated- you do not know if they are your true friends or not.” July believes the complicatedness of local people is due to the fast development of Shanghai and Chinese society, which they, as Chinese returnees, have not experienced. This fast development and free market capitalism makes people always look at money and to value profit over friendship.

“I had a good Shanghainese friend when I was sent to Shanghai two years ago, and I treated her as my sister. She was in the same management level as I me, and she helped me with my relocation by providing contact numbers in Shanghai,” Mrs. Wang told me. “Since she was my friend, I helped her with design problems at work.” Mrs. Wang smiles, “However, one day she stopped talking to me and began to avoid me. When I called her and asked her why, she told me an unbelievable thing that I can never forget. Over the phone, she told me that there was nothing left in me that she could learn about, so she stopped wasting her time with me.” I was very hurt. Then she told me that she could not understand why the company sent me to Shanghai instead of having her do my job, since we both had similar abilities. ” Mrs. Wang smiled bitterly. “I think she never understood why. I think it was because we, Chinese returnees (*haigui*), are not selfish, so the company would rather spend money to send me here instead of having her take care of my responsibilities.” Mrs. Wang added, “My returnee (*haigui*) friends warned me to keep away from them, and now I realize why… We are not complicated enough to fight with them mentally.”

Mr. Wang and Mrs. Wang had a hard time moving to Shanghai. Both Mr. and Mrs. Wang are originally from Shangxi, and they went to East Strausberg University in Pennsylvania for their Master's degrees in 1993. They both stayed to work in the Philadelphia metropolitan area after graduation. Mr. Wang is an engineer at GSK, and he was sent to Shanghai three years ago. Mrs. Wang is a programmer at GSK as well. She wanted to go with him, but it was not until 2008 that she was able to find a position to go to Shanghai. They have two daughters. The elder daughter went to college in California, and the younger daughter, Alice, moved to Shanghai with Mrs. Wang. Alice went to Shanghai American School in Pudong, like most children of my informants.

"The best way to protect ourselves is to keep away from local people." My informants told me many miserable stories of Chinese returnees being stabbing in the back by their Chinese local friends, especially in the business world and in office settings. It was very interesting that my informants kept telling me, "People were not like this before I left for the US!" Wendy, Janie, and some of my good Chinese returnee friends who knew me well always reminded me, "Be careful when talking with your local Chinese friends, you simple-minded big girl! (*shadajie* 傻大姐)"

Moving from the Philadelphia metropolitan area to Shanghai is a difficult spatial or environmental challenge for Chinese returnees. Most of them try to maintain an American life-style as much as possible. Most of them live in the Pudong new district, which they describe as having a better environment for residents than Puxi. Janie showed me the common backyard behind her apartment building where there were many sweet osmanthus trees. The air was filled with the flower's nice fragrance. A stream was located right behind the back yard. Janie and I took a short walk and sat in the sun after I

interviewed her. From the end of the stream, the skyline of Pudong could be seen in the glorious orange sunshine. Janie told me that the nice backyard was the main reason she chose to live there: “I bought another set of apartment in Puxi near People’s Square, but it was only for investment. It was hard for me to adjust to the concrete jungle in Puxi’s center city.”

Hank chose to live in the center city in Puxi, close to Huanghui South Road. As a divorced man, Hank told me that he chose to live close to his office, since he did not have to take family into consideration when deciding where to stay. “Puxi has the essence of Shanghai. Most of the historical monuments and buildings are located in Puxi. I also know some *haigui* families who live in Puxi, but in the very northwest part of Puxi. The suburb area in the very west part of Puxi is nice, too.” He enjoyed living in Puxi, but he told me that if his family was here, he would move to the suburbs in Pudong. “Shanghai is such a complicated and well-developed city. If my children were here, I would move to the foreigner’s area in the suburbs, since the environment is too complicated here in the center city.”

All my informants told me that the most challenging aspect they faced after moving to Shanghai was deciding on the method by which to educate their children. Not all *haigui* families choose to take their children with them to Shanghai for their relocation. Some of them choose to have their children stay in the United States for education. since it is well-known among these returnees that students who graduate from Shanghai American School do not perform as well as children who have attended Mainline public schools and private schools in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. For some parents, their children may not be able to attend good colleges in the US in the future if they move with

them to Shanghai during the critical high school years. Therefore, there are cases where only one of the parents moves to Shanghai for work, while the other stays in the US with the children. But most families who have one member in Shanghai to work do their best to move their whole family to Shanghai. Sometimes the process takes years. There are still some families who leave their children in the US while both parents live in Shanghai.

Wendy's good friend, Emily, came to Shanghai with her husband while their children stayed in the US with Emily's sister. Emily and her husband are from Hong Kong. They came to Shanghai because Emily's husband was sent to Shanghai by the pharmaceutical company for which he works. Emily followed him for personal reasons, but her children refused to move to Shanghai with them. She has a twenty-year-old daughter, Daisy, and a seventeen-year-old son, Michael. Daisy goes to the University of California at Irvine, which is close to Emily's sister's house. Before Emily and her husband moved to Shanghai, Emily sent her son to her sister's house in Irvine. "They would come to Shanghai during their summer vacation, and my husband and I go to visit them during winter vacation," Emily told me. "I thought it would be a temporary separation for our family, but I did not realize the time would pass so fast. It has already been two years since we moved to Shanghai. They do not want to come to Shanghai this summer, since they came here last year. I am so busy with my work that I cannot leave now. I miss them, but I have to wait until the summer is over to see them."

In August, when I visited Emily's apartment with my other friend to pick something up, she invited us to stay for tea. After we entered her apartment, to our surprise, she started weeping and telling us that she got a phone call from her sister from California. "Michael was caught by the police drunk-driving last night, and he had pot in the trunk of

his car." She cried out loudly, "My sister said they are fine now, but I really wish I was there!" Emily cried, and she told us that Michael felt bored after school since his sister did not care about him. He hooked up with "bad" friends and usually disappeared at night. Emily's sister was too busy to realize that Michael disappeared, until the police knocked on her door. "Michael does not even want to talk to me on the phone."

Some of the *haigui* parents I met in Shanghai left their children in the US for a better education and environment, but this placed stress on their relationship with their children. During my interview with another couple whose children stayed in the US, they argued that their children insisted on staying in the US. "It is their choice- what they call "individualism." There is nothing we can do to change it."

Tony and Jane told me, "It is extremely difficult to persuade a teenager. " Tony and Jane's daughter, Nina, stayed in Philadelphia for her last year of high school, and now she is studying in University of Pennsylvania. "We trusted her, and she proved that she can do well."

Sue, one of my informants in Philadelphia, told me about an extreme case of this before I traveled to Shanghai. One Chinese couple, Mr. and Mrs. Song, lost their jobs and had to move back to China for a job offer they received in 2008. They had a son and a daughter. They decided to have their son, who was sixteen years old, be adopted by a wealthy white older couple in the Mainline area. "It was their son's will to be adopted by the couple, because he wanted to go to that famous private school that Mr. and Mrs. Song could not afford," Anita told me. The couple refused to be interviewed, and they disappeared after moving to China. But they became famous among the Chinese

population in the Philadelphia suburban area for putting their son up for adoption because of education.

Chinese returnees (*haigui*) do not think they will stay in China forever even though they do not know when their expatriation will end. Therefore, they view their stay in Shanghai as a great opportunity for their children to learn Chinese culture and language. Some parents choose to send their children to Chinese elementary schools to learn Chinese, and to transfer them to English-speaking high school later. Some parents choose to send their children to English-speaking schools and think their children can take Chinese language classes there.

For those Chinese returnee parents who bring their children with them, choosing the proper school for their children becomes an important issue. They are all aware of the mediocre performance rate of the American School in Shanghai, and of the expensive tuition this school charges ever semester (about twenty thousand US dollars a semester). There are other choices, such as Concordia International School in Shanghai and the British International School, for Chinese returnee's children. Nonetheless, most of them choose to send their children to Shanghai American School in Pudong.

Helen and Tom moved to Shanghai one year ago when Tom's whole department was relocated to Shanghai. "We had no choice but to move to here. Everyone received a letter stating that we would either to be fired or be relocated to Shanghai to work." Helen chose a regular Chinese elementary school for her only son, Andy, who was nine years old. She told me that in this way, Andy could learn Chinese from his classmates. She proudly told me that Andy now spoke Chinese much better than he did one year ago.

However, Helen also told me that she worked hard in order to enroll her son in the school. "Of course I have a friend who knows the principle of the school very well. She introduced me to the principle when we went out for dinner, and he promised the teacher would keep an eye on Andy." Helen told me that Andy is very shy, and she did not want Andy to be hurt in this totally new environment. However, she was not the very first Chinese returnee to brings her children to that school. "The principle knows this situation very well, and he arranged everything according to the need of these kids." Helen smiled when she mentioned how much Andy's Chinese had improved. "In his class, there are Chinese *haigui* kids from Australia and England. It is almost like a specially-made class for them… I've met their parents, and we all think we will send them to English speaking high school when they are older."

Unlike Helen, Janie decided that her son, Alan, should go to Shanghai American School in Pudong. Janie told me that she was very determined to move her son to Shanghai with her, though her son did not want to go. "Therefore, I promised him that he would to go to the American school, so he would not have to spend much time getting used to the school system." Janie told me, "At the same time, I forced him to take Chinese language class- but it did not work out well."

Like Wendy's children and most of the children I knew who went to Shanghai American School, Alan did not want to speak Chinese- even though Janie said that he could speak fluent Chinese. When Alan came back to his family's apartment where I was interviewing Janie, I said hi to him in Chinese. He shied away and walked to his room right away. Janie took me to see Alan's room and all the rock music instruments she bought for him. I switched to English to talk to Alan, and I asked him about his rock

music group in school. Alan seemed to change into another person as soon as he heard me speak in English. He happily told me that he was going to perform several rock pop songs in school with his classmates. He found out later that I was from the US and love pop music. We had a fun talk about American pop music and his school life. He performed a song for me and we had great time.

Janie, like Wendy, Emily, and all parents I interviewed, told me about her concern for her child's identity- especially after sending him to the American School. "Alan seems to be confused about who he is after coming to Shanghai. In the US, my husband and I always teach him Chinese, and send him to Chinese School." Janie sighed, "He realized that 'Chinese people' are very different after coming to Shanghai. He could not understand why Chinese people in China are so different, and I don't know how to explain these differences to him."

For instance, Janie told me that Alan could not understand why Chinese people would say one thing and do another. "One time, we went to a trip in South China. Alan realized that he forgot his cellphone in a public restroom when he boarded on the tour bus. The tour guide kept trying to stop him from going back to the restroom to look for his fancy cellphone, since there were too many passengers using that restroom and the chance of finding the cellphone was extremely slim. However, Alan insisted on going to the restroom, and he kept everyone on the bus waiting for him." Janie smiled bitterly, with an expression I could never forget. "Of course the cellphone was gone. Alan thought that someone would call and ask for his address to mail it back after the trip. After one month, he realized no one would return his cell phone, and he could not understand why people would take his cellphone… I was sad that I could not give him explanation, and

that I didn't know what to tell him." Janie told me in a sad voice, "After that incident, he avoided talking in Chinese, except when it was necessary. I was very worried and asked him the reason why, and he told me that he does not want to be Chinese."

Cassie had a problem similar to Janie's. Her twelve-year-old daughter, Karen, always tried to shut herself off from the city. "Karen lives in her world with her classmates from the American School. She refuses to speak Chinese, let alone take Chinese language classes." Cassie sighed, "She insists on taking Spanish class instead. Karen spends all of her time in school or with her classmates, and she lives her American life."

Wendy had a similar problem. Tim, her sixteen-year-old son, tried to avoid talking in Mandarin unless it was necessary. Since Wendy did not speak English well, Tim did not usually talk to Wendy. As a sweet daughter, Tiffany, who is twelve-year-old, chatted with her mom sometimes. However, I knew more things about her life that she posted on Facebook than Wendy did. During my stay with Wendy's family, I knew about Tiffany's relationship and her best friends from Skype and Facebook.

Helen did not have this problem with her children, but she worried that her son, Andy, was exhibiting "rude" behavior and learning a "bad" accent from his classmates. "When we were in the US, my son would always say, "Excuse me," and, "Please." After going to school, Andy stopped saying those polite words because he realized people thought he was weak by using those polite words." Helen complained, "Instead, he picked up a rude accent and bad words from his classmates. He uses "*sha*" instead of "*shenmen*" with a horrible accent that my husband and I would never use. It sounds so

rude and uneducated! We well-educated Fujianese would not speak like that!" Helen smiled. "But my friends told me this problem would fix itself after we transferred him to Shanghai American School for his high school education. But right now I cannot help myself from telling him to stop being rude!"

I learned that these concerns were shared by other returnee mothers during my interviews. They all considered local people in Shanghai to be much "ruder" than people in the United States, and they worried about what their children would learn from them. During a gathering for afternoon tea on a sunny Saturday, Julia, a Chinese returnee mother who had a two year old girl, announced to everyone that she fired a nanny *ayi* because her baby was learning rude language from the *ayi*. Though everyone thought she was too sensitive, Sally burst out with a heavily-accented sentence that stunned everyone: "Get your ass out of there! (*gunnidepiqu*!)"

The Shanghai American School

Most of my informants chose the Shanghai American School for their children. Only one family chose the Concordia High School instead. I heard from my other friends (Taiwanese friends from Taiwan and random local people I met who were not Chinese returnees) that these schools are "noble schools" (*guizuxuexiao*)—they are private schools only rich families can afford. My Taiwanese business man friend joked, "The school buildings are like vacation villas! Children who can go there have very good fate! (好命)" I always wanted to visit there after hearing these rumors from "outsiders."

Fortunately, on a Friday evening, Wendy invited me to go to Shanghai American School in Pudong with her to pick up a laptop for Tiffany.

After we got in the car, I could not help but feel lucky that I finally had a chance to visit the school without feeling like an intruder. It was a rainy evening, and Mr. Zheng told me that it would take at least forty minutes to drive from Wendy's house to the school, since the school was located in the east side of Pudong. As the car drove to the west part of Pudong, tall buildings gradually diminished. Instead, there were farms on the side of the road. Small, short, shabby houses stood between the farms and roads. It was evening when we drove through this part of Shanghai. Many families were having dinner at the front of their houses; each faced the road under the street light. Streets were narrow and the lights were dim in the heavy rain. There were many trucks driving on the narrow countryside roads; stirred up dust and water when driving by. Mr. Zheng complained that he would have to have this car washed again after driving through these dusty muddy roads. This part of Shanghai looked like the countryside, though officially we were still in Shanghai city. Mr. Zheng told me that this part of Shanghai was occupied by peasants, so it was not a rich area. He figured I could tell from the scenery.

Our car turned down a small lane, and the lane led to a gate. After getting permission from the gate-keeper, we entered a whole different environment. As soon as we entered that gate, I saw a wide green lawn and single houses arranged in an extremely familiar way- it resembled the community arrangement in suburbs in the US. Everything looked extremely similar to the US— the houses were no taller than two floors, there were community parks with swings, and there was a huge double-car garage.

There was even a Weber Deer lawn machine parked in the front of the lawn. I felt like I was in the US right after entering the gate.

In the end of the lane was the Shanghai American School. It looked like Radnor High School in Philadelphia suburban area, or any other suburban high school in a nice school district in the US—a clean nice school building with wide green lawns and sports facilities. It looked like a standard American high school in a nice suburban area with these facilities and large green lawns. But in Shanghai, the green lawn and sports facility are luxuries, since schools in the city are mostly located around crowded skyscrapers. However, Shanghai American School was like schools in American suburb areas, with about 1500 students. The school was on a 23 acre campus, which offered plenty of space for students to enjoy their school life. The nice school building was designed with a modern Chinese theme, and the modern interior gave a contemporary look to the school. With the tuition as high as 28,000 USD, I could understand why my non-Chinese returnee friends would call this school a noble school.

Wendy showed me around the school building, and she greeted Tiffany's classmates and their parents. Though most students I met there were Asian, they all spoke American English fluently. I was still in shock and felt that I had returned to Radnor high school from Shanghai in one hour. On their bulletin board, there were very few Chinese characters, and everything I saw was in English. Wendy took me into a hall where the Mac laptops would be distributed to students.

It was also a very surprising experience for me, since I had never seen so many Mac computers in China- the PC is extremely popular in China[37]. On the stage, there were around a hundred Mac Powerbook boxes that the teachers were going to distribute. Wendy told me that the school was experimenting by using computers to aid teaching; this would hopefully provide a better environment for students to adjust to this high-tech era. "However," she added, "parents have to pay for it!"

Two teachers went up to the stage and talked about how to connect the laptops with the school network outside of the school. Through this special connection, students could go to certain websites where their school learning materials were located. Every student was very excited to get her or his own white mac laptop, which came with a nice laptop bag to protect it. Tiffany was extremely excited, and later on I realized the real reason for this excitement: this laptop would enable her to explore American websites forbidden by the Chinese government but essential for American teenagers, Facebook and YouTube.

After Tiffany received her laptop, she spent almost every minute with her Mac, which she nicknamed "Little White". She updated her status on Facebook almost every hour, and she talked through Skype with her friends in the US all the time. Like most teenagers in the US, these Chinese returnee's children eagerly engaged in these social websites in their daily life through their school-provided internet connections. Since many of them were from the United States, they were updated on the latest information from their friends everyday. They also checked the most popular videos and postings in the US through the internet. "For my son," Janie told me, "he still chats online with his

[37] The Apple store in Shanghai was opened in July 2010, and its only store was in Beijing in 2009 when I did my fieldwork. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/09/technology/09apple.html

friends in the US. For him, the internet keeps his connection with his friends. He used to go to Facebook in school, but now he always brings his Mac with him."

For these children, their laptops serve as their only channel for keeping a connection with US teenage culture. Appadurai suggests that public mass media transforms the imagination of the transnational immigrants and diasporic communities. In other words, mass media, through modern technology, extends the boundaries of nation states, and it reaches to immigrants and diasporas in a global context. Through mass media, nostalgia and imagination creates ethnic identity in transnational life beyond the nation-state boundaries for those people who reside outside their original countries (Appadurai 1996). Chinese returnee's children are able to reconnect with their "culture of origin" through these special resources— including a special internet connection provided by school. Following what Appadurai calls "media sphere," Chinese returnee's children are able to connect or reconnect with the US pop and teenage culture by getting information through the media, thus fortifying their identity as Americans.

During my interviews with young people and while hanging out with them, I asked teenagers if they are Chinese, American, or both. Most of them told me that they are Chinese Americans, or Taiwanese Americans. Some teenage informants whose parents came from Taiwan and Hong Kong identified themselves as Taiwanese or Guangdong people. Several of them said they are Americans with Chinese heritage. But none of them said that they are Chinese. The result is extremely contradictory when compared with the ways their parents answered this question. All of their parents insisted they are Chinese.

When I asked these teenagers why they didn't consider themselves Chinese, they told me that they think Chinese people are very different from them. "Local Chinese people are very rude; this is very different from who I am!" Luke told me during our interview. "I used to think I was Chinese when I was in the US, but now I realized they are very different from me!" Luke was seventeen years old and the son of Alex and Ruth. His family moved to Shanghai in 2007 to relocate for a job. Alex works for Johnson and Johnson, and he was relocated to Shanghai. Ruth resigned from her job and came to Shanghai with Luke. According to Alex, Luke had never been to China for such a long time. Before their relocation, Luke only visited China through tours. When he moved to Shanghai with his mother, he was very shocked to experience this big city as a resident, not as a tourist. For Luke, there were too many unexpected things happening in Shanghai; he could not understand them and always describe them as "ridiculous." "In Shanghai, people are ridiculously rude and traffic is ridiculously horrible. But food is ridiculously good! I do not think I am part of this ridiculous world, so I am not a Chinese, but a Chinese American."

When I told Ruth that Luke described himself as Chinese American, Ruth laughed and said, "He always sees himself as American! You can see that if you are a close friend of his."

When I asked my teenage informants why they don't consider Chinese, they told me that they are different from Chinese in behavior, and that local Chinese people do not think they are Chinese either. "They (local Chinese) are inconsiderate to strangers, but I am not!" Tim told me when I asked him. "I am always polite to people."

“Local Chinese see us as different from them, too! They stare at us when we go out by taking the subway!” During a chat over afternoon tea with Tiffany and her best friends, Tiffany’s best friend, Anna, told me, “Once when Tiffany, Nancy, and I were on the subway, someone said something that made me really annoyed! An old guy yelled to us in Mandarin, ‘Why speak English in China?’ Why can’t we talk in English? I think that is because we are not Caucasians! He would never yell at us if we were not Asian!”

Nancy said with a laugh, “I do not care after all! I am so used to it!”

All these Chinese returnee’s teenagers maintain their identity through their imagination with the means of technology and their limited social circle. This social circle includes friends from American schools and from foreigner districts that neighbor their residential areas. These teenagers stay in their enclosed network and environment as Americans, and they avoid contact with local people unless necessary. They all are very aware of the differences between themselves and local Chinese in Shanghai, and they tell me stories of being bothered by locals because they look different from the local population. Some of them tell me that they do not know how to interact with local Chinese and it is hard for them to fit in the Chinese society where they reside. They claim to be different from the most Chinese teenagers in order to maintain their identities as Americans, even though their parents constantly remind them that they are Chinese and force them to learn the Chinese culture and language.

Ruth, as well as many of my informants, told me in private that she felt some regret for bringing Luke to Shanghai. “I thought Luke would learn the Chinese language and culture very well since Shanghai provided him the perfect environment, and he did. He

got Chinese advance placement credits in school, and he can speak perfect Chinese for tests and when it's 'necessary.' However, I never thought about the unexpected result: he hates being Chinese."

Janie expressed something similar, "Alan is very glad that he is going back to the US for college. In other words, he will not stay in China forever, the place he can never understand." Janie sighed and said, "At least his knowledge of China has improved!"

However, these teenagers do not dislike the big city they reside in the way their parents do. They are aware of the advantages of living in this big metropolitan city, and they keep their mind open to all the things happening in the city. They love to explore Shanghai with their friends, and they enjoy trips to the countryside areas around Shanghai.

"I always go out with my friends to Puxi to walk around," Anna said/ "We girls love to go window shopping during the weekends, and we go to the *xiuxianjie* in the Gubei area! There are many different kinds of cuisine that we can try!"

Alan did not mind taking the subway or sharing spaces with people, since he argued that he is strong enough to handle these situations. "I learned how to push people out from your way when needed, though I do not want to. But sometimes it is necessary."

These teenagers are eager to go back to the US for their college education. They all miss the time they spent in the US, and they hope they can return to the US soon. They all expect that their college lives in the US will be colorful and enjoyable, and they understand that working hard in school is essential for applying for colleges. Being in Shanghai is a temporary stay for their high school life with their parents, and they are

very aware that one day they will return to the US for their college education. Therefore, they enjoy their life in Shanghai while working hard to prepare for their SATs and GPAs.

"Generally speaking, like the Chinese who live in the US, these children do better than non-Chinese kids," Janie told me. "Shanghai American School is like other high schools in the US. Chinese children focus on their SAT scores and GPAs. They also join activities in order to make their CV look impressive."

In the end of August 2009, Tim asked Ken to write a check for his school-held volunteer program to help the poor in Nepal. Ken joked about it while writing his check in US dollars: "Tim, you spend a lot of my money to join a school volunteer program and go to a third-world country to work for the poor. Why don't you just donate this amount of money to them and volunteer to help the poor in Shanghai?"

Tim's face turned green and he answered, "You don't understand, since you have never gone to American High School for your education! I've learned about more than just helping poor people there! Above all, I learned important aspects that helped me decide where to apply for college during my volunteer work last spring! Also it looks good on my CV!"

Ken did not say anything back to Tim but murmured to me, "Look, it is an expensive road to college, and my son has taken it for granted that I am paying for it!"

Conclusion:

Chinese returnees in Shanghai realize that their Chinese identity is not accepted by local people, since these returnees have been Americanized to some degree. The returnees view themselves as less complicated and secretive in their social behaviors than local people at work, and more often they become taken advantage of at work. Chinese society has developed rapidly in the two decades since these returnees left China, and returnees find themselves unfamiliar with modern Chinese culture in many ways. However, these returnees have strategies for coping with the difficulties of living in Shanghai. They adopt Chinese *guanxi* politics and social networking when doing business and at work. In their family life, they maintain a social circle with Chinese returnee families, owing to everyone's shared background.

These Chinese returnees feel that the most difficult topic to handle since moving to Shanghai is how to educate their children. Most Chinese returnees choose to place their children in international schools, such as Shanghai American School and Concordia. Most of their children go to Shanghai with them, and they have difficulties relating their Chinese identity to local people in Shanghai. They find that they share more similarities with their American classmates. Moreover, they find that local people do not accept them as Chinese, either. Instead of identifying themselves as Chinese as they used to do in the US, these children begin to self-identify as American. Some of them even refuse to learn the Chinese language and culture as an act of extreme protest and a refusal to become Chinese.

Some Chinese returnees foresee this problem, and they place their children in Chinese local elementary or junior high schools when their children are still young. However, they worry that their children will pick up rude habits and languages while attending local schools.

Shanghai is a temporary place to stay for these Chinese returnees and their children. They plan to go back to the United States after retirement or for their college education. Therefore, even though they reside in Shanghai now, they always plan for a future in the United States. For Chinese returnee's teenage children, keeping connected with American teenage culture is possible via popular American social networking websites that they can access exclusively through their school-provided internet. Mass media plays an important role for these teenagers in connecting with American teen culture. The mass media provide an important channel to the information that helps maintain their switched identity as Americans while living in Shanghai.

Money Matters Most?

Capitalism and privatization can be seen in every corner of Shanghai. Social class is based on economic status—the capital an individual possesses and how it is shown in that person's spending habits. Similar to the result of neoliberalism in the US, certain services are provided according to the possession of wealth, and the poor are left out. Engaged in money-making becomes the most essential way to receive certain services. However, Chinese professionals who have returned from the US are better off both in regards to economic and social status, and they experience fewer traumas than local Chinese in Shanghai. But some of these Chinese professionals still think that this is an annoying aspect that they have to deal with every day in Shanghai. This chapter will draw on examples from field notes to discuss the changing trends in Shanghai that are associated with capitalism, marketing strategies, and globalization as they are "imagined" by civilians in Shanghai as directed by media.

Changing Conceptions of Social Classes:

When walking on the street in Shanghai, one can not help him- or herself but to notice the various boards and signs for advertisement all over public spaces. Animations and short commercials are played on flat screens in public transportation vehicles like buses, subways, and even on the backs of the front seats in taxis. These commercials provide information on commercial products for passengers of all kinds. Whether it is on the outside of the bus, on a building, or on the walls of a subway station, commercials of all categories—from drink, credit cards, alcohol, drugs, and real estate to government propaganda—are ominous and presented in all the public spaces of Shanghai. These commercials provoke people's desire to buy various kinds of products, and to behave in certain ways to fit in their imagined groups. These varieties of commercials try to persuade the people passing by of certain ideas of consumption through images and words. These commercials and images create an imagined brand-identity for each social class through the image presented in the advertisement. Consuming certain products and presenting one's appearance via these products provide essential information of one's social class to others. In other words, one's appearance and style is the means by which others judge his or her social economic status and hierarchy, his or her class position in the social strata.

Since Shanghai is the largest commercial city in China, capitalism and neoliberal ideology is present in every corner; one can see commercial activities everywhere. An extremely different or almost *opposite* idea of social hierarchy from Mao's communist thoughts has been introduced to Shanghainese society though the introduction of capitalism and neoliberal ideology. In modern Chinese history since 1949, social class is

always the essential issue, especially in the communist era. In Mao's era, 1949 to 1976, classes were named according to the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China in 1950. That is, people's classes were determined according to their "social background" (*chengfen*) as a practice under the "class struggle" principle. This law provided guidelines for cadres to assign class status according to the economic status and professions a family had had for three years before the liberation. Following the class classification, the wealthiest classes—landlords and rich peasants- were publicly criticized by the people. These wealthy classes were considered the lowest in the social strata during Mao's era (Potter and Potter 1990). However, in the post-Mao era, the understanding of social class was gradually revised. After the market reform, the encouragement of private business during Deng's period enriched a different group of people, most of them cadres or government officials. These people all had connections and the access to resources necessary for opening up businesses (Ong 2008). Gradually, the social strata were re-ordered, this time according to the private accumulation of capital and economic status. Poor peasants became the lowest in society. Though there was no pronounced policy regulation for this change in class hierarchy, as during Mao's era, every peasant seemed to notice that this change put them in a vulnerable situation (Solinger 2002, Tyson and Tyson 2002). From his study in Kunming, a city in southwest China, Li Zhang points out that *jieceng* (social strata) is now more appropriate than *jieji*, the term used during Mao's area. Social class in Shanghai nowadays is mainly based on economic status, since neoliberal capitalism is so prosperous in this city. Capital has become the major and the fastest way to measure one's achievement, and to judge one's ability to consume in Shanghai.

This change in social strata is broadly discussed in newspapers and on the internet, especially in Shanghai. With the rapid growth of the economy, the change and division of social strata has become one of the most pronounced facts of Shanghai[38]. Newspapers and internet articles about Shanghai society discuss the new social order that divides social classes according to both personal and household income. Their descriptions of the lives of people in Shanghai are divided according to their "*hukou*" (residency), leaving Shanghainese and *waidiren*. Generally speaking, among poor to middle class populations, *waidiren* are in an inferior situation compared to Shanghainese, since they can barely afford housing in this big prosperous city. The most popular newspaper in Shanghai, *Shendaobao* (申导报) has perpetuated the imagined social division and dichotomy of wealthy and poor, of higher and lower classes. Through its advertisements and articles, Shenbao encourages its reader to express their social status through high-end product consumption[39].

Commercial products become symbols to represent certain classes. Examples in the common daily language terms are "*youfangjieceng* 有房阶层" (class of having properties) "*youchejieceng* 有车阶层" (class of having cars). This ideology of having an object in order to mark one's advancement to a certain class has made people in Shanghai crazy about buying cars, even though they do not need them. In 2007, when the Chinese stock market was at its highest point, there was an overwhelming push for people in Shanghai to buy cars in order to be "*youchejieceng*". My host father in Puxi wanted to buy a car even though he did not know how to drive it. "After you buy a car, you become

[38] Sina Shanghai News http://sh.sina.com.cn/citylink/ed/l/2010-09-01/10039188_2.html.
[39]许纪霖 王儒年, Xueshu Magazine 2005, April, http://www.comment-cn.net/history/chinahistory/2007/0128/article_27604.html

youchejieceng! It is very different from most people in Shanghai!" He said this during one of our phone conversations in the summer of 2007.

Nongnong's ex-husband gave her his old car during summer 2008, and Cindy told me this was an important message. Later in a dinner, Nongnong mentioned to me that she had become a "*youchejieceng*" with her nice black Buick. Finding this awkward, I did not know what to say after she told me proudly that she had received a car from her ex-husband. I smiled silently. Cindy later told me that I should have congratulated her on advancing to another social level.

People in Shanghai seem to be obsessed with the question of what to consume, since having certain kinds of products can define which class strata you are. Therefore, the consumer fever of showing your symbolic materials out in public is at the same time a public demonstration of the social hierarchy to which you belong. What you wear and what you have both demonstrate what level of the social strata you occupy. People are not afraid to show off what they have materially and thus present their ability to consume, for this is always related to social class. In this vicious cycle, many people in Shanghai tend to judge others by their presentation of outward appearances.

One of the most obvious examples of this is the consumption of luxury brand products. According to the World Luxury Association, in the year 2009, Chinese invested 8.6 billion dollars in the luxury market. China has surpassed the US to become the second largest consumer for luxury brands.[40] Bain, a consultancy, estimated a stunning 30% growth of luxury goods consumption in China in the year of 2010, owing to China's

[40] According to People's Daily News: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90778/90857/90860/6710402.html.

booming economy[41]. Many designer brand luxury companies have realized that China may become the number one market in the future, even as the sale of luxurious brands recedes in the rest of the world owing to the economic crisis. Louis Vuitton, a world-famous company that markets surprisingly expensive handbags, declared that China accounts for 15% of its sales and is already the largest market in the world[42]. The general explanation for the booming sale of luxury goods in China is that Chinese millionaires are relatively young (with the average age of 39), and many believe that they have to show off their luxurious goods in order to be taken seriously[43].

Luxury brand products in Shanghai are labels of one's social status. Luxury brands in Shanghai do not only provide good quality products that customers want to purchase, but more importantly, one is able to exhibit her or his social status through the display of these products. During my stay in Shanghai in the summer of 2009, Nongnong bought a Céline lady's purse, and she continuously told everyone who she believed might not recognize it, including me, a hillbilly from the US, that her purse was made in France and was a famous brand. Once, following dinner with Cindy and Nongnong's family on an upper floor of a department store, Nongnong insisted that everyone go downstairs to visit the Celine shop and check out the expensive prices of lady's purses. She said, "You have to carry brand-name purses to department stores or you will be looked down upon by salesladies!" Nongnong was pleased when I looked surprised by the expensive cost of the purses in that shop.

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[41] The Economist, January 22nd, 2011, Page 6. It states that now there are emerging new millionaires in China due to the booming economy, which increases the consumption of luxurious goods.
[42] Source: "China's Luxury Boom: The Middle Blingdom", The Economist, February 19th, 2011, Page 71.
[43] Source: "China's Luxury Boom: The Middle Blingdom", The Economist, February 19th, 2011, Page 71

As a student of anthropology, I do not pay much attention to my appearance. My friends in Shanghai commented me that I did not look like someone who studies in the US. They thought that since I am considered dark skin and chubby in Chinese standard, I should dress well in order to distinguish myself from hard labor workers in Shanghai. My friends kept telling me to present myself in certain way—dress up well, and be equipped with the proper items of symbolic social status, like Coach bags from the US (since I came from the US) or other US brand-name accessories. I ignored their suggestions, because I had never thought deeply about this. Not until an unexpected incident did I start to be aware of my appearance, and understand that it largely affected people's thoughts about me in Shanghai.

Most of my informants lived in the Tomson Golf Community, a famous wealthy community with a golf course in it. "Golf" in China is a symbolic sport for the rich. Since Tomson Golf Community is right next to Wendy's community, I reject Mr. Zheng's offer to drive me there since I can walk to there. It was only about a twenty-minute walk from Yunjian Lvdadi (which means "beautiful green lawn in clouds") Community, where Wendy lived, to Tomson Golf Community. These two residential communities are famous for their luxurious European villa-style housing and nice landscaping. The scenery was very beautiful. There was a clean and beautiful stream running as the boundary between these two communities, and a nice narrow park with a garden alongside it. Wendy had taken me for a walk there several days earlier, and we had seen the beautiful Pudong skyline with the tallest building of the world from the park along the stream.

After I told Mr. Zhen not to bother driving me to there, I grabbed my backpack and, wearing a summer knee-length orange skirt dress and flip flops, started walking from Wendy's house to my informant's place in Tomson Golf community. I had an interview planned for that sizzling Sunday afternoon. I strolled slowly with my umbrella to protect myself from the bright sunshine. Enjoying the nice scenery, I ambled out of my host family's community, and walked along the creek toward Tomson Golf Community. When I arrived at the gate of Tomson Golf Community, the door guard stopped me, and asked in an extremely rude tone, "Who are you looking for? Which unit are you going to work for?"

I was surprised, and I told him that I was going to visit a friend who lived there, not work. The guard looked at me in disbelief, and he asked, "So you are a friend of a resident in the unit?" I reassured him that I was friends with her, and that she knew I was planning to visit her. He took out his walkie talkie, and he confirmed with my friend that I was visiting her. The door guard finished his conversation and smiled at me politely. "I apologize, madam, I thought you are a new *A-yi* (domestic worker)!" I was stunned, but I made myself smile and tell him that it was fine.

After interviewing my friend, I took the same route back to the Yunjian Lvdadi community where my host family lived. I was stopped by another guard when I approached the gate. He asked me in a horribly rude way, "Where are you going? Who are you looking for? Who are you?" I told him that I was a visitor who was staying with a host family in certain unit. The guard looked surprised. He asked me to wait while he called Wendy to verify. After checking with Wendy, he turned to me and said in a nice way, "Sorry. I thought you are a new worker for certain unit. But why are you walking?

Why don't you take a car?" I told him that since Tomson Golf Community was not far from here, I wanted to walk for exercise and also to save gas and the environment. He looked perplexed. "Our residents and visitors never walk- they all take cars, especially in this hot weather. Only hard labor workers (*mingong* 民工) walk!"

Wendy complained that her regulated afternoon meditation was interrupted by the door guard's call asking if he would let in an *A-yi*-like visitor. I told my story of being recognized as domestic worker by both door guards to Wendy, and she could not stop herself from laughing. "It is not too bad that they think you are an *A-yi* who wants to get a job here! We have a so-called 'high-end *A-yi'* in our community who is well-educated and can speak English!" Wendy told me that the reason why they thought I was a domestic worker was because I did not dress properly. She felt embarrassed too and asked me to change my style of dress: "I don't want those community managers (*wuye* 物业) to gossip about our guests. Please dress well, carry brand name bags and wear some makeup, since I cannot make you lose a lot of weight right now (to distinguish yourself from the *A-yi* look)." Wendy, as well as my other friends, insisted that I should make myself look good. "If not, I insist that Mr. Zheng drives you when you are going to have another interview."

Self-Awareness in Social Status in Shanghai

Living in Shanghai makes one feel trapped in an endless cycle of being judged and treated according to your economic status, either with respect or disrespect. People in Shanghai are very aware of who they are and to which social stratum they belong.

Generally speaking, people in Shanghai have clear self-identity and are very aware of which category they belong to socially and economically. The social atmosphere, which is created through ideas of consumption, forces everyone to identify who they are in accordance with their ability to consume. Every aspect of people's daily life in Shanghai is a reminder of one's place in the hierarchy, both socially and economically, since the idea of compunction is ominous as advertisements fill up every corner of Shanghai. There is always a pre-set line that clearly divides people according to their economic status.

In order to maximize capital quickly, the services provided in Shanghai are based on how much capital the consumer has. Since economic differences are reflected in the appearances of individuals, people in Shanghai are very aware that how they present their image—their outside appearances—determine whether or not they receive better services. The main way in which to differentiate between people is through their appearance and the materials they display, including clothing, transportation, houses, and so on. For instance, brand-name bags guarantee one better service in department stores.

Cindy always told me that she was looked down on by the salesladies working in "high class" department stores because of her appearance—she looked like an old lady without money. In these department stores, she could not get a saleslady to help her, even when she wanted to buy something. Before I went to Shanghai, she told me to buy a famous US brand-name purse with a lot of obvious brand logos for her, because this would show that she "has money." It would therefore enable her to receive more attention from the clerks in department stores and get better services. In the winter, however, it was more difficult for her to "disguise" herself, she told me. "Rich people do not wear heavy jacket to department store because they take private cars with drivers. On the other hand,

everyday people have to wear jackets because they have to walk in the cold weather and wave their hands for taxies or take public transportation. There is no way for me to go out without a down jacket in the freezing winter."

Once a taxi driver pointed at a luxury European sports car on Huaihai Rode and told me, "I envy the second-generations wealthy since they can drive good cars, and this makes them look handsome." Many taxi drivers told me that different kinds of transportation served as ways to differentiate between classes of people. "The real wealthy people do not take taxis since taxis in Shanghai are not luxurious enough for them."

Under Shanghai's ideology of conspicuous consumption, people tend to judge others according to their ability to consume, since "Gold is everywhere in Shanghai" (上海处处是黄金: it is easy to become wealthy given the unlimited opportunities in Shanghai). My friend and informants all told me that one is always judged by how much he or she earns and spends in Shanghai. "You should not assume that people in China are all like this!" One of my friends from Fujian told me. "I have been to many places in China, and Shanghai is the only city that makes me tired of this horrible attitude of judging people by how much they make!" Conspicuous consumption ideology has become the default of this society since the economic reform.

Human integrity and respect are put aside in order to achieve the fast capital accumulation necessary for consumption and respect. Because of the power of conspicuous consumption discourses and the general enthusiasm for achieving better material lives, people in Shanghai tend to do anything for capital and material wealth, no

matter the costs of environment pollution or human rights. Since almost everything is evaluated in terms of capital, getting products fast, regardless of their quality, becomes the goal. This overwhelming drive to gain fast capital causes countless problems. Low quality products are manufactured and distributed everywhere in low-end markets, and this causes many health risks for users, primarily the poor who cannot afford better quality goods. Mr. Zheng, a local Shanghainese, told me that he only buys imported goods for his family if they are affordable, since he and his family were once the victims of Chinese-made goods. The over-abundance of chemicals in his brand new car gave him and his previous boss headaches; they also had rashes all over their bodies. He laughed and told me not to buy "Made in China" products "in China," since these things are of the worst quality. "You will never know what they put in the materials in this stuff for Chinese, since only poor people buy them. Even if there are some problems, these consumers are so poor that their voices will never be heard." However, Mr. Zheng added, the *exported* "Made in China" products are extremely different. These things are made of the best materials and quality. "However, it is very difficult to buy them at a low cost in Shanghai, even though they are made in China. They are considered imported." Likewise, Cindy once complained to me that IKEA products are cheaper in the US than in Shanghai even though they are made in China.

Mr. Zheng provided me a list of quality of goods:

1. Imported goods that are excellent in quality: These are made by famous brand-name companies from foreign countries for the rich. These products are mostly safe but extremely expensive. Almost all of my informants used these kinds of products since they are used to certain US brands products. Some informants told me that health is

the most important thing in their concern, and it is the reason why they go to foreign supermarkets to buy these imported goods.

2. Imported "Made in China" products: These products are made under famous foreign brand names following strict standards. However, according to Mr. Zheng and my local Chinese friends, there is still a slight chance that these products will have illegal or dangerous chemicals in them, since Chinese people "do not have integrity." Generally speaking, products of this kind are safe and in good quality.
3. "Made in China" products designed for the Chinese market: Officially, these products are made according to strict regulations, whether under foreign brand names or not. However, Mr. Zheng, as well as my other local friends, told me not to fully trust these products. "Did you remember the poison milk incident?" Mr. Zheng laughed. "Sometimes they still have problems. But it is hard to discover them."
4. "Made in China" products without brand names, or counterfeits: These products can be dangerous, since no one knows where they are made and where the materials come from. These products are cheap and intended to be sold to the poor, since they could be harmful to the health of consumers. "These products are for the poor. The officials cannot access the manufacturer's information, even when something horrible happens." Mr. Zheng, as well as my informants and host families, warned me not to buy these things. However, some taxi drivers did not think there was any problem with these goods. They believed that many people were using these cheaper products, and not many major problems had been reported. When I told Mr. Zheng that some taxi drivers did not think there was a problem with these goods, he

laughed and said, “Who cares about those problems? Most people who buy these cheap things are poor.”

My host family in Puxi confirmed Mr. Zheng’s point. Both Cindy and Jay argued that in the fast-developing Chinese society, people are so busy earning money in everyday life that no one cares about others. “Even though there is regulation from the government, people still do things illegally in order to lower the costs of production. … Big name-brand foreign companies follow the regulations, since they cannot afford losing their reputation. However, smaller companies in China risk their businesses in order to gain fast profits. The poisoned milk powder is one example.” Mr. Zheng also mentioned the poisoned milk powder as an example: “I knew there must be some problem within it! The price difference between Chinese-made milk powder and imported milk power is huge! I am glad I feed my baby with imported foreign-brand milk powder!”

All the people I interviewed believe that this lack of integrity is owed in part to China’s previous poor condition before the economic reforms. “Before the Market Reforms, China was extremely poor. Now everyone grabs the opportunity to have a better life,” Cindy told me. “You will never know how poor we were unless you experienced it yourself!” As a result, after the market reforms, when privatization was permitted, Chinese citizens became consumed with the goal of pursuing a better material life- even at the cost of others. Chinese laugh at themselves and the growing enthusiasm of a society “looking at money” (向钱看). One unfortunate result of the fast development of capitalism in China is the belief that only the rich deserve respect and the enjoyment of nice products. Moreover, this aspect of “looking at money” leads to serious conditions

like environment pollution, a disregard for human rights, and unequal living conditions in Shanghai. In the following chapter, I will discuss this in more detail.

The goal of making money efficiently, with low human input, and the emphasis on outside appearances has led to a culture that emphasizes presentation over internal qualities. In Chinese tradition, the "face" (脸，面子) is one of the most important elements in society. The word "face" literally means "facial appearance," but it can be broadly explained as "physical appearance." The meaning of the word can be extended to human dignity, or the respect that is accorded to someone by others. I argue that when face is taken to be more important than inside personal qualities, the face becomes entirely superficial, and all about the presentation of one's external physical appearance. The idea that appearance does not reflect the true entity is both explicit and implicit in modern Shanghainese society.

As discussed in the previous section, mass media is a critical agent in making consumerism popular. The mass media in Shanghai relentlessly advertises so-called high class products, thus perpetuating the idea that consumption means social class. In the United States, I seldom see any advertisements for luxurious goods, such as extremely expensive handbags, ballpoint pens, and watches, on television. However, I find these advertisements are often shown on television commercials during news reports and variety shows in China. These commercial are well-made, with beautiful images and words that imply that only people of high class can consume these goods. These commercials stimulate the audience's imagination, convincing them that owning their product means they have reached the life of luxury. For example, one commercial for Louis Vuitton (abbreviated as "LV," a brand name of incredibly expensive fashion

products) was broadcast between news report programs. Nice symphony music played as a beautiful blond Caucasian woman stood on a hill, looking down at European castles and a beautiful forest. Next, a handsome young Caucasian man was shown sitting on a nice antique-like oak chair. Then a simple nostalgic shot of an airplane appeared on the screen. Finally, a LV purse was shown as a man's said, "Louse Vuitton." This beautiful commercial contrasted largely with the reality of Shanghai, and it projected a glimpse of the imagined life of people who consume this product. My host parents in Puxi told me that they knew this brand, and had checked it out in the display windows of high class shopping malls. They decided that only the rich could afford these bags.

However, as Cindy told me, replicas of this brand are available everywhere in Shanghai, and one can buy these knock-off LV products easily. The abundance of counterfeit products sold in Shanghai explicitly expresses the idea that people in Shanghai are aware of the importance of their presentation, and are trapped in an ideology of consumption. At the same time, it also reiterates that outside appearances do not necessarily guarantee inside quality, whether in person or in product. Either way, it can surely provide someone with better face and the respect of others.

Before I went to Shanghai for fieldwork, my students who had visited China told me that a new cool counterfeit product was available with the release of the iPhone 3G. It is called "iOrange." Out of curiosity, I went to a cellphone mall in Shanghai to look for iOrange. To my amazement, almost every store sold inexpensive counterfeit iPhones, which they claimed as Chinese-style iPhones. I bought an iOrange, which looked exactly the same as an iPhone, but with the Chinese language and many fancy functions already installed. However, when I tested these programs, none of them worked properly. Like

many other counterfeit products, the iOrange died after two months and I lost all the phone numbers I had stored in it. All of my Chinese returnee informants laughed at me for my foolishness in purchasing one of these counterfeit phones (山寨机). “Don’t you know that they look nice but are actually crappy inside?” Alisa, as well as the other women, laughed when I told them that my cellphone had broken at a Sunday afternoon gathering.

Before I visited Shanghai, I heard rumors that the best counterfeit high-end products, especially luxurious brand-name bags like Chanel, Gucci, and Luis Vuitton, are only available in Shanghai. Some of them are made so well that only brand professionals can tell that they are not authentic. My Chinese friends in Philadelphia told me that the best counterfeit products typically cost only half the price of their authentic counterparts. Hearing this rumor countless times, I could not understand why people would want to spend money on fake products, and I was interested in finding out whether or not the rumor was true. In the summer of 2006, when I first visited Shanghai, I went to the most famous purse and bag market, Xiangyang Market, to see if I could find any of these so-called nice-quality counterfeit products. However, every store owner told me that they no longer sell any counterfeit products, since the government had a major crackdown not long ago. After searching for a whole day, I only found bags similar to the famous American brand “Lesportsac” and Tiffany & Co jewelry. But these similar products were made of such a low quality that one could easily distinguish them as fake.

In the summer of 2009, when I visited Shanghai for my fieldwork, I had the chance to meet many people who had been living in Shanghai for more than ten years and knew where to buy nice counterfeit products. None of them were overseas Chinese returnees.

Chinese returnees were not interested in buying counterfeit products. They told me that they had acquired a respect for intellectual property rights. It took a while before my friends would share with me the secret about where to buy nicely-made counterfeit products. First, it is considered face-losing to tell people that you consume fake products. Secondly, one has to have certain *guanxi* relationships to have access to these sellers, since the Chinese government has been cracking down on illegal sellers and stores. It took me a long time to find out who had *guanxi* relationships with anyone selling these notorious counterfeit luxurious bags. After hanging out with my friends for four months, they finally agreed to show me where to find so-called "A-class" brand-name bags one day in sizzling September.

The trip to the A-class brand-name bag store was more adventurous than I expected. Elane, a Taiwanese woman who had lived in Shanghai for more than ten years for her business in the beauty industry, finally agreed to show me the secret store after many months of friendship. She told me that although there are many stores selling replicas everywhere in Shanghai, they are not very good replicas- one can easily distinguish them from authentic goods because of their mediocre quality. "However, I have learned from my local Chinese customers and friends that appearances are extremely important for doing business. Since I knew my friends were not able to afford those luxurious brands but somehow had so many, I kept bothering them for the answer. Finally they showed me to a store I could never find by myself." She explained that "looking good" is very important in Shanghai, especially when one wants to do small business with people. "My Shanghainese neighbor bought a golden retriever not because he loves the dog, but so that he can show off while walking the dog on the street."

My other friend, Fen, who also had a relationship with a store owner agreed to go shopping with us that day. Fen came from Taiwan with her husband five years earlier in order to run a sporting goods business. On that rainy, hot Saturday morning, Elane led us to a huge shopping plaza in the Gubei foreigner area. She took us to a small purse store in the corner of the fourth floor of the shopping plaza. Elane asked the store clerk that if the owner was there. The clerk went to the back of the store, then a lady walked out and greeted Elane with a big smile. Elane called her Mrs. Lin, and chatted with her about her business. Mrs. Lin told us that there had been a few counterfeit products crackdowns in July, since the city wanted to get ready for the Shanghai EXPO the following year and establish a nice international image for foreign tourists. Some police women disguised themselves as buyers and requested to see counterfeit products. From then on, Mrs. Lin would not present counterfeit products to customers she did not know, and she would even tell people, "We do not sell this illegal replicas." Mrs. Lin said "There is still a huge need for nice replicas for my customers, and my store has to survive." Since Mrs. Lin insisted that there were too many disguised police around, she could only bring out one nice bag at a time from her storage room. She also ordered the clerk to stand near the store entrance to see if someone strange was peeping in.

While Fen and Elane were looking at the counterfeit bags, I asked Mrs. Lin why the demand was so huge for replicas. She told me that because the nice presentation of oneself, especially a lady, was extremely important in Shanghai, many ladies who could not afford authentic luxury bags would buy from her. "A bag is more than just a tool for carrying stuff, it shows your social status! (身份地位)" Mrs. Lin told me that she had been selling purses for more than twenty years. Replicas were a major supplement to her

sales in the store. “Ladies are more and more picky for name-brand name bags. Nicely made non-brand-name bags do not sell as well as counterfeit products.” According to Elane and Fen, Mrs. Lin’s replicas were all A-class quality. However, the price of these A-class replicas was not expensive at all. Their prices were about one third the price of authentic bags. Mrs. Lin told me that these bags were worth more than the price: “Think about how people would treat you if you had this bag, then you would find it worth more than it is.”

After shopping at Mrs. Lin’s store, Fen showed us another store carrying replicas of women’s purses. She took us to a shopping plaza with many small. There were very few casual shoppers around, since these stores only took wholesale orders. However, Fen ushered us into a small clothing store with plain-style clothes hanging all over the walls. There was no one inside the store, not even a store owner. Fen walked directly into a tiny fitting room and asked us to go with her. I was wary, since that fitting room could not fit three people. But the three of us squeeze in nonetheless, because Fen insisted. Fen made sure no one was looking at us, then she slid the heavy cloth shade door shut, then slid open the mirror on the opposite side of the fitting room. We walked out of the tiny fitting room and saw a huge display of various counterfeit purses in the room. The hidden display room was well-lit, and nicely decorated with pink colors and warm paint. This display room was so nice that it looked like a retail show room. I could not believe my eyes; the display room was much bigger than the clothes shop in the front. The owner, Mr. Chen, sat playing poker with his workers, and he greeted Fen when he saw her. Mr. Chen checked to make sure that Fen closed the door securely, and he told us that the business of selling replicas was getting harder and harder in Shanghai, since government wanted to

crack it down. When I asked him if it was possible for the government to successfully stop anyone from selling replicas, Mr. Chen smiled and said, “No, unless people don’t want to buy! There is a huge desired to buy replicas nowadays! I do not think they can stop people from selling and buying replicas just by cracking down!”

Mr. Chen was from Jiangxi, and he had been selling replicas for five years in this store location. He told Fen that recently his business had improved since many competitors were put out of business by the government police. He smiled and said, “People in Shanghai area too materialistic, and purses in mall retail stores are too expensive to afford. So they turn to me for ‘exported goods.’” Mr. Chen did not call his bags “replicas,” he called them “goods for export” (*waimaopin* 外贸品). He insisted that these purses were made by the same factories that made purses for foreign companies. However, Fen, Elane, and I knew that some of the brands he sold do not make their products in China. Mr. Chen’s products were made so well that they came with serial numbers and certificates of authenticity. I was astonished to see his display of so many certificates- what he called “purse accessories.” He smiled and asked me if I wanted to take some to sell in Taiwan, since a business lady ordered some to sell in Taiwan. He emphasized that these were from the same factory that made products to be sold in department stores.

When we were browsing around the store, Mr. Chen’s clerk tried to persuade us to buy more bags. “If you wear this A- brand purse, you will look extremely high class and fashionable (高级时尚),” the clerk said, and I started to wonder if my old authentic US brand purse did not look “high class” enough for him.

Fen and Elane bought some purses from Mr. Chen, but I was bewildered and felt strange. I told him that I would decide later.

These were unforgettable trips for me. I was so amazed that I told Cindy about my exotic experience. She laughed and told me that she also had several fake purses before receiving the real ones I brought from the US for her. "Those bags are too expensive to afford, but people like me do need them." She told me that once she was shopping in a department store, and a saleslady stopped her from browsing through the displayed clothes. She said, "Stop touching it, you will never afford it anyways." Cindy was annoyed, and she told the saleslady that her bag was an authentic U.S. famous brand-name bag that the saleslady could never afford to buy!

What do Returnees Think?

When I told Wendy my story of visiting those stores, she was unhappy that I would bother to go to those stores with the "other friends" that she considered not good for me. Wendy had many authentic luxury purses that were purchased outside of China (since Chinese government adds one hundred percent sales tax for luxuries products[44]). Like my Chinese returnee informants, Wendy thought that one should respect intellectual property rights. She had never purchased any replicas. She insisted that using replicas was like stealing. "I am sick of those people who don't respect intellectual property rights here and enjoy their illegal replicas!"

[44] Source: "China's Luxury Boom: The Middle Blingdom", The Economist, February 19th, 2011, Page 71.

When I asked this sensitive question to my *haigui* informants in casual conversations, there were two kinds of answers. One group of people said that they do not care and do not pay attention to this, since they are very busy with their everyday lives. Still, they do notice the different attitudes they receive when they do not dress appropriately. The other group of people was like Wendy: they disliked that people buy replicas instead of authentic goods. They claimed that China was not like this when they left twenty years ago. "People were much more honest at that time," Julie told me. "We did not even have the idea of consuming luxurious goods- we only wanted to pursue a better life!" They also suggested that probably this attitude is only prominent in Shanghai, since it is the biggest commercial city. Janie thought the behavior of consuming counterfeit goods encouraged further production of illegal replicas and more materialism in Shanghai.

When I had a conversation with Judy in her store about outside appearances, she mentioned other aspects related to my question. "In order to prepare for the Shanghai EXPO, the Shanghai government has spent millions of *renminbi* (RMB) to rebuild the city. However, instead of spending all the money to truly rebuild old buildings in Shanghai, they mostly spent the money to restore the look of the city." She pointed to the buildings outside of her store: "They repainted the outside walls that face the road of that building instead of the whole outside of the building. Therefore, if you walk through the poor areas around Shanghai Train Station, the outside of the buildings are nice, but the inside of the buildings are still in bad shape with a lot of poor people residing there… Even the Shanghainese government building played the trick of having a nice outside

appearance and a bad interior look (表里不一). No wonder people in Shanghai do this trick a lot!"

I asked Judy why they did that: "For good face, right?"

Judy smiled and said, "Chinese love face (爱面子), so they like to pretend they are fat by beating up their faces (打肿脸充胖子, meaning, pretend to be rich by any means). I think the government wishes their nice-looking city will draw investment from the world."

For Chinese returnees, the goals of Chinese people in Shanghai to get fast money and to achieve their goals by any means necessary is unbelievable. Many informants pointed out that they found this social atmosphere a new thing when they moved back to China. Mr. Wang worried that this "get fast money" atmosphere would impede China from development in certain aspects. "People do not devote themselves to the development of new products. Instead, they spend their time producing counterfeit products and dangerous products that cost less. This behavior may make them rich, but it is at the expenses of society." He mentioned that pirated software is very popular and available almost anywhere in Shanghai. He argued that people only want fast money and they do not respect the developer. "They even sell fake drugs developed by our company!"

"It is extremely annoying that local people do not devote themselves to their jobs, but always take short-cuts to finish quickly." Yuan told me, "They tend to copy codes from others instead of writing them themselves. As a manager, I have to track their programs one by one every single day. Therefore, the efficiency in my department is low since local workers only want to muddle through their work and get paid!"

Aware of this complicated social atmosphere in Shanghai, Chinese returnees develop their own strategies. They try their best to accumulate private capital, since they know they might need it one day. Besides that, they maximize their chances to socialize with people and develop their *guanxi* networks. Most of my Chinese returnee friends think that as long as they have money and guanxi, things will be much easier to deal with. However, there are still situations that they can not avoid.

Janie told me that as a Chinese returnee, she has enough money to avoid feeling like she is looked down upon. However, her worst experience came during her mother's emergency situation one year ago. Jannie's mother lived in the nearby countryside close to Shanghai. One afternoon, Jannie's mother had a stroke. Her father called Jannie at work and asked her to meet them at the emergency room in a hospital in Shanghai, since there was no major hospital close to where they lived. "It was very lucky that my father had enough money to pay the ambulance, or else the ambulance would not have gone to pick up my mother," Janie said. "After I arrived at the emergency room, I found my mother sitting on a chair untreated in the lobby! My father said he did not have enough money to pay the registration fee, and they had been sitting there for ten minutes. With tears, I asked the nurse to check her out, but she said in a cold voice, 'You have to pay the registration fee first.' I asked her to treat my mother while I went to another window to pay the fee. But the nurse refused, and she insisted on treating her *only* after she saw my receipt." Jannie's eyes filled with tears. "It was terrible to see my mother, who was seventy years old, lying on the chair murmuring, with bubbles coming out of her mouth! Later on, the doctor decided that she needed treatment and had to stay in the hospital for

observation. However, the nurse told us that there was no room available in the hospital at that time, and we would have to stay in the hallway of the emergency department. Many people were cramped in this space, and it was so noisy that my mother could not even rest well. It would be hard for you to imagine the scene—a lot of people who needed treatment cramped in the emergency hall. I called my husband for help, and he called someone who had *guanxi* with the vice president of this hospital." Jannie continued, "That vice president called someone to take care of my mother right away, and she was moved into a single room where she could rest well and get treated." Jannie sighed and said, "Finally, my husband's friend told him that the hospital had available rooms, but they refused to let my mother in because her insurance from her work was not good enough to use the facility." Jannie told me that she worried most about her parents in this money-oriented society. "After my mother could talk again, she told me that she was not happy that I had spent so much money on her. I wired money to my parent's bank account, but they rejected it and returned all the money."

While most Chinese returnees told me that they found this money-pursuing attitude to be problematic, the local people disagreed. When I discussed this point of view with Cindy's family and with taxi drivers in Shanghai, their answers were very interesting. They believed that it was very natural for the social hierarchy to have developed according to how much possessions people had and how much they could spend. "After all, now the society is free for people to make their own money," said one taxi driver, Mr. Lin. They told me that since there are so many people in Shanghai, not everyone can get resources. The easiest way is to provide services or to treat people according to what they have. Cindy told me that I would never understand this: "I hate to say this, because I am

not rich at all, but there is no better way to provide everyone good services and resources than treating them according to how much they can afford." Cindy, Jay, Mr. Zheng, and many taxi drivers thought this was not a characteristic unique to Shanghai. They believed that wealthy people always receive more respect and services than do the poor everywhere in the world. The rights of the poor are always ignored. "China is now developing like the rest of the world to participate in the road of capitalism." Mr. Zheng said, "Everyone works so hard for the good life that they have no time to care for others."

According to one of my informants, Mr. Huang, a Chinese returnee businessman from New York, he does not see an enthusiastic love for this city but instead, propaganda that states how much Shanghai people should love their city. According to him, Shanghai is not the "pearl of the East" but the "hog of the East,"[45] since everyone who comes to Shanghai tries to get some "fat" out of it and very few people care about what the city will be like in the future. Mr. Huang was moving his factory from suburban Shanghai to Suzhou, a smaller city about two hour away from Shanghai. "There I feel that the love of the city is much more real."

When talking about people who only care about money, my informants believed this was the main characteristic of Chinese who live in big cities, not just in Shanghai. However, many of them argued, as Hank told me, "In the countryside the situation should be better."

[45] In Chinese Putonghua, the pronunciation of "pearl" is the same as the "hog".

Conclusion:

Capitalism is prominent in Shanghai through the practice of consumption. Ong points out that fashion consumption is part of the self-fashioning strategy for Shanghainese professionals (Ong 2008). However, this trend is not limited to professionals. Rather, I argue that all people in Shanghai imagine themselves through fashions and capitalistic trends of consumption. Consuming goods becomes a way in which to demonstrate which class (*jieceng*) you belong to and what kinds of services you should receive. Consuming fashions and brand-name goods becomes a symbolic method to present an individual's power to conume. In other words, people in Shanghai are always judged by the material goods they display and by their appearances. Conspicuous consumption ideology in Shanghai is reinforced by mass media and the related treatment of others, since most people in Shanghai believe one's appearance shows one's social status.

Counterfeit products are in popular demand, since consuming fashion means more than just consumption but social class- and this is related to a person's "face." Consuming counterfeit products is an efficient way for people with weak consumption power to receive respect from others. The popularity of counterfeit products reveals that intellectual property is not fully valued in China. Moreover, capitalism is so prominent in China that integrity and other moral values are put aside.

Chinese returnees refuse to accept the idea that capital is the most important element of living in Shanghai, even though they have unpleasant experiences with it.

They see neoliberal capitalism as developing with speed in Shanghai, but they persist in maintaining their moral values and resisting the dishonest trends in Shanghai.

Fast Development Under Control? Media and its Representation in Chinese Modern Society

While China is open to foreign capital and investment, the Chinese state still employs extreme efforts to manage and control the flow of information from outside of the China. The media in China provides select information that promotes certain state-certified ideas, mainly Chinese nationalism and other propaganda. The mass media provides only select information in order to benefit the the state system. However, civilians in China understand that the information they receive is limited and sometimes incorrect. Civilians do not trust the information provided by mass media or even some government policies. People understand that there is always room for negotiation, and that there is no set standard. Therefore, they believe that individuals should always distinguish the surface presentation from the facts of daily life.. Victims are blamed for their failure to distinguish between true and false presentations. In Shanghai, Chinese professionals watch satellite television programs of US news and they surf English news websites. They are aware of the propaganda in Chinese media, and they have learned not to trust information from local people, as well.

Well-Managed Media

After arriving in Shanghai in June, 2010, I realized the weather became extremely hot during the summer months of July and August. According to the weather reports in newspapers and on television, the temperature could reach 38 degrees Celsius, with dangerous ultra-violet exposure from the sun. I checked the weather reports everyday before going out, and I prepared myself for the summer heat. However, I always felt that the temperature was much hotter than the weather report claimed, by at least three or four degrees Celsius. Since I did not have a thermometer with me, I never seriously questioned the temperature.

On July 12th, another sizzling and sunny Sunday, I felt that my skin was so hot under my UV-proof umbrella that I could not walk anymore. I stopped a taxi, opened the door, felt the nice cold air flowing out, and jumped into the backseat. Usually taxi drivers in Shanghai did not turn on the air conditioner unless their guests requested them to do it, in order to save gas. However, this driver already had his AC on when I got into his taxi. The strong flow of the cold air from the air conditioning system looked like white smoke under the bright sunshine. Feeling comfortable and relaxed in the cool air, I thanked the taxi driver for having the AC on before I got into the car. He laughed and told me, "It is 44 degree outside! I have to turn it on for myself too!"

I was very surprised, and I told him that the weather report estimated the highest temperature for the day at 38 degrees Celsius. He laughed and said, "Don't you know that the weather report can never report temperatures higher than 38 degrees Celsius?" I asked him why, and he explained that there is a law that requires the government to pay hot-

weather subsidies to certain workers if the temperature exceeds 38 degrees Celsius. Therefore, the weather forecast never reported any temperature over 39 degrees Celsius, even if the temperature was much higher than that. “Don’t you know this? It is a fact that everyone knows here in Shanghai.”

After going back to my host family’s apartment in Puxi, I asked my host father, Jay, if what I heard from the taxi driver was true. Jay laughed and told me that this was something everyone in Shanghai knew about. Then he took his thermometer from the corner of the living room. “That is why I bought this!”

“So what is the point of a weather forecast, since it does not provide correct information?” I could not believe what he said, and I could not help myself from asking this.

Jay’s answer was interesting. “Every modern city needs its weather forecast, even though it does not show the true weather or temperature. Our government is advanced enough that we have laws for human rights and to benefit those who work at hot temperatures- laws that Taiwan and the US do not have. Having these laws does not mean they will be carried out, but they look good!”

Cindy told me that in her whole life, she had only experienced one high-temperature recess organized by the government in Shanghai. She could not remember specifically when it happened, but she knew it was at least twenty years ago. “The temperature in Shanghai is going up each year. I think our government cannot afford to keep granting subsidies every year. There is no temperature report over 38 degrees Celsius ever in my memory.”

Jay laughed, and he interrupted Cindy "Who cares? We have our own thermometer!"

The media in China are under total government control. The images and ideologies presented in the media are carefully constructed and managed in every aspect— TV programs, newspapers, and information on the internet. The state's control of the media is so prevalent that the media does not present any negative information having to do with the state when it provides "educational" information to its civilians. These embedded messages overwhelm Chinese civilians' daily lives, to the point that people are used to them and take these messages for granted. Ideologies, like Chinese nationalism, consumerism and capitalism, are carefully inserted into television programs, newspapers, commercials, and websites on the internet. This chapter will discuss how information and ideologies are incorporated into mass media, as well as their influence on people in Shanghai.

Mass Media in Shanghai: The Media and Consumption

Mass media in Shanghai has a huge impact on everyone's life. Seeing images and commercials in every corner of the streets of Shanghai is inevitable—television sets are installed in public transportation terminals, taxis, and the outside walls of skyscrapers. Commercials and propaganda are broadcast and presented on every available public wall. Television programs are filled with commercials that promote what to consume, how to consume, and where to spend one's leisure time in order to live in the so-called "Chinese modern living style." Mass media messages are everywhere in Shanghai, with overwhelming messages targeted to every possible consumer. Shendaobao (申导报), one

of the most popular local newspapers in Shanghai, is an example of this kind of media. One is taught to consume through its reports, which emphasize certain modes of modern life. The spread of information is so powerful that people enjoy reading this kind of information, even though they may not have the ability to consume. It has been recognized as a character of Chinese postmodernity that Chinese citizens are taught to consume and produce in order to be integrated into the global capital system (Dirlik and Zhang, 2000).

Jay was an example of this kind of person. He enjoyed reading all kinds of newspapers and magazines, and surfing on internet. He knew about the high-end brand names of cars and jewelry, and he always talked about these things like he owned them. Cindy once teased Jay to stop talking about those high-end products because she said he would never afford them in his life. “When you turn on the television in Shanghai, you feel poor, since you see most things on commercials that you cannot afford,” Cindy once told me. “The commercials are for the young people, I guess. I feel we are old and outdated and not valued, because they do not target us as potential consumers.”

In order to promote the idea of spending, commercials are posted not only in public spaces. This classic idea of capitalism—spending as a way of life—is inserted when possible in movies and television programs. Television programs, especially those that target middle and upper classes in Shanghai, promote life as the enjoyment of consumption, especially the consumption of high-end products.

Common people in Shanghai imagine how life is for the wealthy in the media, and they hope that one day they will reach that level of wealth. Strangers told me that they

envy the life of rich people in Shanghai whenever they walk by mansions and villas. They hope they can become a part of this society. “I wish I could live like the rich ladies (*futaitai*),” said one young girl who gave me a manicure after Wendy insisted on taking me to a salon for treatment of my ugly nails. As the young lady was giving me the manicure, she talked about how she moved from the countryside to Shanghai alone in order to earn money. “I wish I could live a good life like Wendy and you!” she said.

“Me?” Shocked, I told her immediately that I was only a student staying in her host mother’s place. “But isn’t it Wendy who lives in that wealthy area with her own drivers to drive her around, just like how the rich ladies are in the television show ‘Dwell Narrowness’?” She smiled and asked if I had seen that show. I nodded, then she whispered to me, “Probably I should become a mistress so I can enjoy the fabulous life soon!” I tried hard to smile back without showing my surprise. She continued, “Hey, sister, you think I am cute enough to be a mistress?”

The media promotes life as a way of consumption, and it allures people to pursue the better material life for enjoyment. When I asked local friends for their thoughts about this, they always told me that it does not hurt to pursue a better life by pursuing money. “When you are hungry, you do not care about ethics!” a taxi driver laughed and answered my question. “Everyone now is pursuing a better life—material wise—by working harder to earn money!”

Partial Report: Selected Subjects to Present in News

Chinese in Shanghai are not aware of the fact that the mass media puts a great effort into promoting consumption, but they are aware of the fact that it only partially reports on certain information. Temperature is one example of the fake information that Chinese civilians know is not reliable. However, most of the local Chinese I met during fieldwork are not aware that the information provided by mass media is carefully selected and managed. News reports are a clear and apparent example of this.

It does not take much time for one from outside of China to realize that the news reports in Shanghai provide mostly good news about China and bad news about other countries. The news media—television programs, newspapers or internet—selectively report certain news that usually has a positive connotation. At the same time, they leave out other news that may include negative images of the nation, or harm national security. While the news media does report relatively small problems of civilians in Shanghai, it never digs into the real cause of the problem.

On June 27th, 2009, an incident happened that attracted great attention in the mass media—a newly-constructed thirteen-story building fell down while its underground garage was being constructed in Shanghai. The project's name was Locus Riverside, and this community consisted of eight thirteen-story buildings along the riverbank of Lotus River in Minhang district. The fallen building had been built near a river bank for a beautiful view of the river. It fell down in the early morning, when a worker was under the building for basement garage construction. The building base was exposed after the building fell down. The broken steel frames serving as the foundation for the building

were exposed. To everyone's surprise, the vertical frame material that was exposed was composed of columns of hollowed steel that looked like water pipes. Many people went to visit the scene of the incident, and pictures of the scene were posted on the internet by bloggers. Since the accident site was close to a subway track, passengers saw it when the train went by. The construction company realized that the media was going to take pictures of it, so they sent construction vehicles the following week to clean up the scene and stop people from looking at it.

Units in this building were all sold out, given the booming housing market in Shanghai. The worker died and was buried under the collapsed building, and the building company compensated his family three hundred thousand yuan for his death.

After this incident happened, the news reports in Shanghai talked about how new buildings could fall down without any impact of natural disasters. At the Shanghai television station channel, there was a one hour special program discussing the collapse of this building. Journalists interviewed scholars and architects to discuss the design of the building. During this special report program, images of the disaster were shown over and over from different angles, with narration of how damaged is the building was. Later on, when the journalist started to talk about the buyers' situation, images of worried buyers gathering in a public meeting area were shown with the journalist's narration. Buyers commented that there was nothing they could do, and they did not know what to do to solve this problem. Images of the falling building were shown from a birds' eye view, along with the river's loose mud on the side. From this, the audience was able to get a grand view of the disaster. No problem-solving information for buyers or information from the builder was provided in the show, because the journalist said it was

still under investigation. The whole television investigation presented this incident as a discussion of the building's structure, material, and landscape. No other opinions or information was provided.

After three days, the Shanghai municipal government published a public report showing there was no design flaw in these buildings. The only problem was that the builder should not have accumulated waste soil on the north side of the building. This developed a horizontal force upon the base of the building, thus breaking the hollow column base of the building. This news became one of the most discussed "negative" news stories that summer in Shanghai.

The partial reports of Chinese media effectively create the images of the world that they want in China. As my Chinese returnee informants stated, Chinese news only reports negative news about foreign countries, and mostly positive news about China. As mentioned, this is the main reason they do not watch Chinese local news but, instead, satellite television. During my stay in Shanghai, I did find most news of foreign countries to be negative in certain ways. The news media mostly mentioned disastrous news from countries other than China, such as the airplane crash in France in June, news about cultural festivals, or news happening in other countries that may affect China.

News Reports with Subjective Information

On July sixth, 2009, riots broke out in Urumqi, Xinjiang, in northwest China. When I watched the news with Cindy that night in Shanghai, the news reporter read the news as images were shown of the riots in Xinjiang. The journalist reported that a riot was taking

place between Uighurs and Han people, but for unknown reasons. The news offered a very short glimpse of the happenings in Xinjiang with much less explanation or investigation than the Lotus riverside incident. The news clip was about thirty seconds long, and then the next news report began. Cindy even did not notice how big the riot in Xinjiang was, for she paid more attention to the aftermath of the Lotus Riverside building collapse, on which the news program focused its attention. This style of reporting in news media moved the audience's attention to the news they wanted the audience to focus on, and it purposely ignored and neglected less favorable news and ideas. In the following reports of the riots in Xinjiang, the narrator offered an "educational" conclusion, such as: "The unity of the nation is the most important thing. Riots are examples of anti-patriotism and are perils to national unity." Like my Chinese returnee informants stated, the aim of news reports in Shanghai is to educate through propaganda language- language that they are not used to it anymore since leaving China decades earlier.

Still, the riots in Xinjiang drew great attention among my Chinese returnee informants, especially Chinese Christian returnees. They had long discussions about the news on the riots in Xinjiang during this time.

When I checked the news online and in local newspapers for information about the riots in Xinjiang, there was very little information that I could find. The internet was filtered by the government for detailed information from related Chinese websites, such as World Journal North America, Yahoo Taiwan and Sina North America. These overseas Chinese news websites and blogs are filtered for national security, and one can not access these websites unless he or she is able to use another IP address though special organizations, such as Shanghai American School I mentioned in the previous chapter.

After researching for a while, I still could not access detailed information about the riots in Xinjiang, the way my informants were able to. Therefore, I asked my informants where they were able to access detailed information about the Xinjiang riots from, other than satellite television. To my surprise, they told me that they found it on English news websites, such as the *New York Times* and CNN news. The Chinese government filtered out Chinese news report about Xinjiang internationally, but not news websites in English. My Chinese returnee informants told me that ironically, after they moved to Shanghai, they read more English news from English websites than when they were in the US. Like Hank, most Chinese informants insisted that this was the most convenient way to know what was going on in the world without being misled by the Chinese media.

The controlled media coverage in China has a huge influence on Chinese civilians and their thoughts about China and the world. Rebiya Kadeer, a Uighur human rights advocate, was condemned as a Xinjiang separatist by Chinese officials and determined to be the one who started the riots[46]. In a news report, a journalist described Rebiya Kadeer as the leader of the Xinjiang terrorists and separatists. The news showed images of Rebiya's family members apologizing for the riots and saying that they hoped she would stop disturbing the peace in Xinjiang. During the news report, Jay and Cindy enjoyed the news and started criticizing this terrorist. Interestingly, Jay and Cindy told me that many thieves' gangs in Shanghai are Uighur people from Xinjiang. "It is not that Han people like to discriminate against them, but the bad impression is unavoidable if most thieves

[46] New York Times July 6, 2009 http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/06/world/asia/06china.html?pagewanted=print

and pick-pockets are Uighurs." Cindy added with a long sigh, "I can't understand why they want to be separatists."

In the end of August, I had to go back to Taiwan to renew my Chinese visa. At the same time, the Dalai Lama was invited to Taiwan for six days by seven leaders of Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party, which promotes the official independence of Taiwan. The Dalai Lama was invited to pray for victims of the Morakot typhoon and to alleviate the post-typhoon trauma for Buddhists in south Taiwan. Since the Dalai Lama is often portrayed in the Chinese news media as a notorious symbol of Tibetan separatists, his visit to Taiwan brought symbolic meaning to China, even though the visit was to conduct Buddhist rituals to bring peace after the serious trauma of the August 8th typhoon. Before I left for Taiwan on August 20th, the news that the Dalai Lama was going to visit Taiwan had become a focus of the national media and a condemned subject. It was very interesting that the local people I met in China were all annoyed by this news and wanted to ask me, a Taiwanese, about it. Cindy's family members, Mr. Zheng, taxi drivers, and my Chinese local friends all asked me if I thought it was right for the Dalai Lama to visit Taiwan, and why there were separatists in Taiwan.

On September 1st I returned to Shanghai with my renewed visa. Mr. Zheng picked me up from the Hongqiao airport that night. During the ride from the airport to Wendy's house, the radio broadcast: "Chinese in Taiwan all protest the visit of the Dalai Lama, and they all do not welcome the Dalai Lama, since he is a separatist and a Tibetan activist. They all claim that China should not be separated, and there is only one China…" Mr. Zheng asked me if I was among the protesters. Then he asked me how the protest was going. I was puzzled and asked him to elaborate on his question for me. He said, "As I

see on the news, there are protests all over Taiwan against the Dalai Lama's visit." I told him that there were some protests in some places, but not all over Taiwan to such a huge degree.

"Did you go?" Mr. Zheng asked.

"Of course not, since I had too many things to do in that short period of time. Plus, why should I go?" I answered.

Mr. Zheng was surprised that I was not interested in participating in this serious political issue. He was also surprised that the protest was not so significant in Taiwan. In the following week, I was asked the same questions by Cindy and Jay, Cindy's family members, the taxi drivers I met, and my local Chinese friends. They were all surprised to find out that the protest was not as huge as it had been broadcast on news, and that not everyone in Taiwan was as angry about that Dalai Lama's visit as had been described in China's mass media.

Inserted Ideologies in the News: Chinese Nationalism

EXPO 2010, Shanghai, China

During my fieldwork in Shanghai in 2009, the news reports in Shanghai were mostly about the Shanghai EXPO, since it was considered by Chinese official to be one of the most important activities of 2010. The Shanghai EXPO was promoted by Chinese officials as one of the most magnificent events in the world. The theme of EXPO 2010 was "Better city, better life (城市让生活更美好)". EXPO 2010 was presented as the

great chance for Chinese civilians in Shanghai to involve themselves globally as Chinese citizens in Shanghai, and to show their pride to the world.

On television, there were many short films about EXPO 2010 that showed how important the event would be to Shanghai and to people in China. These short films promoted the idea that EXPO 2010 would make lives in Shanghai better. In most promotional films for EXPO 2010, images of glamorous modern scenery were presented, such as the Hong Qiao Airport lit by the sun as an airplane ascended, or a circulating view of the famous "*ren*" building in Beijing, or the Shanghai Maglev Train (magnetic levitation train) rushing by under a radiant sunset. These modern forms of architecture and transportation are common symbols of Chinese modernity and economic progress after the market reform. Here, they implied that EXPO 2010 would be similar to one of these modern constructions and thereby bring comfort and progress to human life, as well as an increase of Chinese pride. These images were accompanied by Chinese style symphony music, and sometimes with narration praising Chinese modernity. Usually at the end of each film, the image of the red Chinese pavilion at EXPO 2010 was presented, with light spreading out from the back and the base of the red square pavilion. These lights gave the Chinese pavilion a shimmer of gloriousness. Through these images and films, the idea that EXPO 2010 was a presentation of modern China, and worthy of Chinese pride, was made explicit.

Other presentations of EXPO 2010 in the media included films of friendly people in Shanghai and smiling people of different races, thus conveying the diversified world. These short films and images were shown on TV, the internet, billboards, and screens in subways and buses. These films presented scenes of friendly people helping each other

and enjoying the preparation for EXPO 2010 in Shanghai. One day as I watched the short film in a taxi, the driver told me that he thought the film was funny. “People in Shanghai are not friendly at all! This film makes me laugh!” When I asked other taxi drivers about this particular short film, most of them thought of it as a promotional film that did not reflect any realities in Shanghai. One taxi driver told me, “It is only the official film to make you think EXPO 2010 will make people’s lives better in Shanghai. If it was true that people already have good lives in Shanghai, why would they make this film?”

However, many taxi drivers told me that they were moved by the other film, which showed modern technologies recently developed in China. They felt that the film made them aware of the amazing progress China has made in the thirty years of post-Mao modernization. The beautiful architectural images shown in the film moved them deeply; they were proud to be Chinese. Compared with the taxi drivers I spoke with, Jay and Cindy had similar feelings. They were very proud of being Shanghainese and being able to participate in the process of preparing for EXPO 2010. These short films made Chinese aware that they were participating in a grand event as Chinese citizens.

The Famous TV Show: *Dwelling Narrowness*

During my stay in Shanghai, one TV show gained huge popularity—*Dwelling Narrowness*. It was a TV drama about two sisters’ traumatic lives in Shanghai. Ultimately, it reflected a series of social problems in Shanghai—the unreasonably high price of real estate, love affairs, and the overwhelming power of *guanxi* networks and the wealth. This TV show became a huge hit in Shanghai soon after it was first broadcast in

June, 2009, and it was a major topic of public discussion on the internet and in news media.

On the show, Haiping and Haizao are sisters who have finished their college in Jiangzhou[47], and choose to stay for work after their graduation. Because of the rocketing prices of real estate in Shanghai, Haiping and her husband live in a three hundred square foot apartment they rent, sharing a bathroom and kitchen with eight other neighbors. After giving birth to a daughter, Haiping finds the rental apartment is too small for the three of them, and she has to send her daughter to her hometown in the countryside to stay with her mother. After her daughter leaves for one year, Haiping finds that her daughter no longer recognizes her as her mother. Haiping works extremely hard in order to save money for the down-payment for a condo so she can have her daughter live with her. However, Haiping's husband fails to ask for money from his family as he promised. He gets himself into trouble by borrowing money from illegal sources with high interest rates. In order to help her sister solve the problem, Haizao asks for help from her boyfriend, Xiaobei, who has contributed his money to Haiping before. But Xiaobei refuses to help Haiping this time, since he can not understand why Haizao always wants to help her sister. Feeling helpless, Haizao turns to ask Siming Song for help.

Siming Song is a wealthy and powerful cadre who she met at a party once. Even though they only met each other once, the amount of money Haizao asks for is relatively small for Siming, and he helps Haiping right away. Haiping resigns from her full-time job, since her manager forces her to work overtime without extra pay and tries to fire her without the back payment she should receive. Haizao asks Siming for help again, and he

[47] "Jiangzhou" is a name usually used in Chinese TV series as a euphemism of Shanghai.

uses his *guanxi* network to help Haiping get her income back and stop her manager from hurting her. However, Haiping decides to resign and begins tutoring Siming's American and Japanese friends instead. Later on, Haiping's family has to move to one of Siming's luxurious condos in Shanghai because her rental apartment is scheduled to be torn down for gentrification. Siming Song continues to help Haiping and her husband by using *guanxi* social networks when they have problem in their work. However, Haizao begins to have a love affair with Siming Song, even though they are both married. After saving enough money for a down-payment, Haiping finally moves into her own condo with her husband and daughter. Xiaobei chooses to leave Haizao after he discovers the love affair between Haizao and Siming. After breaking up with Xiaobei, Haizao moves into the luxurious condo that Siming owns and finds herself pregnant with Siming's baby. Siming is charged for receiving bribes, and he dies in a car accident on the way to see Haizao.

Siming's wife realizes that her husband has been having an affair, and that Siming has left a great amount of money to his mistress. In a surge of anger, Siming's wife rushes into her husband's luxurious condo, screams at Haizao for the money, and pushes Haizao to the floor with hatred. Haizao loses her baby after falling on the floor. After moving out of the hospital to Haiping's condo, Haizao becomes a melancholy woman who never speaks. In the end, Haizao returns to Siming's wife the money Siming gave her. Siming's American friend takes her to the United States for a new start, as according to Siming's wishes.

Unlike most of the Mainland Chinese TV dramas I had seen, this story portrays each character as a Chinese civilians with a rich personality. Even the corrupt Chinese official, Siming Song, is portrayed as struggling with his emotions when he cannot help

but fall in love with Haizao. There are no negative characters presented deliberately in *Dwelling Narrowness* like there are in other TV drama series. *Dwelling Narrowness* presents a group of nice people who have conflicts with each other in their struggle to survive in the fast-changing big city—Shanghai. This aspect of the drama is important, for it moves people who recognize the scenarios in the show as familiar to them in their daily life.

This story reflects two facts of Shanghai—the extreme difference in social hierarchy and the unreasonable surge of real estate prices. The Kuo sisters are characterized as victims of unreasonable real estate price in Shanghai. Since 2000, the price of real estate in Shanghai has continued to climb. Even the tight state cap on property prices in 2009 could not stop the unstoppable housing market. Under these circumstance, buying a condo has become a difficult goal to reach for most people, especially *waidiren*. Haiping and Haizao are common examples of this problem, and buying a condo in this crazy housing market emerges as the nightmare of their lives. This housing problem serves as the main theme of the show, and it forces the audience to consider the difficult choices Haizao faces—whether or not she should ask the wealthy and powerful for help or see her sister fall in disaster. This story reflects the reality that in Shanghai, even the so-called "white collar" people cannot afford a small condo for their family.

Siming's ability to help to Haizao's sister represents the huge gap between different social classes in Shanghai. The affluent lifestyle of Siming's family serves as a prominent counter to Haiping's old narrow rental apartment. This powerfully represents the lives of different people in different social hierarchies in Shanghai. Throughout the whole story,

Siming's power, whether in wealth or *guanxi* networks, covers up all of the Kuo sisters' troubles, most of which are caused by the insane real estate market. But being a powerful government official in a high level of society, Siming can take care of all these problems. He can help Haiping with her down payment, save Haiping's husband from jail, and provide them place to stay. While Haiping is saving up money to buy a bicycle, Siming has a private driver . The contrasts presented in the show demonstrate the huge gaps between different levels of social strata in modern Chinese society. These are mostly material differences, but sometimes the difference is between life and death.

The social hierarchy presented in the show is not only about materialism, but also about nationality. In this TV series, there are two foreigners—a Japanese wife and Siming's American friend, Mark. These two foreigners are critical to Haiping's life, since they become her main economic support as her Mandarin students. Even in the end, Mark helps Haizao go to the United States for a new start. These foreigners present more powerful image than normal Chinese civilians, who are represented by Haiping and Haizao's families. This reflects the fact that in Shanghai, foreigners are seen as people with more privilege than Chinese civilians, because of their better economic status and power. Moreover, they have mobility: they can travel to another country, whereas most Chinese citizens cannot. This aspect reflects what one of my informants said: "The US passport is much more useful in China than in the US!" *Dwelling Narrowness* reflects the implicit fact that in Shanghai, foreigners are socially "higher" than Chinese people, since they have privileges in economy, power, and mobility.

This TV series was a great hit first in Shanghai, and later on in the whole country. This story deeply moves people who have similar experiences as its main characters,

especially China's housing poor, people who cannot afford to buy property in big cities and become mortgage slaves. According to the *Shanghai Times* (申导报), one of the most popular weekly local newspapers in Shanghai, *Dwelling Narrowness* "encourages people in this social condition"[48]. As the paper pointed out, "This show encourages people to work hard and to not take shortcuts to pursue success". Nothing in this report was mentioned about the unreasonable housing prices and the difficulties most everyday people really have in China. In the interpretation of the mass media, the show was made to comfort people in similar situations as the Kuo sisters—people who work very hard but cannot afford a place to live.

Reports and reviews on mass media sources do not tell the audience that this situation is a problem of social structure. Instead, they put forth the view that it's natural for one to struggle hard for his or her life. That is, the media avoids provoking the audience to think about why this situation is happening; instead, it aims to calm them down and believe that this unreasonable housing market and extremely hierarchical social structure is *reasonable*. The mass media's response to *Dwelling Narrowness* convinces the show's audience to accept the situation as how it is, to understand that it is one's fate, and to believe that working hard is the only way to achieve a better life, just like Haiping realized.

In August, when the TV series reached its finale, it became the focus of public increased criticism and commentary right away. In November 2009, a discussion series program was broadcast on CCTV about *Dwelling Narrowness*. Media attention emphasized Haiping's role as a positive example of this series, while Haizao serves as a

[48] Shanghai Times Vol.607 , August 5th-11th, 2009.

negative example of a material girl. As the *Shanghai Times* wrote, "In the end, Haiping's success and Haizao's misery stresses the importance of being hard-working and relying on oneself. This encourages audience members in a similar condition[49]". This conclusion spread out overwhelmingly in a short time, and most people tended to agree with what public media pointed out. However, other opinions and critiques began to spread on the internet. People started to post their thoughts about the show on blogs, and they began to discuss the unreasonable housing price and criticize the problems they, like the Kuo sister's families, faced.

The mainstream media's criticism of Haizao's materialism and unethical behavior was deemed legitimate by the public, but I did not find it proper to focus so much attention on Haizao's wrong behavior. After all, Haiping could not be successful without Siming's help. This story was really more about the difficult social environment that forced Haizao to make a choice between asking for help from Siming or seeing her sister, Haiping, falling in different kinds of situations. Without the help from Siming, Haiping could never return the money processed underground for her high-interest loan. She would be homeless, unemployed, and her husband would still be in jail. According to the show, the social environment in Shanghai would not allow Haiping's family to survive without Siming's wealthy and solid *guanxi* network of powerful officials. This story clearly presented the extremely different life styles of different social strata in Chinese society. According to the media, Haizao made wrong choices, and these led to her miserable life in the end.

[49] Shanghai Times Vol.607 , August 5th-11th, 2009, Page A-2

I argue, on the other hand, that even though the TV show presented the difficult choice Haizao faced (to leave Siming or to help her sister), there was in fact no choice for Haizao at all, since she would never allow her sister to keep suffering. This story reflected the fact that powerless "normal" Chinese civilians, especially those without wealth, have no choice but must try every available method to survive. It is interesting that the Chinese media criticized Haizao as a bad girl who lost herself to gain material things, but ignored the fact that she had no choices at all. The public media in China tended to ignore the fact that the society did not present a fair environment and equal opportunities for everyone to pursue a better quality of life. Haiping and Haizao wanted to pursue this goal. But still, the media blindly used Haiping as an example for success while ignoring how much help Siming gave her.

Another interesting aspect of public commentary is that I could hardly find any criticism toward Siming. Rather, they were mostly directed toward Haizao, especially in personal blogs. Even my local friends in Shanghai criticized Haizao but not Siming, including Jay and Cindy. Like most Chinese local bloggers, they criticized Haizao for her inappropriate behavior, and they commented that Haizao should have pulled herself out from her love affair. If she had, things would not have fallen apart like they did in the end. When I watched the finale with Jay and Cindy in their living room, Jay could not help but sigh, "Poor Haizao- but it is her fault! She should walk away!"

"What about Siming? He initiated the affair with Haizao! He is also responsible for the miserable ending!" I could not help myself but protest against his comment.

"Well, other than the fact that he takes bribes as a government official, he is a good guy and just wants to help out!"

This blame of Haizao instead of Siming reflects the fact that women are still the victims of social instability in modern Chinese culture, especially in inappropriate love affairs. In Chinese traditional culture, women are always blamed for inappropriate affairs, while men are proud of having many mistresses. During the Chinese communist era, Mao masculinized women's image as a way to promote equal status between men and women (Yang 1997). However, in contemporary modern Chinese culture, women's status fell as society began to return to the traditional values that blamed women in inappropriate love affair, not men.

Even though this is a story about house slaves and people who cannot afford homes, Chinese nationalism is embedded in the *Drawing Narrowness* storyline. Most of the time, Haiping states some nationalistic phrases, such as, "We should love the nation." Even though the story is mainly about realty prices in big cities, there is still a scenario showing anti-Japanese ideology, like most common TV programs in China. And like most Chinese television shows and movies, these Japanese characters all speak Mandarin with a serous strange accent. In the story-line, the Japanese actors blame Chinese for being lazy and weak. In *Dwelling Narrowness*, when Haiping points out that the Japanese mother's method of teaching her son is too strict, Haiping's Japanese student's mother blames Chinese for being lazy in front of Haiping. It is very awkward for the Japanese mother to state that "Chinese are lazy," since in this incident, her son is being strictly forced to learn Chinese, which has nothing to do with "being lazy." However, like most Chinese TV shows, Haiping is very upset and immediately speaks out with a serious

expression. As the camera zooms to her face, she says "Who do you think you are to make comment like this? We Chinese people are extremely diligent. China is not as developed as you, Japan, but it is not because we Chinese are lazy. It is because we do not invade other countries. If we invaded other countries like you did, and took so many resources from every other Asian country, we could have developed very well![50] (Episode 20) The Japanese mother does not say anything after Haiping's statement.

The entire scene looked strange to me because it did not fit into the whole story. I asked Cindy and Jay for an explanation. Interestingly, they did not think it was awkward, and they said that they felt much better once Haiping scolded the Japanese mother. In a way, it "comforted people's minds! (大快人心)".

Anti-Japanese scenes, like the one in *Dwelling Narrowness*, are arranged to keep reminding the audience of the Japanese invasion during the second World War. These anti-Japanese scenes effectively promote an anti-Japanese atmosphere through repetitive scenarios in which Japanese people look down upon Chinese. The repetition effectively promotes a surge of remembrance for this hated history and, at the same time, a surge of Chinese nationalism. The media soaks the audience in anti-Japanese ideology so successfully in Chinese everyday life that I was always asked by my Chinese friends in Shanghai why Taiwanese don't dislike Japanese but embrace Japanese culture instead.

Other scenarios promoting nationalism were included in the show's plot-line, even in unnatural ways. In the season finale of *Dwelling Narrowness*, after the death of Siming and Haizao's loss of her baby, Haizao becomes melancholy and extremely

[50]The original sentence from Haping is, "您觉得您有什么资格说这样的话？…我们中国人要多勤快有多勤快，跟你们相比，之所以我们今天不这么发达，不是因为我们懒惰，而是因为我们不会侵略。如果我们也像你们一样，把整个亚洲扫荡一空，把别人的好东西都据为己有的话，我觉得我们早发达了！"

depressed. She cannot speak to anyone for three months, owing to the trauma she has experienced. One day when it is raining outside, Haiping takes Haizao for a walk in a park. When the two sisters are sitting on a bench, Haiping starts to encourage Haizao, saying she should be strong and restart everything. Later on, Haiping starts to tell Haizao that she should love her society and country. When she says, "You should love our society and country, and think what you can do for it"[51], I am surprised. For me, it does not make much sense that Haiping would say this when her sister is in such a low mood.

I asked Cindy and Jay what they thought about it. Cindy told me, "I hear these patriotic comments all the time in television shows. These words come into my left ear and go out from my right ear (左耳进右耳出). It is indeed awkward for Haiping to say that when her sister is still in trauma, but we are used to it!"

In November 2009, this TV series was banned by Chinese officials from the Beijing television channel[52]. No official explanation was given for why it was suddenly banned in Beijing after ten episodes had already been broadcast. Unofficial resources stated that this show brought negative attention to Chinese officials and the society. However, most people believed the Chinese officials banned the show to keep people from focusing on the problems of housing and corrupt government officials. Public newspaper critics argued that this TV series did not portray Siming as a horrible person, and that the show taught young girls that having an affair with a wealthy person would guarantee them a good life. The actress who played Haizao, Li Nian, was criticized by the public on the internet and other media for being a bad example for girls. On the internet, most people

[51] The original sentence from Haiping is, "你要爱社会,爱国家,并且要想你能为国家做些什么".
[52]Sina News, November 26, 2009 http://ent.sina.com.cn/v/m/2009-11-26/02532785352.shtml

criticized Haizao for being a material girl, even as they were aware of the growing number of material girls in Shanghai.

Though *Dwelling Narrowness* was a hit in Shanghai in the summer of 2009, Chinese returnees did not pay much attention to it. They told me that they had heard about it, but they did not know much about it. Mr. Wang told me during a friend's gathering, "These Chinese dramas are created with too much government influence. I cannot stand watching them, especially those broadcast on television." He smiled and told me, "But those Chinese drama DVDs that you can purchase anywhere in Shanghai are enjoyable. They have cut off all those strange scenes preaching how much you should love China!"

Mrs. Huang told me that since she does not have the problems featured in *Dwelling Narrowness*, she does not bother watching it, even though it is very famous in Shanghai. "I enjoy watching my Korean dramas on satellite television channel more!"

Chinese Returnees' Thoughts on Media in Shanghai

Unreal Report: Not Reliable

The Chinese returnees I interviewed all noticed that news reports from Chinese newspapers in Shanghai were not reliable and were partial. They avoided getting information from Chinese news sources, and instead turned to foreign media beyond China. Satellite television and internet were the main resources from which Chinese returnees acquired information. "As you know, Chinese news does not always present a

complete report," Helen said. "If you want to know more about the world, you'd better read news on foreign news media websites."

Humdrum Programs, Dull Images, and Poor Camera Shots

Chinese returnees did not find Chinese television programs attractive or entertaining. Compared with the channels and programs that satellite television offered, programs offered by Chinese television channels were dull and tedious for them. As Mr. Huang said, "There is too much preaching of ideology on the television shows. I cannot get used to it anymore after staying in the US for such a long time." Moreover, they pointed out that images and camera shots in China are not as attractive as television channels in the US. During my fieldwork in Shanghai, I met a Taiwanese director who visited Shanghai to be a co-director for a television show. He pointed out that the Chinese television industry is booming now, and people are learning techniques and skills from foreign filmmakers and directors that allow them to produce better quality images. However, it will take some time to reach the standard of foreign media. It is perhaps not fair to compare Chinese television programs with foreign television programs offered though satellite television programs.

Too Much Chinese Nationalism and Too Little Individualism

My informants, Chinese returnees, told me that they noticed there was too much Chinese nationalism and too little individualism when they watched satellite television

programs before moving back to China. They told me that they did not believe in these ideologies and Chinese nationalism, and that they were surprised to find out that their relatives in China, as well as their most of their local Chinese friends, chose to believe in the ideas that mass media in China communicated to them. “My brother always laughs at me that I am not a patriotic Chinese citizen because I have green card. However, when I asked him if his family wants to move to the US as my relatives after I get my US citizenship, he said yes right away… He said he should love himself first then love the country.” Hank smiled, and he shook his head when talking about his brother. These Chinese returnees understand that their relatives in China believe in ideologies broadcasted in Chinese mass media only in certain degree since their private profit always has higher priority than these ideologies..

No Critical Analysis

Unlike my local friends, Chinese returnees believed that news discussions on local television offered little critical information. They found that news reports and analysis from Chinese local channels was not critical and partial. Hank told me that he finds information provided by local Chinese news to not be very useful, especially the financial reports. “There is always something missing in the report and I always feel that I do not receive the total information…I have to compare information I have received from the foreign media in order to place my order in the Chinese stock market!” Hank laughed and continued, “It is strange that I have to rely on foreign media for information about China! But it works for me!”

Not About Their Lives

These Chinese returnees argued out that Chinese shows and dramas do not move their hearts, since they are targeted at local people. *Dwelling Narrowness* is one example of a show that they feel doesn't reflect their lives. "One time I was watching a TV drama with my relative, and a guy said he would fight for five thousand *yuan*, since this was a huge amount of money for him. I felt very strange and guilty for that, since I just spent that amount of money in a department store that day." Alisa continued, "It was sad because I realized I no longer enjoyed these types of drama the way I did before."

The social and economic changes these Chinese returnees experienced make it hard for them to to enjoy local Chinese television and news media. Even after returning to Shanghai, they have to keep connected with the US news and watch satellite television instead of local news. They find local Chinese news media cannot satisfy their needs for information, and they are aware of the political control on the mass media. Moreover, they are aware that information provided by local Chinese media may not be true, and they thus rely on international media for information

Conclusion

Chinese local and national media is carefully control and manipulated by government officials. It provides information that benefits the nation instead of providing facts. Chinese civilians learn to not trust their media for trivial daily matters. But at the

same time, they are submerged in the carefully-selected information presented by the national mass media, and they are taught the ideologies communicated by Chinese officials. In Shanghai, consumerism is one of the popular subjects that television and news media present to the audience. Through commercials and TV programs, the mass media creates an identity of consumption—how life should be if one is wealthy. The powerful mass media teach people in Shanghai what to consume and how to consume, and they create people's desires to pursue a better life through material goods.

The media provides selected subjects as facts to the public, and it leaves out certain news stories that are selected by officials. Instead of presenting facts, the news media presents partial information, and it presents selected images as facts. This method effectively shifts an audience's attention in the direction that officials would like. The partial report successfully recreates and re-strengthens Chinese nationalism through selective subjects and images.

Chinese nationalism is the main theme in all forms of mass media presented in Shanghai, especially in EXPO 2010 films. Through EXPO 2010 films, the idea of being proud of being Chinese is linked with modern construction and the participation in the EXPO in Shanghai. The image of the Chinese pavilion is another symbol of modern construction, and it is used to stimulate pride in being Chinese.

"Education," whether about Chinese nationalism or unquestionably following the social order, is always embedded in popular TV dramas, even if awkwardly. The most popular TV drama in Shanghai in 2009, *Dwelling Narrowness*, is an obvious example of

this, while most popular TV dramas consist of nostalgic themes with the backdrop of the Mao period.

Upon discovering that the Chinese media release limited information on selected subjects, Chinese returnee informants refuse to watch local Chinese television. They watch their satellite television programs instead. They find it is difficult for them to believe in the ideology presented in Chinese mass media, unlike it was before they left China. They check out news on English websites in order to know what is happening in the world, since they are highly aware that Chinese news media are manipulated by officials. Finally, they do not watch local television dramas because they find these dramas to be laden with propaganda, and not related to their lives. Even though they live in Shanghai, their information comes from foreign media under their deliberate selection.

Chinese Nationalism, National Identity, and the Shanghai World EXPO

Like the 2008 Olympics in Beijing, the Shanghai EXPO was introduced as a huge international event by the Chinese state. It was an even that Chinese citizens, especially people in Shanghai, were to participate in, in honor of Chinese modernity. Suzhi *(素质) was used to promote Chinese nationalism: in order to demonstrate China's glorious culture, one should have* suzhi *(personal quality). The Chinese exhibition hall was the focus of media in Shanghai. By holding international events, Chinese people were led to believe that they would participate in this global fair by the state. However, on the very first day that the tickets for the EXPO became available, Chinese civilians began to complain about the relatively high-priced tickets. When compared with people's other expenses in Shanghai, it was obvious that these tickets were only for the wealthy and foreigners. Chinese professionals saw this event as a marketing strategy to promote business and the international exposure to Shanghai. Strategies for being proud Chinese citizens did not affect Chinese professionals or their families, especially their children, in Shanghai.*

Welcoming the World EXPO 2010 to Shanghai

EXPO 2010 was deemed a huge even in Shanghai by the Chinese government. Similar to the Summer Olympics in Beijing in 2008, EXPO 2010 in Shanghai was promoted as a global event for everyone to participate in by Chinese officials.

When I arrived in June 2009, I noticed that there were slogans everywhere in Shanghai for EXPO 2010—on the blank walls outside of residential communities, on bus commercial boards, and on construction fences. These slogans stated what Chinese civilians in Shanghai should do to welcome the coming of EXPO 2010. In the shopping mall, a human-sized statue of the EXPO mascot, Haibao—a light blue cartoon character with big eyes and smile, was placed in the entrance where it would be most noticeable. Some Haibao statues had countdown number below them, telling the people passing by how many days were left before the grand opening in May 2010. In the subway station of People Square, a sophisticated digital countdown board marked the number of days to the grant opening. In the subway aisles, posters were presented on the sides of the walls to present the information of EXPO 2010—the history of EXPO 2010, the different styles of the pavilions of the countries and corporations participating in EXPO 2010, stories about the designs of the Chinese pavilion, and the size of the fairground. People passing by sometimes gathered in the front of these posters and they discussed this presentation of EXPO 2010. On television, short films about EXPO 2010 appeared in between commercials. Because of so much promotion by Chinese officials, everyone looked forward to the coming of EXPO 2010 in Shanghai the way children might look forward to Christmas.

Figure 3

A Haibao statue with a countdown board was placed on one side of People's Square to remind people of the coming of EXPO 2010.

In order to prepare for EXPO 2010, the Shanghai municipal government published a plan in 2008 called, "Shanghai Welcomes EXPO in 600 days."[53] In this plan, the Shanghai city would renovate the appearance of Shanghai to welcome the grand opening of EXPO 2010. The plan included the construction of the EXPO fairground, and the improvement of the Shanghai city. Plans for the construction of the EXPO fairgrounds included the design and construction of different pavilions in the Bunds, and a change to traffic patterns during the EXPO's opening period. Plans for the improvement of Shanghai city included constructions plans and improvement of human quality. The plan for welcoming EXPO 2010 was to be carried out from April 2008 until the EXPO started in 2010[54]. In this plan, certain ideologies were inserted in people's lives in Shanghai, and they impacted their daily lives in significant ways.

[53] 上海口岸迎接世博会 600 天行动
[54] Source: Sina News, May 26th, 2008. http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2008-05-26/083813925997s.shtml

Figure 4

Slogans and pictures of EXPO 2010 were displayed on the walls along streets in Shanghai.

Everyone is Involved in EXPO for the Country: Even if You Do Not Want to—Sacrifice the Ordinary for the Enjoyment of the Rich and Powerful

The plan, "Shanghai welcomes EXPO in 600 days," essentially declared that every Chinese civilian in Shanghai was to be involved in the process of welcoming EXPO 2010. Slogans like, "Welcoming EXPO starts from my home (迎世博由我家做起)"; "I have a

date with World EXPO（我和世博有个约）”; “Everyone welcomes World EXPO and learns a second language” (人人迎世博，人人学双语); “My 2010, My World EXPO! (我的 2010, 我的世博!)” were everywhere. In order to promote this sort of welcome in Shanghai, Chinese officials organized writing competitions on related topics, such as “Welcoming EXPO starts with me（迎世博从我做起），” in high schools and elementary schools, as well on public media. The idea that everyone should participate in the welcoming of World EXPO was broadcast and promoted by Chinese officials to Chinese civilians in Shanghai by every means- through education, advertisement, public media, and slogans placed in public places. Welcoming World EXPO was promoted as a public responsibility for everyone living in Shanghai; this would help the nation promote China’s image as a perfect host. The ideology of “getting ready for EXPO” is related to Chinese nationalism—loving China and participating in a global event on behalf of the Chinese nation.

When it came to loving the Chinese nation in this way, if there was a conflict between the private domain and the public domain in the name of World EXPO, one was to sacrifice his or her rights in order to support World EXPO. Sacrificing private benefits for the nation was seen as a responsibility of Chinese citizens for the good of the country, and it followed Mao’s famous words, “(One should) serve the public” (为人民服务). The preparation of World EXPO cost not only the Chinese government, but also Chinese civilian’s in Shanghai. The construction and preparation for World EXPO inconvenienced civilians and impinged upon their spaces.

Take the Bund, for example. Before the EXPO construction started in 2009, the Bund was the most famous tourist spot in Shanghai. It was on the west bank of Huangpu River in Puxi, facing Pudong. There were a dozen European-style buildings that had been built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries along ZhongShan East Road. These antique buildings represented the glorious history of Shanghai as a city for international trade and business. These European-style buildings now served as luxury hotels, high-end shopping malls, banks, and expensive restaurants. On the river side, between Zhongshan East Road and the riverbank, was a platform park that was very popular with tourists and civilians in Shanghai. It allowed people to enjoy the beautiful scenery of Pudong—the Huangpu river and the beautiful skyline of the Oriental Television tower and the China Finance building. The skyline was especially gorgeous after dark, since all the buildings were lit up by glamorous lights. Lovers and tourists always walked along the riverside to enjoy the night scenes at the Bund. In the early morning, the park on the Bund was full of groups of people doing group exercises. Under the bright morning sunshine, people gathered at the river bank park on the Bund to practice taichi, folk dances, fan dances, or even yoga.

However, during the preparation of EXPO in summer 2009, the most famous beautiful part of Shanghai—the Bund—became a giant construction site for the fairground of the EXPO. One taxi driver told me that before the Bund became a giant construction site for the EXPO, he always took a nice walk with his eighty-year-old mother in the morning to do some taichi. “Now we have no place to go for the morning exercises, since the Bund became the preparation fairground for the EXPO.” Besides losing the park, many of the taxi drivers I met complained about the bad road of

Zhongshan East Road that passed by the construction site. “It used to be a beautiful drive, but now it’s a drive I really hate, since the uneven road damages my car!” One Shanghainese taxi driver told me, “Still, as a Shanghainese, I am so proud of the fact that we are holding an event that the world is watching!” Even though he was complaining, I could see the proud big smile on his face.

During my visit in 2009, the park on the Bund was encircled with tall iron walls for construction safety. These walls were painted blue with “Welcome EXPO 2010” and “Better city, better life” EXPO slogans on it. Along the Zhongshan East Road, the iron wall along the Bund seemed to be endless: the construction site was two kilometers long. Since the construction site was so huge, the air was so dusty that I could barely read the red Chinese characters of slogans painted on the construction wall across the street. It was a very unpleasant experience, compared with the beautiful Bund I walked along with Jay and Cindy on a midsummer night in 2006. Now the Bund had become a huge construction site with high dusty iron walls. On one evening, I went to the Bund with my local friends and found that I could not see anything, since the construction site was so massive and full of huge cranes and frames. The construction walls were tall enough to cut out the view of the beautiful scenery I saw in 2006. After a short walk on the other side of the Bund, where the classical buildings were, my local Chinese friends, Jasmine, Kai, and I decided to go to a nearby shopping mall for coffee. This would be better than breathing the dusty air on the street. Jasmine told me that before the Bund became the construction site of EXPO 2010, it was one of her favorite things to walk on the Bund. “Even though I could not afford to go to those restaurants and shops on the Bund, I enjoyed the nice scenery across the Huangpu River! Sometimes I imagined that I was

living in Shanghai one hundred years ago!" She told me that now she chose to walk on Nanjing Road walking district instead, since there is no view anymore on the Bund.

Feeling disappointed, I complained to Wendy after I returned to her place that night. Wendy listened, laughed and promised to show me the beautiful scenery again the next evening, but she made it clear that I had to dress up nicely in order to go with her. Tiffany refused to go with us, since she was tired of going to the same restaurant every time a new guest visited Shanghai. The next day, Wendy asked Mr. Zheng to take us to the Bund, and to drop us off on the side of the Zhongshan East Road- right beside where I had been the previous evening. Instead of walking on the pavement in the front of these beautiful European-style buildings, Wendy led me into one of the buildings. It had a huge French-style chandelier and dome-shaped ceilings. I realized that she was taking me to a high-end restaurant on the top floor of one the classic European-Chinese fusion buildings on ZhongShan East Road. These restaurants, according to Jay and Cindy, were always called by their door number on the Bund, and they were famous for their cuisine and their nice views. Though Jay and Cindy had been living in Shanghai their whole life, they never made any attempt to go there, since these restaurants were famous for not being affordable for most local people. According to Jasmine and Kai, these restaurants were for foreigners and the especially wealthy, since most locals could never afford to eat there. After the usher brought us to a window seat with chandeliers hanging on the ceiling, I found that most of the guests here were either foreigners—most of them spoke languages other than Mandarin Chinese- or else they were *waijirenshi* who spoke Cantonese or Taiwan-accented Mandarin. Noticing my surprise at seeing so many foreigners, Wendy

told me that Ken usually took his clients here for dinner. This way he could discuss business with them while enjoying the nice view at the same time.

The view was gorgeous when I looked out the window from where I sat with Wendy. Since the restaurant was located on the top floor of the building on Zhongshan East Road, nothing could get in the way of the Bund scenery. Through the window, the Huangpu river was filled with the reflection of the beautiful skyline of Pudong—the Oriental Pearl TV Tower with its changing bright lights, Shanghai Financial Tower, and the most famous world's tallest building—Shanghai World Financial Center. Lights on these buildings were turned on during the sunset, and they formed the most famous skyline along the Huangpu River. Nothing could be missed from where I sat. Looking out from my window seat, I found that even the huge EXPO construction site looked nice, with its bright lights framing the twilight. I could see that the construction was still going on from the welding light flashing sporadically. In the sunset, the unfinished but recognizable Chinese pavilion stood in the twilight on the Pudong bank. I was totally stunned by the breathtaking scene from the restaurant. It provided a much wider and better view than the park on the river walk where I strolled in 2006 ever could. The nice live jazz music made the beautiful scenery more enjoyable and the atmosphere romantic. However, when the pretty waitress handed me the dinner menu and started to explain the dinner special—veal with caviar- I was extremely shocked by the good service and the prices on the menu. I realized that Wendy had taken me into one of the restaurants Jasmine referred to as "not affordable for most local people." I could not believe what I was seeing: one entree started at 90 USD, and a cup of coffee was 35 USD. On the menu, English was listed before Chinese. They also offered a service that could charge US

dollars to a credit card instead of Chinese *yuan*. It was very obvious that the targeted customers were mostly foreigners and *waijirenshi* (Chinese with non-Chinese passports).

Wendy saw my nervousness after reading the menu, so she whispered to me after the waitress left, "Be my guest!" I felt extremely relieved, knowing that Wendy was going to pay for me. Experiencing so many changes in such a short time—from the dusty pavement downstairs yesterday evening to the enjoyable night scenery with romantic live jazz music here on the window seat—I could not believe what I was seeing. While eating the succulent veal and sipping the aromatic red wine before this amazing night scenery on the Bund, many complex feelings surged in my heart. I realized that the construction of EXPO 2010 took away many civilians' space, but not that of the wealthy and powerful. Like Wendy's family, the wealthy and powerful seldom used public spaces, like parks and public transportation, the way ordinary people would. The wealthy and powerful did not share public places with the ordinary members of society.

EXPO 2010 revealed that mostly the ordinary and powerless of China sacrifice for a national event, while the wealthy and powerful benefit from this sacrifice. Through it all, this sacrifice remains lauded as a patriotic act by government officials. One incident that happened to Cindy and Jay's condos during the summer of 2009 offers another example of this.

A builder bought the empty land across the road from Cindy's community. The builder planned to build a hotel for the overflow of tourists for EXPO 2010. The construction started in May 2009, and the thirty-four-floor hotel was planned to be completed in less than one year, by April 2010. Like the construction site in the Bund,

this construction site was circled by a tall iron wall with light blue paint and red slogans: “Better City, Better Life”; “I Welcome EXPO in Shanghai”; and a cartoon of the smiling EXPO mascot, Haibao. The construction site was always busy, twenty four hours a day, seven days a week. Trucks and cargos drove in and out the construction site at night, since Shanghai city did not allow trucks to drive in Shanghai in the daytime. When I arrived in Shanghai and stayed in Cindy’s condo in June, I could see workers ere constructing the building base from Cindy’s seventh-floor condo. Though the construction was going on all the time, thankfully, Cindy’s condo was located on the second building from the road across from the construction site, and the first building filtered out some of the noise for Cindy’s building. Though there were some noises from the construction site, it did not bother Cindy, Jay, or me at all.

However, in early August, after the pouring rain, the construction began to be extremely busy and noisy. Jay told me that he heard from a neighbor that the construction was behind schedule because of the heavy summer rains and flooding. Since my room faced the construction site, I avoided staying in my room because of the annoying noise. In the middle of the night on August 14th, 2009, I found myself awakened by loud pounding. I looked out of the window, and I found a huge crane was hanging heavy steel poles to build up the base of the frame. Another huge machine with a hammer-like head was pounding the poles deep into the ground. There were many trucks with building materials lined up and rushing in the construction site as empty trucks hustling out. The busy traffic raised a lot of dust; I could watch it cloud under the bright magnesium lights of the construction site. Trucks and the loud pounding noises made me extremely annoyed, even though my room was not located right across the road. I wondered how

people in the first building across to the street felt. Feeling extremely disturbed, I made a phone call to Chin, one of my Chinese informants in Philadelphia Mainline. She listened to my complaints for twenty minutes, laughed, and said, "There is nothing you can do but admit your ill fate![55] Find a nicer place to stay instead!"

The noisy sounds continued until six o'clock in the morning, and finally I was able to go to sleep. However, the road started to become busy with the morning commute. That morning I woke up at eleven, with heavy circles under my eyes and a terrible headache. I could not keep from complaining to Cindy and Jay, but they told me the same thing—there was nothing we can do. The construction noise continued for one week, twenty-four-seven, and I could not sleep the entire time. Feeling very upset, I told Cindy that I would like to visit other neighbors and see if we could do anything to stop the construction. Cindy stopped me immediately and told me, "You are watched by our gate guard because you are a Taiwanese who studies social science. Please do not bring trouble to me."

However, after two days, when I walked to the grocery store as usual, I saw a *dazibao* (a long strip of white cloth with huge black protest words) on the third floor of the front wall of the first building that faced the road. It said, "Loud EXPO construction noise bothers civilians' lives![56]" I was surprised, and I told Cindy and Jay about it that evening. They told me that they had heard news about it, and the home owner association was going to deal with the matter by holding a meeting with residents in the community. The protest strip was taken down that the same day by the police before I had a chance to

[55] She says in Chinese, "认了吧!" There is probably no proper English translation.
[56] "世博建设扰民不得安宁!"

grab my camera. According to the police, it was "ugly" to put a white strip on the wall that faced the road. The *dazibao* obviously dirtied the beautiful face of Shanghai city, and it had to be taken off right away.

I heard nothing after that. No meeting was held, and no one tried to protest the problem again. The noisy construction went on continuously for two weeks. The pounding sounds continued throughout the night. Lacking enough sleep, I became sick with a serious migraine. Finally, I decided to move to Wendy's house in Pudong instead.

At the end of August, I received a phone call from Cindy. She told me that she was awakened by the loud noise of construction several nights in a row. She went to talk to her community management team. The manager of her community told her that they could not do anything about it. With great anger, Cindy walked to the construction site to talk to the manager directly. Cindy said to me, "I had to go there again the other day since they said the manager of the construction site was not there. I finally got to talk to the construction manager during this other visit. However, he told me that there is nothing they can do about it, since their construction progress is behind schedule due to the unexpected flood… Moreover, since the Lotus Lakeside incident happened[57], they have to build up the main structure as soon as possible or it might fall down. I asked them if they have permission from the city government to have 24-hour construction, and he said they did. They would post the permission the next day. I checked again the next day, and they did post a sign of permission for having 24-hour construction!" Cindy said with a voice of unbelief, "I could not believe it! Since I was still bothered by the loud noises at

[57] As mentioned in a previous chapter, one of the newly built Lotus Lakeside Condos fell down during the construction of am underground garage on June 28th, 2009. Official architecture experts claimed that the construction of the underground garage lead to uneven pressure on both sides of the building. This is what led to its collapse.

the middle of night, I called the Shanghai municipal government official's office, and I told someone there that the construction is really bothering our sleep! I talked to a gentleman since there was no use for me to talk to the builder directly…the gentleman was nice to me, and he told me that for the grant opening of EXPO, everyone in Shanghai has to sacrifice a little bit, but he will definitely help me with this issue."

Cindy continued, "Several days later, I received a call from the builder. The representative said that they still have to finish the hotel for World EXPO 2010. But in consideration of our sleeping problem, now they have two choices for us: choice number one is to have twenty-four hours construction for three days, followed by one day where they stop the construction from twelve to six o'clock in the morning. Choice number two, the construction will take place twenty-four hours for six days, and stop working for one whole day…I have chosen choice number one, since I need a quiet environment for sleep. Now we can get a good night of sleep every three days!"

While listening to Cindy's complaint, I was annoyed by what Cindy called "sacrifice for EXPO," since the building across the road was to be a privately-owned hotel. Building a hotel like this before EXPO 2010 meant that someone was trying to maximize private profit though EXPO 2010. I did not see any relationship between "nice presentation of China" and the private hotel. "To sacrifice for EXPO 2010" was to me like "putting the lipstick on the pig"- making a problem "reasonable" by adding Chinese nationalism to it.

After hanging up with Cindy, I told Wendy and Ken this story. Ken sighed and told me that this kind of thing would never happen in his residential community, since "There

are too many powerful officials who live in our community. I do not think they (the builder) would dare to bother their sleep!"

Besides the newly-built construction, Chinese officials initiated other improvements to the appearance of Shanghai city in order to please international tourists. These included putting new roofs on the old buildings that were most visible in major tourist spots and repainting the outside walls of most of the buildings on major roads in Shanghai. These plans were designed as part of the process of welcoming EXPO 2010.

Emily's temporary residence in Puxi was chosen as one of the old buildings that would receive new paint on the outside walls. As a frequent traveler, Emily and her husband were not always home. However, she complained to me that the outside wall painting job was done sloppily: "The government decided to paint the outside walls of the building... Instead of painting the walls of the whole building, they only painted the walls facing the main street…The workers did such a poor job that they spread paint on my window glass and frames!" Emily pointed out the windows that had paint stains on them, and she said unhappily, "I heard that the government spent a million *yuan* painting this twenty story building, and now I wonder why it would cost so much to do this poor job!"

Even though my informants and friends complained about these renovation projects, I could see some improvements to the Shanghai street scene after they were completed. Instead of seeing old, ugly roofs like I did when driving on the highway in 2006, I saw newly-built uniform ocean-blue rooftops in September 2009. These new roofs and the new paint did help the presentation of Shanghai. When I told Mr. Zheng how nice these renovations looked, he laughed and said, "Even though it looks nice on the outside, it is

still rubbish inside the building! Don't you know that Chinese people care about outside appearances much more than inside quality?"

While the city was renovating its outside appearances, at the same time, Chinese officials were trying to improve human quality—having *suzhi* （素质） and being civilized *wenming* (文明). Improving the human mind has become a national project managed by the state and communicated as patriotism to Chinese citizens. It is stated as a national project that is aimed at the global participation of China. Like those ideas promoted during the 2008 Summer Olympic Games, *suzhi* and *wenming* are often interpreted as patriotic performances that promote the nation's good and that must be enacted by all Chinese citizens. World Expo 2010 in Shanghai serves as another example for promoting nationalism and the commercial value of this city. *Suzhi* and *wenming* are are necessary in imagining a better future for this city. Therefore, there are slogans about improving one's *suzhi* and being *wenming* on walls and boards, thereby conveying the importance of being civilized and polite in order to fit into the global community. Slogans and boards of this kind remind civilians to be polite to each other, to not spit on the floor, and to be friendly to everyone.

Figure 6

An EXPO 2010 picture on a public wall teaches civilians not to wear sleep-wear when going out . On the top it says "For a great EXPO, *wenming* goes first". The bottom says "Dress properly to show respect and the *wenming* of Shanghai".

One of the plans for improving *suzhi* and *wenming* was to encourage Shanghainese to change their famous habit of wearing sleepwear on the street. According to Cindy, Shanghainese always wear sleepwear—such as pajamas or sleep gowns- to shops or when walking on the street. It is part of the proud tradition of Shanghainese. Some Shanghainese have nice sleepwear to wear and show off on the street. I noticed that in 2006, Cindy had many nice, fancy silk sleep gowns that she would wear to the supermarket or to shops. Before 2009, I found ladies in Shanghai liked to show off their fashionable sleepwear by wearing it to public places. However, in 2009, Chinese official decided that wearing sleepwear on the street was improper and didn't follow international social etiquette[58]. Slogans like "Never wear sleepwear to the street, and be a civilized person"[59] were written on community walls. Volunteers from communities formed watch groups to stand in the entrances of each community and chastise people who wore sleepwear outside of their homes[60]. This once famous Shanghainese habit disappeared in public places. Cindy told me that she has to change to regular clothes before going out, "In the Shanghainese tradition, wearing sleepwear on the street is a way of showing that you are so well-off in material goods that you have many different sets of sleepwear... Now I cannot wear my nice sleepwear on the street anymore because of the World EXPO 2010. One of the most famous things in Shanghai is to wear sleepwear on the street. But now the tradition has disappeared… Everyone wants to be international (国际化) in Shanghai, in order to welcome World EXPO 2010!" I wondered how much foreigners would care about people wearing sleepwear on the street, even if the state did insist it was

[58] Sina News, October 28th, 2009. http://news.sina.com.cn/c/sd/2009-10-28/155818927333.shtml
[59] "睡衣睡裤不出门，做个世博文明人"
[60] Guangzhao Daily, February third, 2010: http://news.qq.com/a/20100203/000181.htm

extremely uncivilized. However, by changing their behavior, people in Shanghai imagined that they were engaging in the international scene in every way.

Like many local civilians and residents, Cindy and Jay believed they were sacrificing their comfort for World EXPO 2010 in Shanghai. As Shanghainese, they felt obligated to sacrifice part of their convenience for the grant event. They gave up good sleep, dealt with the dust from the construction on the road, and stopped their tradition of wearing sleepwear on street. Chinese civilians in Shanghai expected that the grand opening of World EXPO 2010 would glorify the Chinese nation and bring pride to Shanghai city. Like many of my local friends, they thought they would enjoy the thing for which they had sacrificed: the grand opening of EXPO 2010 in Shanghai.

EXPO is a Chance for One to Participate in the World Event: Actually, It is Only Made for the Rich and for Foreigners

Chinese civilians sacrificed their quality of life in order to welcome the World EXPO 2010, and they were certain that they would participate in this great world event-even if it was mostly in an inconvenient way. This imagined participation in World EXPO 2010 in Shanghai was designed and communicated extremely well by the state though mass media and Chinese nationalism. These performances created an atmosphere in which everyone in Shanghai felt it was one's own responsibility to follow the regulation of the state and help present the best parts of Shanghai in the World EXPO. At the same time, the state presented World EXPO 2010 as an international event for everyone to participate in. All my local friends, Chinese returnee friends excluded, were

anticipating the grant opening of World EXPO 2010 in Shanghai, they were all excited about the great event. Unfortunately, they were all disappointed to find out that World EXPO was not held for them.

Beginning in March 2009, tickets for World EXPO 2010 were put on sale exclusively for organizations and officials, or for specific groups like international tourist groups. Starting on July first, 2009, individuals could buy World EXPO 2010 ticket from official retailers. By the end of June 2009, the ticket price was finally published to the public in Shanghai—170 *yuan* (RMB) for a one day pass on weekends and holidays, 140 *yuan* for one weekday pass, and 90 *yuan* for one evening pass. Multiple entrance passes started from 400 *yuan* to 900 *yuan*. For local Chinese civilians, this ticket price was very expensive, since the average income in Shanghai was 2403 yuan[61]. Therefore, 140 yuan, 5.8% of a monthly income, for a one day pass was extremely expensive for an ordinary individual in Shanghai. When the price was published through the media—on the television, commercial boards in subway stations, and on the internet- it became a hot topic for discussion right away. It looked like people in Shanghai did not expect the sky rocketing price of tickets for World EXPO 2010, and were surprised by the ticket price of EXPO 2010 in Shanghai.

On July 1st, 2009, when I walked through the transfer tunnel from the green line subway station to the red line subway station in People Square, I saw a group of people gathering at one corner to look at something on the commercial board on the wall of the passenger walkway in the transfer tunnel. This wall was decorated with introductory

[61] Zhaoyan News, Janurary 29th, 2010. The average income of people in Shanghai is 28838 yuan. http://yanzhao.yzdsb.com.cn/system/2010/01/29/010354311.shtml

pictures of EXPO 2010 in Shanghai. Usually I saw people occasionally stop by these photos to learn about EXPO, but today about ten people gathered at just one spot on the walkway. Out of curiosity, I walked to the crowd. I realized that they were looking at the newly published pass prices for World EXPO 2010. This group of people commented on the price table.

One young man said, "It is ridiculously expensive! I planned to take my girlfriend to EXPO, but now I find it is not affordable at all!" He continued in a disappointed tone, "I thought EXPO was for everyone in Shanghai to enjoy…" I looked at him and found that he looked very upset.

"Fancy things come with fancy prices!" an lady replied to the young guy, then, "Probably it is not for us!"

"What the hell!" one older guy said. "Not for us? Who are they going to sell these tickets to?"

"The wealthy and those powerful!" the lady replied with ironic tone. "They don't even have to pay for the tickets!" The lady walked away, saying, "I am an *ayi* (domestic worker) who works for the rich, I know it!"

People came to look at the board out of curiosity, joined the discussion, and left with their own conclusions. I stayed to listen to the conversation. One teenager said with a sigh, "I do not want to go in the evening only, but it looks like I can only afford the evening ticket!" The conversation seemed to be endless. Most people commented on the price, saying it was not affordable for them, and some said they would have to save

money for the ticket. Many people commented, “Who the hell are they going to sell the ticket to?”

After I went back to Cindy’s place that evening, I found Cindy and Jay were discussing the same topic, as it was just released on the news. “On the news, the journalist said it was very affordable, since the lowest price is 90 *yuan*!” Jay said. “However, it is an evening pass, meaning you only have 4 hours to visit and you still have to pay the 90 *yuan*!” Their conclusion was, “World EXPO 2010 is held for international tourists and the rich, not for Shanghainese.” Jay even asked me, “Is this price as expensive as Disneyland in the United States?”

In November 2010, I talked to Cindy over an internet phone, and I asked her if she and Jay went to World EXPO 2010, since it is closed at the end of that October. Cindy said, “Of course not! How can I afford that expensive ticket? No one I know went since the ticket price was extremely expensive… But we watched the opening and closing ceremonies on television! Those ceremonies were great!”

In September 2010, when I went to my Facebook webpage, Tiffany’s photo update popped up on my webpage. Her photos showed that Tiffany has a great time in EXPO 2010 with her two best friends—Anna and Helen. Like American teenagers, they took a lot of self-portraits in front of different pavilions, and funny pictures with interesting objects they found at the exhibition. It looked like they must have spent several days there,since they posted pictures of them visiting many different pavilions. In a later phone call with Wendy, I asked her if she has been to EXPO 2010. Wendy told me that she did not go because she as not interested in going to EXPO “theme park” and being pushed by

strangers. “I have a problem being with crowds in public places…Moreover, I am not interested in fancy stuff made to just to impress tourists!” She told me with a laugh, “I’d rather go shopping with my friends!” When I told Wendy that I saw Tiffany’s pictures of EXPO pavilions on Facebook, Wendy told me that Ken received several weekly passes as gifts. He gave them to Tiffany so that she could go with her best friends. “Tim also went with his friends in order to see the amazing architecture! He said it was worth the trip to see the pavilion buildings, not the inside exhibitions.”

Like Wendy and Ken, most of my Chinese returnee informants told me that they were not interested in going to World EXPO. However, during my interviews in 2009, many of them said they would visit it, since it was portrayed as a huge world event in Shanghai. “It is broadcast as the event for the world in Shanghai, even though I have not heard anything about it from the satellite television…” Hank told me. “I would like to visit it and experience what they called, ‘Experience the world!’”

Some informants mentioned that World EXPO is for foreigners and tourists who do not know China well. They all believed that World EXPO 2010 is like a huge show promoted by the Chinese government to show off a great image of Shanghai and attract foreign investment. During my interviews in 2009, Julie told me, “It is like a huge Disneyland created by the Chinese government to show the fantasy of China.” Julie continued, “I think it is a strategy to attract foreigners to invest in China! It is certainly a great show as a commercial strategy.” Ken also told me that he thinks the Chinese government tried to present the nice side of China by renovating roofs and repainting the walls. As Mr. Zheng drove us past the Nanpu bridge where we could see so many renovated roofs and newly painted walls of old buildings, Ken said, “It is very strange to

do this instead of renovate the whole city…They only painted the walls that face the major road… Their work reflects the fact that the Chinese government only does surface work to make the city look nicer. It is typical in China now that people only want to do the surface work instead of doing the real work!" Ken smiled and pointed to the nice roofs outside of the window, "But I am sure foreigners will be impressed by the power of the Chinese government! It (EXPO 2010) is indeed a powerful advertisement for China!"

Unlike local civilians, Chinese returnees did not feel like they were engaged in World EXPO 2010 at all. Since most of my Chinese returnee informants did not engage in public spaces with ordinary people, they did not feel bothered by or as though they should sacrifice for World EXPO 2010. Their lives were as usual, the same as they were without the preparation of EXPO. Their only complaint was about bad road conditions close to the construction sites on the Bund. There was no report of being seriously bothered by the construction of World EXPO.

Chinese returnee informants had a lukewarm attitude toward the coming of EXPO 2010 in Shanghai. Since these Chinese informants did not watch Chinese television programs or go to public places, they did not seem to be influenced by the public media and propaganda presented in public places. Moreover, they did not buy the Chinese nationalism presented through EXPO 2010, since they had been in the United States for a long time. They saw this event as a fair to entertain tourists, and they identified the commercial aims behind it. While local civilians in Shanghai were thrilled by the idea that they were participating in a world event through EXPO 2010, Chinese returnees did not pay much attention on it. Their lukewarm attitude toward the coming World EXPO was a vivid contrast to the warm welcome provided by local civilians.

In addition to not feeling thrilled by EXPO 2010, some Chinese returnee informants even criticized the fact that the Chinese government had spent a huge amount of money on World EXPO 2010. "I cannot believe the government spent millions of *yuan* to fix the roofs and repaint walls just because of EXPO 2010," Hank told me when I asked how he felt about EXPO. "Even though it is a great event to promote the great image of China, I still think the government should spend this amount of money on schools in poor rural areas."

Even though the Chinese returnees I interviewed were not very interested in going to World EXPO themselves, their children tended to be interested in going to the fair, just as Jennie mentioned: "Kids love to go to Disneyland." Jennie's son went to EXPO with his classmates. According to Jennie, "It was pretty fancy out there, and my kids enjoyed it a lot."

In October 2010, after I had finished collecting data from my Chinese returnee informants about their thoughts on visiting World EXPO 2010, I found that about half of my informants went to EXPO. Among those informants who went, most of them received free EXPO tickets as gifts, or they went there to accompany someone important in their business. Only a couple people paid for their tickets themselves. On the other hand, Chinese returnee's children all visited World EXPO before it closed in October, either through school or with friends. It looked like the second generation of Chinese returnees were more interested in this event than Chinese returnees themselves. When I asked them for more information, they told me, "Kids love fairgrounds! EXPO is like a Disneyland for them!" Mrs. Wang said, "The ticket prices were not bad compared with theme parks in the United States." Most important of all, most of the tickets were free, as they had

been received as gifts. “Why not use the tickets?” said Mr. Wang over the internet telephone, “We have already given away many tickets, since we received so many. Therefore, we went to EXPO before it closed… It was fun visiting it!”

As Wendy told me, “It is a pity that you already returned to the United States! Ken received so many tickets that we did not know who to give them to!”

Conclusion

The Chinese state constructed World EXPO 2010 as an event for everyone in Shanghai to participate in for the sake of Chinese nationalism. Slogans could be seen in every corner in Shanghai, teaching civilians in Shanghai what to do in order to prepare for EXPO 2010 and present their best side to foreign tourists. *Suzhi* and *wenming* were two important modes by which Chinese civilians were to change themselves as patriotic participants in EXPO 2010—and to present their best for foreigners. Therefore, certain local cultural practices were forcibly changed, such as the well-known old habit of Shanghainese wearing sleepwear on the street. Chinese state broadcast the idea that everyone would enjoy EXPO 2010 through mass media. Billions of *yuan* were spent on the construction of EXPO 2010 and on the partial renovation of the city for foreign tourists. Sacrifices for EXPO were deemed an obligation for Chinese citizen. The state declared that “People should see participating in EXPO as their responsibility, and devoting their lives to EXPO as their honor.”[62] During the construction for EXPO 2010,

[62] “以参与世博为荣，奉献世博为荣” is one sentence from the declaration of EXPO made by Shanghai municipal thirteenth People Representative Conference(上海市十三届人大三次会议).In this meeting, the conference proclaim

Shanghai civilians lost their public spaces on the Bund and suffered from bad road conditions along Zhongshan East Road. Even though sacrifices for EXPO 2010 were deemed acts of patriotism, many *private* construction projects were crowned "beneficial for EXPO 2010" and legitimated no matter how much they made civilians suffer.

As Wu points out, after 1990, urban districts in Shanghai started to gain administrative power. After 1995, when the government proposed a new administrative structure of "two levels of government and three levels of management in urban districts," the urban districts gained importance in urban development. District governments competed for business and investment interests. Wu suggests that under these circumstances, the interests of local businesses were placed at a higher priority than the interests of the whole city (Wu 1999). In other words, the district government valued local businesses more than the interest of the whole city. The booming business brought by EXPO 2010 was emphasized by both the municipal and district government of Shanghai. Booming business, as represented by newly-built hotels, was definitely a higher priority than a citizen's quality of life, especially citizens without power and wealth.

Not all civilians in Shanghai made sacrifices for the preparation of World EXPO 2010. Because of their different lifestyles in Shanghai, the wealthy and powerful were not affected by public construction as much as most ordinary civilians. While the ordinary sacrificed their public spaces and views on the Bund, the rich and powerful still gained access to it through other methods. When the construction of EXPO 2010 took away

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that people in Shanghai should devote for EXPO 2010, and present the best for EXPO. Wenhui newspaper, Feb. 10, 2010 http://whb.news365.com.cn/yw/201002/t20100201_2608862.htm.

public spaces from most ordinary people, it did not affect the lives of the wealthy and powerful, since they usually did not use or share the public spaces with others.

When the Chinese government proclaimed that people should "participate in EXPO," the state created a false image that EXPO was the exhibition for everyone in Shanghai. However, after ticket prices were confirmed and published, civilians in Shanghai found that EXPO was not affordable for them. World EXPO 2010, in fact, was not held for civilians in Shanghai, but for foreigners, tourists, the wealthy, and the powerful. The word "participate," as used in slogans, mislead civilians by allowing them to believe that they would participate not only by preparing themselves for the event, but also by enjoying the exhibitions. However, the ticket prices separated and divided people into different classes according to the economic abilities—being able to afford EXPO 2010 or not. Most civilians were in the class that could not afford to attend EXPO. This group found that they had sacrificed their space and quality of life for nothing- they were not able to go to the festival they had been sacrificing for.

My Chinese returnee informants' experiences contrasted with most ordinary civilians in Shanghai, since they belonged to another layer in the social hierarchy- one that embraces different power and wealth in Shanghai. Staying in their own social spaces and getting information from different mass media channels (primarily satellite television programs), they were not so influenced by the Chinese state or Chinese public media to have the fever of welcoming World EXPO. Their lukewarm interest in World EXPO became an obvious example that they were aware of the manipulation of Chinese state

regarding the World EXPO event. Though they lived in Shanghai, these Chinese returnee informants put themselves outside of the state-produced atmosphere by living in their own spaces and media.

Chinese returnee's EXPO experiences exhibit the Chinese gift-giving culture and the importance of social networking in other ways. EXPO 2010 tickets seemed to become especially popular gifts before EXPO closed in October. Like Wendy and Ken, these Chinese returnee informants received EXPO tickets from others as gifts. These gifts represented their social status and any favors that they had performed or been asked for. EXPO 2010 seemed to create a new perfect gift for the transition to Chinese social networking. While ordinary people in Shanghai could not afford to buy ticket to go EXPO 2010 in Shanghai, the ticket of EXPO became a free gift circulating in these Chinese returnee's social circles. The EXPO 2010 tickets served as an example of social gift giving culture in China, and the critical *guanxi* politics that make social resources available only to those powerful and wealthy (Yang 1994).

It is interesting that Chinese returnees saw EXPO 2010 as Disneyland in Shanghai. Instead of seeing it as a chance for Chinese people to participate in world event as Chinese officials hoped, Chinese returnee informants considered EXPO 2010 to be an activity that the Chinese government held to attract foreign investment, or a show for foreign tourists, not for Shanghai citizens. Even though these Chinese returnee informants had tickets, they were not very excited or interested in visiting it. Moreover, they were not influenced by Chinese government propaganda and were not excited or prepared for EXPO 2010. These Chinese returnees seemed to keep themselves distanced from what was happening in Shanghai—away from propaganda and the popular media.

Moreover, they kept themselves away from the masses of the people—either at EXPO or on public transportation. However, their children all took much interest in EXPO exhibitions, and they went with their parents' tickets. Though these second generation Chinese immigrants did not recognize themselves as Chinese, they were still open to what was happening in the city and participated in activities and events "just for fun." They enjoyed activities and Shanghai as foreign tourists without absorbing the identity of Chinese.

Embedded Social Control in Every Corner

Most residential areas built after 2000 in Shanghai are structured as gated residential communities. Officers of these communities' home owners' associations are listed as part of the government official's system. In other words, the government officials have direct access to information from the residents and tenants everyday via community managers. Generally speaking, high-end residential communities have less surveillance power over their tenants than lower-priced residential communities because these tenants, who usually have significant social status or political power, demand more privacy. Moreover, they enjoy more residential rights than lower-priced residential communities. Even though most Chinese returnee professionals live in higher-end residential communities, they are aware of being watched all the time, especially Chinese Christians. Chinese returnees are aware of certain residential restrictions and laws in Shanghai that limit their rights. Though they are able to afford the nice living environment in high-end residential communities, they still desire the privacy they had in the US. They do not see Shanghai as their new hometown, but as a place of transition in their lives.

You are being Watched all the Time

I arrived at Cindy's home in Puxi in June, 2009. I did not realize that there were many implicit taboos or restrictions on her community until after Cindy told me. The weather was extremely hot and humid; therefore, I wore a tank-top dress when I went out, just as I might in the United States. Knowing that I should cover up the tattoos on my front and back, I usually wore a thin layer wrap to cover my tattoos. On this day I headed out in a hurry, and I forget to bring the wrap with me. This was when the gossip started.

As a medium-level community in Xinzhuang, Puxi, Cindy's community had ten buildings with fifteen condos in each building. There was a total of about three hundred tenants in the community, and about half of them were renters. Unfortunately, on the tenth floor in Cindy's building, one two-bedroom apartment was rented out to twelve guys who were *waidiren* (people from other provinces), hard labor workers. Cindy complained that these workers looked strange and were always not very clean. The neighbor told Cindy that the children in the building were frightened by the appearances of these workers—they were strong guys who looked rough. Moreover, they put trash on the floor in the stairways, since it was too much trouble for them to go downstairs to throw away the trash. Even though neighbors complained about these renters, there was nothing they could do to keep condo owners from renting out their condos to people like them. Like her other neighbors, Cindy could only complain to her neighbors, sighing as she said,, "In middle class communities, home owners can rent out condos to anyone without the agreement from the neighbors".

On the day I forgot to bring my wrap, I met three of these so-called “unwelcome renters” in the elevator. They looked like they were in their twenties, and one could easily recognize them as hard-labor workers. Their shirts and pants were rough with a lot of scratches and stains. They all had big muscles, and their skin was tan. After saying hi to them, I walked into the elevator. I could tell they were surprised to see my tattoos, and they backed up right away to keep a distance from me in the small elevator. Unfortunately, when we exited the elevator on the first floor, we met an old lady who lived on the ninth floor. She looked at us in surprise, and rushed into the elevator as though she had seen something terrible.

The next day, Cindy told me that I should always cover my tattoo. The old lady had told the guard in the community that she thought those hard-labor workers had brought in a lady with tattoo. She reported this because she was worried that this group of people was related to gangs. The guard told her that the lady with the tattoo was Cindy’s friend from Taiwan; she was a student in the United States. In other words, there was nothing to worry about. However, the guard told Cindy about this incident, and he asked her to tell me to always cover up my tattoo of respect for the order of the community, and to avoid “unnecessary worries.”

I felt sorry for bringing this trouble to Cindy, but I wondered how the gate guard knew so much about me- especially since I had not yet registered with the local official. Cindy told me not to bother registering. She had already been interviewed by the officials of this community, and that is how they had my information. I was very surprised to hear this, and I asked her, “How did they know I moved in?”

Cindy smiled and said, “There are neighbors watching in every corner! You do not look like common people, and they have noticed you since your first day here!”

Every Community is “Well-managed”

Most so-called “middle class” (中产阶层) communities in Shanghai are gated with their own gate guards and home owner associations. In Cindy’s community, there was a gate to filter the cars going in and out of the community, but people were not stopped in the same way. However, according to Cindy, the door guards were constantly watching everyone, especially those who looked suspicious. These guards’ management teams (*wuye* 物业) were selected by the developers before any homes or units were sold. These guards and workers belonged to a privately-owned company. Most of the time, this company was associated with the community developer.

By law, the “residential neighborhood management committee” (i.e., home owner’s association) should be established to oversee the property management team. However, as Benjamin Read points out, the management team (*yeweihui* 业委会) is shaped by local policies and implemented through the Ministry of Construction. These policies minimize and diminish the residents’ ability to organize and control their communities. Li Zhang argues that home owner associations are short-sighted, parochial, and short-lived, while Read sees the creation of home owner’s associations as a possible force in the democratization of urban Chinese populations (Read 2003; Zhang 2008: 242).

According to Cindy, even though workers came from private companies specializing in community management, the managers of these *wuye* were directly sent by the Shanghai municipal government. Their main responsibility was to monitor the entire community, pay special attention to who was staying in the community, and note any suspicious activities in the community.

It was thus perhaps no surprise that they had known about me since the day I moved in, and they caught Cindy on her way back home the next day. According to Cindy, they asked Cindy for everything about me—who I was, the reason for my visit to Shanghai, why I was staying in this community, and what I was going to do. This is why Cindy said there was no need for me to register myself as a visitor with the officials- they already knew me well. I was stunned by this efficiency, but I felt strange at the same time—everyone was watched here. By positioning officials in the community management association, the government very efficiently censored everyone in the community, and they could react quickly if anything happened. No wonder they took down the long white strip of cloth hanging on the wall facing the main road the day after it was hung up. (As mentioned in previous chapter, this cloth protested about the loud noise of the World EXPO construction.) I was amazed by their efficiency of dealing with what they claimed to be "social order issues" (维安问题).

However, Cindy had a lot of complaints about the "maintenance issues" in this community. She indicated that these *wuye* were slow in fixing things when the downstairs main door was broken, and they did a lousy job cleaning the common areas—the downstairs garden and pond. However, there was nothing residents could do to improve this situation since "few people care about it," as Cindy said. I asked her to elaborate on

this point, and she told me that there was nothing the residents could do to replace the management team, and most people who lived here were renters. “Like those renters on the tenth floor, they are hard-labor workers. They do not care about the community and they mess up common areas since they are cramped in a tiny space in order to save on rent. ”

I was surprised when I checked for the information about Cindy’s community. Among the three hundred units, one hundred and seventy-seven were rental units. In other words, the owner resident rate was only about 40 percent. As a community located in an outlying area of Shanghai, this low resident rate indicated another problem discussed in Shanghai—the crazy real estate market and the sky rocketing housing prices.

As discussed in an earlier chapter, the real estate prices in Shanghai have risen dramatically since 2000. The condo Jay and Cindy resided in was purchased in 2006. By the end of 2009, the condo had doubled in price. Therefore, Jay always joked that they lived in a million dollar condo, and that this must make them millionaires. The booming real estate market makes it impossible for while collar couples in Shanghai to buy their own condos, unless they are Shanghainese. That is, Shanghainese have old condos that they received from their work units. Though these condos are old, they are usually located in great locations that are close to the center city in Puxi. By selling the condos that Shanghainese received from their work units, they have a better chance than *waidiren* of affording a bigger condo in outlying areas of Shanghai. Cindy and Jay were an example of this type. Therefore, since most *waidiren* do not have property in Shanghai, they do not stand a chance of buying a condo in Shanghai- even if they are white collar workers who would like to save their salaries for housing. As demonstrated in *Dwelling*

Narrowness, it is extremely difficult for everyday *waidiren* to own homes in Shanghai because of the unreasonable real estate market.

While real estate prices have surged unreasonably in Shanghai, the cost of rent has not. A well-known rumor puts forth that the real estate prices in Shanghai have been brought up by "speculators from Wenzhou (温州)." That is, a group of people from Wenzhou has brought in a huge amount of cash to buy properties in Shanghai and to sell them at higher prices. This is one common explanation of the unreasonable housing market. However, there is no official explanation for the rapidly increasing real estate prices.

I met only one girl whose parents were speculators from Wenzhou. Interestingly, I did not meet her in Shanghai, but in Philadelphia. I knew that it would not be possible for me to meet people from Wenzhou through my limited social networks in Shanghai, since the social strata there is so divided according to economic status. As a graduate student without any special access to certain social networks, I found it extremely difficult to develop connections to certain circles in Shanghai. Fortunately, I met one girl in an anthropology course I taught at Temple University. She told me that her family flipped condos in Shanghai. Her name was May. She was a quiet girl who worked very hard in the course, and she often met me during my office hours for assistance. When she was sixteen years old, her parents sent her to a boarding school in New Jersey, where her relatives could help her, for a better education. May was in Shanghai for one week to visit her parents during summer vacation while I was there doing my fieldwork.

When I contacted May in Shanghai, she was in one of her homes in Shanghai, in Pudong. May told me that her family had five homes in Shanghai, and she usually stayed in the Pudong condo since she liked the view from the condo. She was not able to hang out with me since she was "scheduled" to see her relatives during her one-week stay in Shanghai. Her parents warned her not to go out in Shanghai since, in her words, "It is very dangerous everywhere in Shanghai." Therefore, she stayed at one of her homes in Shanghai everyday, and she only went out with her parents or relatives. I asked her if I could go to see her in Pudong. After she found out that I would have to take the subway from the west part of Puxi to meet her in Pudong, she insisted that I should not go. "It is very dangerous to take the subway! Even taking a taxi is dangerous! I don't want you to take the subway to come here for me, big sister! It (the time) is too late, or I else I would send my driver to pick you up!"

Since she planned to go to dinner with her parents and relatives two hour later, she agreed to give me a phone interview instead. During our interview, she told me that she had no idea how many properties her parents owned in Shanghai. She told me that her father was once a fabric factory owner in Wenzhou, but he was now fully devoted to the real estate market in Shanghai. Though she did not know much about their parent's business, May was sure that her parents were earning money for her future in the United States. May told me, "They [her parents] think China is too complicated for me, and they believe the US is a better choice for me. That is why they sent me there [the US] when I was in high school. "

When I asked her what she thought about the rumor of "Wenzhou speculators," she laughed and said, "That is probably what my parents are doing—buying condos and

selling them later for a better price… But I am not sure if they are so-called 'Wenzhou speculators,' even though we are from Wenzhou."

Almost all of my Chinese returnee informants seized the opportunity to invest in housing properties in Shanghai. They had received housing subsidies for the places they were currently residing in from their companies; therefore most of them were able to purchase other properties as investments in Shanghai. "Even though we do not want to invest our emotions in this city, it is a great opportunity to invest in *property* in Shanghai," Jane told me during an interview. "It is always important to increase your capital in case something happens to you!" Similar to what I found in Philadelphia, these Chinese returnees believed that maximizing accumulation was the best way to increase their feelings of security.

Wendy told me that it was not an easy task to buy a condo for investment. "There is a property 'buying frenzy' in Shanghai!" She continued, "It is not easy to buy a condo! There are always rich people buying condos the way moms buy vegetables in the supermarket!" Wendy told me that one time she visited a nice condo during a condo open house: "When I walked to the selling agent, and was about to ask for more details about this condo, the lady pointed to another older lady. She said to me, 'That lady already bought this condo for its full price; she paid for it by credit card.' I almost fainted! However, this happened to me several times when I was hunting for investment properties in Shanghai. Finally, one day, I realized that I would never be able to seize a nice condo if I could not make my payment right away. Thus, I called my credit card company to ask for authorization to buy a condo by using my credit card, and then I grabbed a good deal." The condo Wendy bought was located in Kubei, a district that is

popular for foreigners and international restaurants. Wendy did not even bother to rent out her condo, since "It is too much trouble to rent out the condo! Compared with the condo's actual price, the rent is a way too low! The rent is only about 15 thousand *yuan* (RMB) a month! I would rather leave it vacant, and have an *ayi* (domestic worker) clean it up once a month." Wendy bought her condo in the end of 2007. She said that in the summer of 2009, her condo doubled its price from what she had paid, 1.5 million *yuan*, to almost 3 million *yuan*. Wendy joked that she had made more money in these two years than Ken through the condo price.

My Chinese returnee informants often stated that the subsidized housing they reside in is more expensive than the investment properties they can buy, since rent in Shanghai is extremely low when compared to housing prices. In other words, living in rental properties, which are usually subsidized by the pharmaceutical companies they work for, enables them to live in better communities than those they could normally afford. Residing in better communities and buying investment properties has become the common practice of most of my informants in Shanghai. For my informants, better communities mean better living qualities, and most important of all, more privacy.

Cindy's community management officials interviewed Cindy right after I moved in, but they did nothing to observe me after that. Unlike Cindy, who was submissive to the management officials in her community, Wendy chose not to cooperate with the management officials of her residential community. She hated the fact that these people were stalking everyone in the community, not leaving proper (or enough) physical space for residents, and invading the privacy of her family.

On a nice sunny morning in August, Wendy and I watched the morning news on TV. Suddenly, through the glass door and window, I saw a guy pops onto the balcony outside of the living room where we were sitting. I told Wendy in a low voice that someone was there on the balcony. I whispered that I was going to pretend that I did not see him and sneak to the kitchen to grab a knife; she should call the police right away. Wendy took a look at the man and stated, "Don't worry! He is one of the *wuye*. They sometimes pop up in my backyard and scare me to death! When I had just moved in, I almost threw my kitchen knife at them... They should never enter my backyard without my permission, but they think they can because they are the management team! They are always checking on our family deliberately by using many different excuses!" She then walked to the balcony, opened the glass door, and spoke to him with a sarcastic tone: "Sir, you are so busy that you forgot many important things! (贵人多忘事!) Didn't you remember that I require you to inform me before coming onto my property? My guest thinks you are a thief and would like to attack you!" The man smiled in embarrassment, and mumbled that he was checking if there was a water leak on the first floor, as many other neighbor buildings had. He promised that he would inform Wendy before coming to her place next time. Wendy came back to the living room, and told me, "He is playing dumb (装傻). He never informs me for stupid inspections, and there is always nothing wrong when he pops up… I feel that they are spying on us!"

Wendy told me that she had refused to tell them more about me when they ask about the new woman in her driver's car. "These *wuye* always want to know more about us so that they can gossip!" Wendy said in an unpleasant tone. "Next time when they ask you

who you are when you entering the community gate, you should just tell them you are one of the residents here!"

Like Wendy, most of my Chinese returnee informants were aware that they were monitored by the community management team. Most of these individuals did not want to cooperate with the management teams in their community, and they wanted to keep their privacy as much as possible. Julie told me, "China is a country ruled under communism; therefore, most people are not used to the idea of privacy or that one should respect other people's privacy." Julie thought that this was a main difference between her life in the US and China. "We feel monitored all the time…As small bakery store owners, officers come once a month to check on us…I do not know what they are checking, because they just come in and chat with us."

Hank said that he could understand why the Chinese officials kept monitoring everyone. "China is a huge country with people from complicated cultural backgrounds. If the Chinese government does not censor people, this country may fall apart." Like most of my informants, Hank was bothered by the fact that people have less privacy in China. "Even though I grew up in this environment where one has less privacy, I seem to have become spoiled by the abundant privacy I experienced in the United States. Now I find it hard to adjust back to the way I was—not annoyed by the people who monitor me."

Christian Chinese Returnees' Strategies and Persistence under Total Surveillance

Before I went to Shanghai for my fieldwork, Mrs. Wu from Trinity Church Philadelphia wrote down for me a phone number and a contact person—Monica. Mrs. Wu asked me to contact Monica regarding church services after I arrived in Shanghai.

After I reached Shanghai and settled in, I called Monica and told her that I was referred to her by people in Philadelphia. Monica told me that she would meet me at a subway station on Sunday morning.

It was a strange experience. I met Monica, and we talked on the subway on our way to Sunday worship. She took me through a crowded street, and we entered a crowded noodle restaurant, where she led me directly to the tiny, steamy kitchen of the restaurant. From the kitchen, there was a small door connected to a narrow stairway. After climbing two flights of stairs, Monica opened the emergency exit door. This led us to a huge lofted meeting hall. After looking around for a while, I realized that it was the meeting hall of an interior design company. Instead of going through the front door, we took the back alley and entered it from another entrance. "This company is owned by a brother in our church. We did not take the front door in order to avoid attention." Monica explained, "It is not like how it is in the United States; Christians like us cannot gather for Sunday worship."

Monica was one of the elder members who organized private Sunday worship. She had lived in New Jersey for ten years, and she had moved to Shanghai seven years earlier, when her husband decided to open a fabric factory in China. She introduced me to people in the meeting hall— there were about fifty of them. According to Monica, half of the church congregation was comprised of Chinese returnees from the US, Canada, Australia,

and Southeast Asia. The other half were *jingwairenshi* from Taiwan and Hong Kong. "We change locations for worship every week, and this is one of the places we usually frequent," Monica told me. "Here in China, religion is a totally different story than in the United States. In the US, most people are too lazy to go to church for Sunday worship service; here, it is difficult to hold a Sunday worship service, and congregation members never miss a chance to go, since they do not know if there will be one the following week."

Christian Chinese returnees are extremely aware of the limited privacy in China- not only in their homes, but also in their limited rights to gather in public places in Shanghai. However, they have developed strategies to avoid conflicts with Chinese government officials.

According to Christian Chinese returnees, in China, the Christianity practiced in national churches has more to do with Chinese nationalism and not much with what they refer to as "real Christianity." Monica had been attending Shanghai Huaien Church (上海怀恩堂) for over two years before moving to this church congregation. When I asked about the difference between their worship and the official worship offered in the national Christian Churches in Shanghai, she told me, "National Christian churches in Shanghai are funded by the Chinese government, and they emphasize 'loving the nation' while loving Jesus. They are patriotic churches… These churches under the strict control of officials from the religion department." Monica told me that when she moved to Shanghai from the US, she was not a Christian. For some reason, she was attracted to the beautiful church building of Huaien Church, and she joined them for worship. "It is a

huge church for Chinese citizens. There are about two thousand seats, but it is always full! It is one of only eleven Christian churches in all of Shanghai. You have to go to the worship service one hour early in order to get a seat!"

"I was baptized after going there for one year. However, I always felt that there was something missing in the pastor's preaching." Monica said that after she had returned to New Jersey and been there a month, she became aware of the difference between Christian churches in the US and these patriotic churches in Shanghai: the pastor in Shanghai could not make Christianity a higher priority than patriotism. "Moreover, he was not allowed to explicitly explain the embedded meanings in the Bible…I talked to the pastor, and he told me that he had to follow the rules- to talk about loving the country while talking about the Bible." Desiring a real or more honest worship experience, Monica began attending a church referred to her by her friend in New Jersey. It was comprised mostly of Chinese returnees and *jingwairenshi*. According to her friend, these Christian Chinese returnees, as well as other Christian *waijirenshi*, had organized their own Sunday worship because they could not find satisfying experiences in the national churches in Shanghai.

There is a law in China that requires people to apply for official permission to gather when there are more than four people present[63]. However, this law, according to my Christian Chinese informants, is not clearly written, and it purposefully leaves a great deal of room for interpretation. Even though the law states, "Right religious gathering is

[63] According to 中华人民共和国集会游行示威法（１９８９年１０月３１日第七届全国人民代表大会常务委员会第十一次会议通过）http://news.xinhuanet.com/legal/2003-01/21/content_699463.htm. In the seventh law, it says "Permission must be gathering and protesting " (第七条　举行集会、游行、示威，必须依照本法规定向主管机关提出申请并获得许可)

allowed[64]," there is no definition of which religious gathering is "right." "You probably know that Chinese laws always leave huge gaps for everyone to interpret, especially Chinese officials, so they can carry out the necessary acts when needed," Shawn, the main organizer of fellowship and Sunday gathering told me. "If Chinese officials consider our gathering legal, our gathering is illegal anyway… However, the Bible says we should never stop gathering, and we chose to keep doing it… Even though there is a law that requires us to apply for permission for small gatherings in our apartments, no one is able to receive the permission, and we could be put on the "special observation" list. Shawn told me that he applied for permission multiple times five years earlier, but he never received any approval. As a result, he was constantly monitored in many ways—his cellphone was tapped and his email account was checked. "The good thing is that I am not a Chinese citizen. After several years, they did not find me threatening at all, and I think they concluded their investigation on me last year… But I know that they are still watching us all the time, and they know I still hold fellowships every week… But we are only with *waijirenshi* (non-Chinese citizens), so it is legal."

Shawn told me that like many Christian Chinese returnees, he chose to give up his Chinese citizenship and earn US citizenship so that he could continue practicing his religion in China. Shawn was a business man who had moved from New Jersey to Shanghai six years earlier. During these six years, he had served as a leader in the church, organizing Christian gatherings in Puxi for *waijirenshi* and Chinese returnees from the United States and Canada. He told me that in Shanghai, though there was still state surveillance of unofficial Christian gatherings, the situation was much better than in other

[64]In the second rule, it says, normal religious activities and activities of traditional customs are excluded from this law (正常的宗教活动，传统的民间习俗活动，不适用本法). However, it does not explain the definition of "normal".

cities and the countryside. “Shanghai is a metropolitan city with foreign culture, and it is one of the most open cities in China. Government officials know that we are holding our own worship services. Two years ago our worship was observed accidentally, but after that incident, the officials never interfered.

At the end of a Sunday morning worship service in June, Shawn told everyone about the raid two years earlier in Puxi, Shanghai. “It was like a normal Sunday morning worship service. Several minutes after the worship started, I walked out to the street to call the other organizer. However, I saw two police busses parked across the busy street. I knew something was wrong, and I called the pastor right away. However, no one inside picked up their cellphones. Then I saw a group of police, about forty of them, walk across the busy street and to our worship building. A lot of people on the street were curious and watched the police. They passed me and started to check the IDs of our ushers. I saw the organizer walking in our direction on the street, so I ran to him and stopped him.

“According to our pastor, people were singing when the group of police came in. The police blocked the entrance door, and then the official from the religion department entered. They asked everyone stay in their seats, and they began to check everyone’s passports and IDs. Unfortunately, there were some people in the congregation who were Chinese citizens. The Chinese officials were polite to everyone, and no conflicts took place. Our pastor was taken by them for an hour-long interview, and then they let him go. According to the pastor, the official of religion department hinted to him that they were watching us all the time, and that they had information about us. The official even told our pastor that he had to do it [the raid] in order to ensure that there were no Chinese citizens involved in this group… He said that we should behave ourselves, and should not

involve any Chinese citizens in our religious practice… I knew after the raid that they definitely had the power to give us trouble. Fortunately, they did not… Therefore, we should not bring Bibles with us to worship to make others to notice us the way they do a public protest!"

The Sunday worship of the Christian Chinese returnees I interviewed in Shanghai remained, somehow, secretive. Usually, I did not know where we would worship that week until Saturday night or even Sunday morning, right before worship. Sometimes it was held in the ballrooms of different hotels, sometimes in company meeting rooms, and sometimes in the meeting rooms at private clubs. Leaders in this congregation believed that they were always under the surveillance of Chinese officials, but their religious beliefs sustained them as they coped with this difficult situation.

At the same time, there were people with power and wealth who attended this church and negotiated with Chinese officials through their social networks (*guanxi* relationships). In the church congregation in Puxi, Chinese returnees comprised about half of the congregation, while the other half came from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Many of them were rich and famous business people, or entrepreneurs who owned manufacturing factories in Kunshang or Hangzhou, satellite cities close to Shanghai. Some of them were hotel owners or club owners who provided the location for Sunday worship. I heard from one elder member that these influential people know government religion department officials and police officials well- to the point that these officials will not make "unnecessary" trouble for our congregation.

However, in July 2009, after the Xinjiang riots happened, a raid was carried out that involved several Chinese returnee members from this church congregation. In early July, church worship services were canceled for three weeks. During fellowship in the fourth week, Shawn explained what had happened in the previous weeks. "A couple of Chinese returnees from our church congregation, Jake and Sharon, were invited by a local Chinese Christian group to minister in Xinjiang in 2008. They were invited again this April. Since they were busy with business in Shanghai, they were not able to go in May, and they scheduled in the trip for the end of June. They started their Bible study workshop in Xinjiang on July 3rd with local Chinese Christians. However, that local Chinese Christian group did not tell them that they had been raided by police six times this year. Unfortunately, this was around the time that the Xinjiang riots broke out. In the evening of July 5th, their Bible study group was raided. There were about twenty people in the Bible study when they were caught, and about half of them were local Chinese citizens. About forty police circled their building, and no one was able to escape at that time. This couple was detained in the police station for five days. Since they were US citizens, they were later announced to be evicted from China, and they are not allowed to return to China for at least five years. So now they are trying to sell their three condos and they have to leave by July 22nd. They will go to Taiwan first, to have their friends arrange the sale of their properties, then return to the United States."

At the end of the story, Shawn emphasized that the government officials had good networks for surveillance of the group, and it would be futile to struggle with them. "If they want to catch us, they will, and we will not be able to escape. They have every piece of information about us. They already know what the result will be before their raid. That

is, they already decide the final judgment before they even act. No on-site investigation will be carried out… So if we are caught or raided, we do not have to struggle and lie, since they have already planned what will happen. It is only a matter of whether they want to do it or not."

Chinese Returnees' Fellowship in Residential Communities

Because of these famous incidents, Christian Chinese returnees are extremely aware of the fact that they are monitored in residential areas. When choosing places to hold fellowships, they tend to choose residences in nicer communities; this allows them more privacy. Moreover, in higher-end communities, the relationship between community management teams and residents is not as strict and hierarchical as in lower-end communities. Moreover, people who live in high-end communities usually have more power to defend their privacy than people who live in lower-end communities, and who are usually subject to the control of management teams. Management teams do not have much authority over the residents of high-end communities, since these residents are in a higher social hierarchy and are wealthy with *guanxi* relationship that they can exercise to negotiate with the management team. It therefore makes sense that Christian Chinese returnees choose these better communities for fellowship and gatherings.

Karl lived in one of these high-end communities, and usually the Christian Chinese returnees in my congregation in Puxi went to his place for fellowship. He once told me when I asked him if holding fellowship there inconvenienced his life in this community, "I have built up great relationships with the management team by offering them greetings and gifts. Moreover, they know that what we do is legal because I do not allow local

Chinese people in my fellowship. During the holiday season or festivals, I treat their boss and managers to dinners in nice restaurants as a way to thank them for taking care of the community. At the same time, I acknowledge that I understand the law, and will never allow Chinese citizens to join us in fellowship held at my home." Karl followed the Chinese gift giving and the favor giving custom to maintain good relationships with his community management team. Karl told me that as a businessman, he knows how to build up *guanxi* with others, and it definitely helps- even though there is no guarantee.

According to some of my Christian Chinese returnee informants, surveillance is not just a physical presence in places they have visited or reside, but it also exists through multimedia. Their personal communication conduits, such as email, phone lines and text messages, are tapped. France, a lady who had been helping Shawn organize worship, told me that many church congregation members' email and phone communications were censored. She told me not to send critical information, such as where to have fellowship, through email, text, or phone conversations. She asked me to use a symbolic code instead. "Instead of stating 'fellowship' in text, we use 'tea party' or 'brunch'. We are always careful about this."

"But how do you know that you are under surveillance?" I could help myself from asking this question.

"You know when you are the target of censoring," France smiled and told me. "They [the officials who censor you] send you an email or call you to tell you that they are watching you! Basically they are warning you that you had better behave yourself, and not make trouble." Seeing my unbelief, France continued, "Almost every elder member

from our church congregation has received these kinds of phone calls or emails. It is not new, anyway."

Knowing that they are always under serious surveillance, Christian Chinese returnees are always prepared to leave China in case something happens. "We do not feel it is our hometown, anyway. Our journey here is more like a mission or ministry. " Jean told me that she considers her move to Shanghai a part of her ministry in China. "Shanghai is relatively more open than other cities in China; however, I have still prepared my family to leave if something happens."

Ironically, the strict surveillance does not diminish Christian Chinese returnees' enthusiastic religious beliefs. On the contrary, the strict atmosphere increases their enthusiasm to have their religious practice, "Because of this difficult environment, we become stronger and more dedicated to Christianity." Hank told me that the unfriendly environment made him rely more on his faith than when he was in the United States: "Because of how difficult it is for us to have Sunday worship and Bible studies, we cherish every opportunity to get together… I think Christian congregations in Shanghai have stronger wills to carry out worship and activities than in the United States, since everyone knows it is not easy for us to get together and do religious activities in China."

Monica agreed with Hank. She said that this feeling makes her to devote more emotion and time to her Christian beliefs and community, even though it might be risky. "I have never devoted myself to ministry so much in my whole life as what I am doing now."

Christian Chinese returnees insist on carrying out their religious practices secretly under the comprehensive surveillance system in China. At the same time, they still negotiate with this power by using their social networks and wealth to maintain the privacy necessary for religious meetings. In residential areas, they negotiate with community management teams for private fellowship spaces. Understanding that there is always a risk in carrying out their religious activities, these Christian Chinese returnees are prepared to leave China in the event that action is taken against them. However, the surveillance of the Chinese government does not diminish their religious enthusiasm. On the contrary, Shanghai's unfriendly environment for religion increases their religious enthusiasm and intensifies the bonds among members. Knowing the risk of carrying out religious activities, these Chinese returnees do not see China as the permanent place to stay, but as a place for ministry and temporary residence.

Conclusion:

Between communities, there are dramatic differences in the amount of residents' privacy, and the degree to which they are censored. Government censorship is more intensive in common communities, since most residents there do not have enough power, *guanxi* networks, or wealth to resist censorship. Cindy's community serves as an example of this common community management. Community management teams pay attention to every resident's life and to possible suspicious activities. Like Cindy, most residents in

the common communities are not be able to resist this censorship, and have to report any information that officials request. However, in wealthier communities, such as those where most Chinese returnees reside, tenants use their connections and wealth to negotiate with management companies and receive relatively more privacy. Wendy is as an example of the sort of resident who refuses to provide the information her community management team demands. Her community management team cannot force her, since she has certain social powers that they dare not challenge. Whether by negotiation or not, every community is "well-managed" and under efficient, secure control.

The situation of Christian Chinese returnees is much more complicated. Since the legal regulation of religious fellowship and gathering if unclear, these Christian Chinese utilize their power and wealth but still risk being caught while fulfilling their religious duties. In residential areas, Chinese returnees exercise their power, social networking and wealth to negotiate with residential management teams to hold fellowship in their residences. Usually they choose higher-end resident communities to hold fellowship, as here they will be granted more privacy than in common communities. Karl serves as an example of this negotiation.

The strict surveillance employed by the Chinese government does not decrease the enthusiasm of Christian Chinese returnees. Even though the state has cracked-down on these communities during fellowship and worship services, Christian Chinese returnees insist on holding gatherings and worshipping together. They are prepared for the worst-case scenario—to be evicted from China—if their activities are deemed illegal by Chinese officials. These Christian Chinese returnees understand that they are under total surveillance, but their transnational status offers them many solutions if they are in

danger. They see their stay in Shanghai as a ministry, and they are always ready to take off.

DISSERTATION CONCLUSION

This research examines the lives of Chinese medical professionals in two locations during the turmoil of globalization. These Chinese professionals immigrated to the US as high-skilled immigrants from China. They chose to stay to the US for their American dreams. However, they faced dramatic changes brought about by globalization after residing in the US for about two decades. From the beginning of the twenty-first century, the booming Chinese economy has gained the attention of the world. Socialism with Chinese characteristics has successfully promoted economic growth and modern development in these recent two decades. The economic crisis of 2008 triggered the return of these Chinese medical professionals back to China. Their return migration is part of a circulation of global networks, since the Philadelphia metropolitan area is the most important center for pharmaceutical companies in the US. Their experiences in the suburban Philadelphia metropolitan area provide examples of lives as emerging trend of high-skilled immigrants to this unique historical area in the United States. At the same time, these Chinese medical professionals' returning experiences illustrate the speed by which China has modernized. This modernization has been so dramatic that some of them have had to learn a new and complex modern Chinese culture- something they missed during these recent two decades.

These Chinese professionals have constructed a decidedly transnational lifestyle in the historical northwestern suburban Philadelphia area. Their transnational lifestyle is carried out by building their own social networks with Chinese immigrants who have similar social and cultural backgrounds. Chinese schools and churches are two important spaces where Chinese professionals can exchange vital information about living in this

area and are able to broaden their social networks. Chinese churches provide a safety net for members, and they help new Chinese immigrants adjust their lives to what they call a "relatively conservative" area. Moreover, Chinese schools and churches are like small, enclosed Chinese societies, where Chinese professionals feel more comfortable to socialize with each other than with Americans.

These Chinese medical professionals live a transnational lifestyle in the Philadelphia metropolitan areas by maintaining their transnational identities as Chinese. After they return to Shanghai, they find that local Chinese don't identify them as Chinese, even though they identify *themselves* as Chinese. Finding themselves unlike local people in Shanghai when they return after more than a decade, these Chinese medical professionals inevitably construct a different transnational lifestyle by developing their own social networks with fellow transnational residents. Sensing the dramatic differences between them and local people in Shanghai, many of these Chinese professionals' children experience an identity shift—they change their self-identification from Chinese to American—during their stay in Shanghai. Transnationalism is carried out in these Chinese professionals' lifestyles and identities, whether in the Philadelphia metropolitan area or in Shanghai.

The Chinese identity depends on one's interpretation; it can be broadly used or narrowly defined. The utilization of Chinese identity is variously defined by different Chinese groups within the US and in China. The first generation Chinese immigrants who work as professionals in the northwestern Philadelphia suburban area do not identify with other generations of Chinese immigrants in the United States. However, the second and later generations of Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia metropolitan area utilize a much

broader definition of "Chinese" to include everyone of Chinese heritage- even Chinese in China. None of the Chinese identities utilized by these Chinese immigrants in Philadelphia and its metropolitan area are recognized by Chinese in China, since Chinese nationalism is part of Chinese identity in China. The Chinese who left China for better lives elsewhere are often seen as betrayers. Therefore, these Chinese transnationals find themselves in violation of the patriotic elements of Chinese nationalism; they are never recognized as Chinese by local people.

Neoliberalism is a major theme in both parts of this research, and it is a prominent fact in both the US and China. However, there are still differences between neoliberalism in the US and China. Neoliberal ideology in the US is mainly about releasing government control over private sectors and promoting a free market environment- even for social services. On the other hand, neoliberalism in China is about the Chinese state releasing its control, and the transformation of society from communist-based ideology to the so-called "socialism with Chinese characteristics." The market reform and privatization are part of the transformation of neoliberal ideology. Unlike neoliberal ideology in the US, which relates equates with power, the neoliberal ideology in China is complicated by intricate *guanxi* politics and wealth, and placed under the state control. The Chinese medical professionals in the northwestern suburban Philadelphia—most of whom came from families without critical *guanxi* relationships—chose to stay in the US to negotiate the effects of the economic crisis of 2008. Those who were returned to Shanghai tried to adapt to modern Chinese culture and neoliberalism with *guanxi* politics.

The development of Chinese modernity is tied to neoliberal ideology and Chinese nationalism. The booming construction of skyscrapers reflects the urbanization of

Shanghai as part of Chinese modernity, and this has become a symbol of pride for Chinese civilians in Shanghai, especially for Shanghainese. Chinese modernity has brought neoliberal ideology to its citizens, and made Shanghai the largest internal migration destination in China. Peasants from nearby provinces swarm into Shanghai for more job opportunities and better lives. The obvious self-awareness of one's place in the social hierarchy in Shanghai exhibits the extent in which neoliberal ideology is rooted in this modernized Chinese city. The accumulation of private wealth can move one up the social hierarchy, even without engaging in *guanxi* relationships. The overwhelming idea that people are judged by others in accordance with their social hierarchy and wealth reflects the prominence of neoliberalism in Shanghai. It is similar to the ideology of Chinese modernity: focusing on the hardware but not the human mind. The result of this Chinese style neoliberalism is shown clearly in the countless skyscrapers that Chinese civilians see as proud symbols of Chinese modernity.

While neoliberalism and capitalism are prominent in the fast development of Shanghai, Chinese nationalism is embedded in state control via projects for improving human minds. The participation of China in global events is deemed part of the patriotic movement of Chinese citizens. EXPO 2010 in Shanghai serves as an example. The Chinese state pictured EXPO 2010 as a global event in which Chinese citizens in Shanghai could participate. Following this idea, Chinese citizen were expected to sacrifice their convenience or life styles for EXPO 2010 as part of their patriotic duties. Chinese nationalism was reinforced through the so-called "preparation and participation" for EXPO 2010 in Shanghai by the Chinese state. However, only the wealthy and

powerful people actually enjoyed touring the EXPO 2010 fairground in Shanghai, owing to the expensive ticket prices that were unaffordable for most Chinese civilians.

The Chinese mass media in Shanghai reflects other aspects of the developing modern Chinese culture. It promotes the culture of consumption by teaching people what to consume. Consumption is promoted by the media in Shanghai as an important part of people's life. At the same time, the Chinese mass media in Shanghai is under careful state control. Sensitive subjects for news report are restricted, while the media focuses on subjects that are not as politically provocative. Chinese nationalism and a "harmonious society" are the main themes promoted in TV programs and news media.

The Chinese professionals I studied found themselves at a transitional point: they were becoming Americanized, even as they considered themselves Chinese. They started to find Chinese nationalism in Chinese media irritating, even though they often watched Chinese news online or on satellite TV programs when they were in the US. However, the Chinese professionals who returned to Shanghai read more American news and watch American TV programs more often through satellite television. Their children, most of whom were 1.5 or later generation Chinese immigrants, maintained strong connections to American media even when they were in Shanghai. These first and second generation Chinese immigrants found themselves at a transitional point, even though they were eager to maintain their identity as Chinese or as Americans.

These Chinese medical research professionals' lives in the Philadelphia metropolitan area and in Shanghai are examples of the migration and return migration of skilled professionals under the force of neoliberal ideologies and globalization. Their

living experiences in China highlight changes in their ideas about national identity as Chinese transnationals in the context of modern Chinese society, which is highly influenced by state-controlled capitalism and Chinese nationalism promoted through mass media and propaganda. Their experiences in Shanghai illustrate the fast development of modern Chinese culture in the recent two decades, and they provide compelling interpretations of these changes, as both insiders and outsiders. This research will contribute to the relatively limited literature on Chinese professionals in the United States and the return migration of Chinese immigrants.

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